THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

By *JAMES BENIGN BOSSUET*, Biſhop of MEAUX, one of His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Honourable Privy-Council, heretofore Preceptor to the DAUPHIN, and Chief Almoner to the DAUPHINESS.

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THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK X.

From the Year 1558, *to* 1570.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

Queen Elizabeth's *Reformation. That of* Edward *corrected, and the* Real Preſence, *which had been condemn'd under that Prince, held for indifferent: The Church of* England *ſtill perſiſts in this ſentiment. Other Variations of this Church in that* Queen's *reign. Her eccleſiaſtical Supremacy moderated in appearance, in reality left in the ſame ſtate as under* Henry *and* Edward, *notwithſtanding the ſcruples of* Elizabeth. *Policy bears the ſway throughout this whole Reformation. The Faith, the Sacraments, and the whole eccleſiaſtical authority deliver'd up into the hands of Kings and Parliaments. The ſame done in* Scotland. *The* Calviniſts *of*

France *diſapprove this doctrine, nevertheleſs let it paſs.* England's *doctrine upon Juſtification.* *Queen* Elizabeth *favours the* French *Proteſtants. They rebel as ſoon as they have it in their power. The conſpiracy of* Amboiſe *in* Francis *the ſecond's reign. The civil wars under* Charles IX. *This conſpiracy and theſe wars appertain to Religion, and were entered into by the authority of the Doctors and Miniſters of the Party, and grounded on the new doctrine teaching the lawfulneſs of making war againſt their Prince for* Religion's *ſake. This doctrine expreſly warranted by their national Synods. The fallacy of Proteſtant writers, and of Mr.* Burnet *amongſt the reſt, who pretend that the tumult of* Amboiſe *and the civil wars were ſtate-buſineſſes. Religion was at the bottom of* Francis *Duke of* Guiſe's *murder.* Beza's *and the* Admiral's *teſtimony. A new* Confeſſion *of Faith in* Switzerland.

I. Queen *Elizabeth* is perſuaded, nothing can ſecure to her the Crown, but the Proteſtant Religion. Four points ſhe was uneaſy about.

MDLVIII. MDLIX.

ENGLAND having ſoon return'd, after Queen *Mary*'s death, to *Edward* the ſixth's Reformation, ſet about fixing her Faith and putting the finiſhing ſtroke to her Religion by the new *Queen*'s authority. *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Henry* VIII. and *Anne Boleyn*, was advanced to the throne, and govern'd her kingdom with as profound a policy as the moſt able Kings. The ſtep ſhe had taken with regard to *Rome*, immediately upon her coming to the Crown, countenanced what otherways had been publiſh'd of this Princeſs, that ſhe would not have departed from the *Catholick* Religion, had ſhe found the Pope more inclinable

nable to her intereſts. But *Paul* IV. who then ſate in the *Apoſtolick* Chair gave no favourable reception to the civilities ſhe had cauſed to be tender'd him as to another Prince, without further declaration of her mind, by the Reſident of the late *Queen* her Siſter. Mr. *Burnet* tells us, he treated her as illegitimate; was ſurpriſed at her great boldneſs in aſſuming the Crown, a fief of the *Holy See*, without his conſent; and gave her no hopes of receiving any favour at his hands, unleſs ſhe renounced her pretenſions, and ſubmitted to the See of *Rome*. Such uſage, if true, was not at all likely to reclaim a *Queen*. After ſuch a repulſe, *Elizabeth* readily withdrew from a See, by whoſe decrees her birth had alſo been condemn'd, and took to the new *Reformation*: yet, ſhe did not approve that of *Edward* in all its parts. There were four points ſhe had ſome ſcruples in, that of *Ceremonies*, that of *Images*, that of the *Real* Preſence, and that of the Regal *Supremacy*: and what was done, in her time, with reference to theſe four points, we are now to relate.

Burn. l. III. *p.* 374.

Burn. Ibid. p. 376.

As for ceremonies, *Her firſt impreſſions*, ſays *Mr.* Burnet, *were in favour of ſuch old rites as her Father had ſtill retain'd, and in her own nature loving ſtate and ſome magnificence in Religion, ſhe thought her Brother's miniſters had ſtript it too much of external ornaments*, and left Religion too bare and naked. Yet I don't find, ſhe did any thing conſiderable in that regard.

II. I. point Ceremonies. *L.* III. 376.

As for Images, *That matter ſtuck long with her; for ſhe inclin'd to keep up Images in Churches, and it was with great difficulty* ſhe was prevail'd upon, perſuaded as ſhe was, that *the uſe of Images in Churches, might be a means to ſtir up devotion, and that at leaſt it would draw all people to frequent them the more.* Herein her ſentiments

III. II. Point Images. Pious ſentiments of the *Queen*. *Ibid. p.* 397. 376.

agreed in the main with thoſe of the *Catholicks*. If *they ſtir up devotion* towards God, they might well excite alſo the external tokens of it; this is the whole of that worſhip which we pay them: to be *inclin'd to*, and *have favourable impreſſions, of them* in this ſenſe, like Queen *Elizabeth*, was not ſo groſs a notion as is at preſent imputed to our belief; and I much queſtion, whether Mr. *Burnet* would venture to charge a *Queen* who, according to him, was the Foundreſs of Religion in *England*, with entertaining idolatrous ſentiments. But the *Iconoclaſt* party had gain'd their point: the *Queen*, unable to reſiſt 'em, was wrought up by them to ſuch extreams, that not content with commanding *Images* to be caſt out of all Churches, *She forbid all her ſubjects to keep them in their houſes*; nothing but the *Crucifix* eſcaped, and that no where but in the Royal Chapel, whence the *Queen* could not be perſuaded to remove it.

Ibid. 398.

Thuan. l. xxi. *An.* M D LIX.

IV. They perſuade her with reaſons evidently bad.

It may not be improper to conſider what the *Proteſtants* alledged in order to induce her to this injunction againſt *Images*, to the end the exceſs or vanity of the thing may be diſcover'd. The chief foundation of their reaſons is, *That the ſecond commandment forbids the making of any Images, as a reſemblance of God*, which evidently proves nothing, either againſt the *Images* of *Jeſus Chriſt* as Man, or thoſe of the Saints, or in general, againſt ſuch, in regard of which, we publickly declare (as does the *Catholick Church*) that by them we in no wiſe pretend to repreſent the Deity. The reſt is too extravagant to bear repeating: for either it concludes juſt nothing, or it concludes for the abſolute prohibition of the uſe of painting and ſculpture: a weakneſs now-a-days ſo univerſally exploded by all Chriſtians,

Burn. Ibid. p. 397.

ſtians, as only to find place in the groſs ſuperſtition of *Mahometans* and *Jews*.

V. Manifeſt Variation with reſpect to the *Real* Preſence. *Policy* regulates *Religion*.

The *Queen* ſhew'd more reſolution in point of the *Euchariſt*. 'Tis of main importance well to comprehend her ſentiments, ſuch as Mr. *Burnet* delivers them: *She thought that in her Brother's reign they made their Doctrine too narrow in ſome points; therefore ſhe intended to have ſome things explain'd in more general terms, that ſo all parties might be comprehended by them.* Theſe were her ſentiments in general. In applying them to the Euchariſt; *Her intention was to have the manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament, be left in ſome* GENERAL *words. She very much diſliked that thoſe who believed the corporal Preſence had been driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it.* And again: *It was propoſed to have the Communion book ſo contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal Preſence: for the chief deſign of the* Queen's *Council was, to unite the nation in one Faith.*

Ibid. 376.

Ibid. 392.

One might be apt to think, perchance, that the *Queen* judged it needleſs to make any expreſs declarations againſt the *Real* Preſence, her ſubjects of themſelves being ſufficiently inclined to reject it: but on the contrary, *the greateſt part of the nation continued to believe ſuch a Preſence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to ſee that there ſhould be no expreſs definition made againſt it; that ſo it might lie as a ſpeculative opinion, not determin'd, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind.*

Ibid.

VI. The Faith of the pretended Martyrs chang'd.

Here was a ſtrange Variation in one of the main fundamental points of the *Engliſh* Reformation. In the *Confeſſion* of Faith ſet forth in 1551, under *Edward*, the Doctrine of the *Real* Preſence was excluded in ſo ſtrong a manner, that it was declared impoſſible and contrary to

our *Lord's Aſcenſion.* When *Cranmer* was condemn'd for a Heretick in Queen *Mary*'s time, he own'd, the capital ſubject of his condemnation was, *His not confeſſing a corporal Preſence of our Saviour on the Altar. Ridley, Latimer*, and others the pretended Martyrs of the *Engliſh* Reformation mention'd by Mr. *Burnet*, all ſuffer'd for the ſame cauſe. *Calvin* ſays as much of the *French* Martyrs, whoſe authority he oppoſes againſt the *Lutherans.* This article was eſteem'd of that high importance even in 1549, and during the whole reign of *Edward*, that *When the Reformation was to be carried on to the eſtabliſhment of a form of Doctrine*, ſays Mr. *Burnet*, *which ſhould contain the chief points of religion, enquiry was chiefly made concerning the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.* It was therefore, at that time, not only one of the *fundamental* points, but alſo a capital one amongſt theſe *fundamentals.* As it was of ſuch concern, and the principal cauſe for which theſe boaſted Martyrs ſpilt their blood, it could not be explain'd in terms too diſtinct. After ſo clear an expoſition of it as that which had been made under *Edward*, to return, as did *Elizabeth*, *to general terms* which left the thing *undetermin'd, that all parties might be comprehended in them, and every man left to the freedom of his own mind*, was betraying truth, and putting error on the level with it. In a word, *theſe general terms* in a *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, were nothing but a fallacy in the moſt ſerious of all concerns, and wherein the utmoſt ſincerity is required. This is what the *Engliſh* Reformers ought to have repreſented to *Elizabeth.* But policy out-balanced Religion, nor was it now to their purpoſe ſo greatly to condemn the *Real* Preſence. Wherefore the twenty ninth article of *Edward*'s Confeſſion, wherein it was condemn'd,

Calv. dilucid. explic. opuſc. p. 861. *p.* 11. *l.* 1. *p.* 104.

was

was very much changed, and *a great deal left out*; all that ſhew'd the *Real* Preſence was impoſſible and contradictory to the reſidence of Chriſt's Body in Heaven. *All this was ſuppreſſed*, ſays Mr. *Burnet*, and that *expreſs definition daſht over with minium.* The Hiſtorian takes care to tell us, *it is ſtill legible:* but that even is a teſtimony againſt the expunged Doctrine. They would have it ſtill legible, to the end a proof might be extant, that this was the very point they had concluded to reverſe. They had remonſtrated to Queen *Elizabeth* concerning Images, *That it could caſt a great reflexion on the firſt Reformers, ſhould they again ſet up in Churches what theſe ſo zealous Martyrs of the Evangelical purity had ſo carefully removed.* It was of no leſs criminal a nature, to reſcind from the *Confeſſion* of *Faith* of theſe pretended Martyrs, what they had placed in it, in oppoſition to the *Real* Preſence, and to annul that Doctrine, in teſtimony whereof they had given up their lives. Inſtead of their plain and expreſs definitions, they were content to ſay, conformably to Queen *Elizabeth*'s deſign, *In general terms, that the Body of Chriſt is given and received after a ſpiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is Faith.* The firſt part of the article is very true, taking *ſpiritual manner* for a manner that is above our ſenſes and nature, as the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* underſtand it; nor is the ſecond part leſs certain, taking the reception for a profitable reception and in the ſenſe St. *John* meant, when he ſaid of *Jeſus Chriſt, that his own received him not*, altho' he were in the world in perſon in the midſt of them; that is to ſay, they neither received his Doctrine nor his Grace. Furthermore, what was added in *Edward*'s Confeſſion, with reference to the Communion of the wicked who

Ibid. l. III. *p.* 435. 406.

p. 397.

Ibid p. 405.

John. i. 10. 11.

receive nothing but the ſymbols, was cut off in like manner, and care was taken that nothing, but what the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* might approve, ſhould be retain'd with reſpect to the *Real* Preſence.

VII. Subſtantial changes in *Edward*'s Liturgy. *P.* II. *p.* 392.

For the ſame reaſon, whatever condemn'd the *Corporal* Preſence, was now changed in *Edward*'s Liturgy: for inſtance, the Rubrick there explain'd the reaſon for kneeling at the Sacrament, *That thereby no Adoration is intended to any Corporal Preſence of Chriſt's natural Fleſh and Blood, becauſe that is only in Heaven.* But under *Elizabeth*, theſe words were lopped off, and the full liberty of adoring the Fleſh and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* was allow'd as preſent in the Euchariſt. What the pretended Martyrs and Founders of the *Engliſh* Reformation had held for groſs *Idolatry*, became an innocent action in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. In *Edward*'s ſecond Liturgy, theſe words, which had been left ſtanding in the firſt, were taken away: *viz. The Body or the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt preſerve thy body and thy ſoul to everlaſting life*; but theſe words, which *Edward* had left out becauſe they ſeem'd *too much to favour the belief of the Corporal Preſence were replaced by* Queen *Elizabeth*. The will of Kings became the rule of Faith, and what we now ſee removed by this *Queen*, was again inſerted in the Common-prayer book by King *Charles* II.

Ibid. l. 1. 170.

VIII. An impoſition of Mr. *Burnet*, who has the aſſurance to ſay that the Doctrine eſtabliſh'd by *Edward*,

Notwithſtanding all theſe changes in ſuch eſſential matters, Mr. *Burnet* would make us believe, there was no Variation in the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Reformation. *The Doctrine of the Church*, ſays he, *was at that time contrary to the belief of a Real or Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament*, in like manner as at preſent, *Only it was not thought neceſſary or expedient to publiſh it in too diſtinct a manner*; as if one could ſpeak too diſtinctly

distinctly in matters of Faith. But this is not all. 'Tis a manifest Variation in Doctrine, not only to embrace what is contrary to it, but to leave undecided what was decided formerly. If the ancient *Catholicks*, after deciding in express terms the *Son* of God's Equality with his *Father*, had suppress'd what they had pronounced at *Nice*, contenting themselves with barely calling him God in general terms, and in the sense the *Arians* could not deny it, insomuch that, what had been decided so expresly, should have become undecided and indifferent; would they not have alter'd the Church's Faith and stept backwards? now, this is what was done, under *Elizabeth*, by the Church of *England*; and none can acknowledge it more clearly than Mr. *Burnet* hath done in the words above-cited, where it stands confess'd in express terms, that it was neither by chance, or forgetfulness, but from a premeditated design that they omitted the words used in *Edward*'s time, and, that *No express definition was made against the Corporal Presence*; on the contrary, *it was let lie as a speculative opinion, not determin'd, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind* to reject or embrace it: in this manner, either sincerely, or politically, the Faith of the Reformers was forsaken, and the *Dogma* of the *Corporal* Presence left for indifferent, against which they had combated even unto blood.

was not changed. *Ibid. l.* III. *p.* 406.

392.

IX. *England* indifferent as to the *Real* Presence. Life of B. *Bedell p.* 137. 138.

This, if we believe Mr. *Burnet*, is yet the present state of the Church of *England*. It was on this foundation that the Bishop *William Bedell*, whose life he writes, grounding himself, believed that a great company of *Lutherans* who had fled to *Dublin* for refuge, might without difficulty communicate with the Church of *England*, *which in reality*, says Mr. *Burnet*, *hath so great a moderation in that matter* (the Real Presence)

Preſence) *that no poſitive definition of the manner of the Preſence being made, men of different ſentiments may agree in the ſame acts of worſhip, without being obliged to declare their opinion, or being underſtood to do any thing contrary to their ſeveral perſuaſions.* Thus hath the Church of *England* corrected her teachers, and reform'd her firſt Reformers.

X. Neither the word *Subſtance* nor miracles, which *Calvin* places in the Euchariſt are admitted by them.

Moreover, the *Engliſh* Reformation neither under *Edward* nor *Elizabeth*, ever employ'd, in the explanation of the Euchariſt, the *Subſtance* of the Body, nor thoſe incomprehenſible operations, which *Calvin* ſo much exalts. Theſe expreſſions too much favour'd a *Real Preſence*, and it was for this reaſon they were not made uſe of either in *Edward*'s reign, when that was deſignedly excluded, or in *Elizabeth*'s, when the thing was to be left *undetermin'd*; and *England* was very ſenſible that theſe words of *Calvin*, little ſuitable to the Doctrine of the *figurative* ſenſe, could not be introduced into it otherwiſe, than by forcing too viſibly their natural ſenſe.

XI. The *Queen*'s Supremacy in ſpirituals is eſtabliſh'd in ſpite of all her ſcruples. *Ibid. l.* III. *p.* 386.

The article of *Supremacy* now remains to be conſider'd. True it is, *Elizabeth* oppoſed it, and this title of *Head* of the Church, in her judgment too great for *Kings*, ſeem'd to her ſtill more inſupportable in a *Queen*, not to ſay ridiculous. *A famous Preacher among thoſe of the Reformation*, ſays Mr. *Burnet*, *put this ſcruple about it in her head*; that is, ſome remains of ſhame were ſtill to be met with in the *Engliſh* Church; nor was it without ſome little remorſe that ſhe gave up her authority to the ſecular power; but policy got the better even in this point. As much aſhamed, as the *Queen* was in her heart of this title of the Church's *Supreme head*, ſhe accepted of it, and exerciſed it under another name. By an act which paſs'd in 1559,

The ſupremacy was again annexed to the Crown, and declared that the authority of viſiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the Church, is for ever annexed to the Regal dignity, and whoſoever, ſhould refuſe to ſwear and acknowledge the Queen *to be the ſupreme governor in all cauſes as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal within her Dominions, was to forfeit any Office he had either in Church or State; and to be thenceforth diſabled to hold any employment during life.* This is what the *Queen*'s ſcruple ended in; and all ſhe did to moderate the laws of *Henry* VIIIth with regard to the King's Supremacy, was, that whereas denying the Supremacy in King *Henry*'s time, coſt men *their lives*, in *Elizabeth*'s, it coſt them but a *forfeiture of their goods*. *L.* 111. 385. 386. *Ibid.* 386.

XII. Reſolution of the Catholick Biſhops.

The *Catholick* Biſhops, for this bout, were not forgetful of their duty, and being inflexibly attached to the *Catholick* Church and Holy *See*, were depoſed for having conſtantly refuſed to ſubſcribe the *Queen*'s Supremacy, no leſs than the other articles of the Reformation. But *Parker*, the *Proteſtant* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was of all the moſt zealous in ſubmitting to the yoke. It was to him complaints were addreſs'd of the *Queen*'s ſcruple concerning the title of *Supreme* head: informations were given to him of all that was done towards inducing the *Catholicks* to acknowledge it; and infine, the *Engliſh* Reformation was no longer judged compatible with the liberty and authority which *Jeſus Chriſt* had given to his Church. What had been reſolved by the *Parliament* in 1559, in favour of the *Queen*'s Supremacy, was accepted by the Synod of *London* in 1562, by the conſent of the whole Clergy as well of the upper as the lower houſe. *Ibid.* &c. M D LXII.

XIII. Declaration of the

There, amongſt the articles of Faith, the *Supremacy* was inſerted in theſe terms: *The regal majeſty*

Clergy concerning Queen *Elizabeth*'s Supremacy. *Syn. Lond. Art.* 37. *Synt. Gen.* 1. *p. p.* 107.

majeſty hath the ſovereign power in this kingdom of England *and in all its other dominions, and the ſovereign governance of all ſubjects, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, appertains to it in all ſort of cauſes, inſomuch that they can never be ſubject to any foreign juriſdiction.* The deſign of theſe laſt words was to exclude the Pope: but as thoſe other words, *in all ſorts of cauſes*, placed here without limitation, as was done in the act of Parliament, imported a full ſovereignty even in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, not excepting thoſe of Faith; they were aſhamed of ſo great an exceſs, and applied to it this modification: *When we attribute to the regal majeſty this ſovereign government, whereat we find many ſlanderers are offended, we give not to our Kings the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, as the ordinances of our Queen* Elizabeth *ſhew clearly: but we give only to them what the Scripture attributes to virtuous Princes, the power of with-holding in their duty all degrees, whether Laymen or Eccleſiaſticks, and of repreſſing the contumacious by the ſword of the civil power.*

XIV. This great evil but groſly palliated. *Burn. p.* 399.

This explanation is conformable to a declaration which the *Queen* had publiſh'd, wherein ſhe readily *diſclaims any authority for the miniſtring of holy things.* The *Proteſtants*, eaſily to be ſatisfied in what regards *eccleſiaſtical* authority, thought they were thereby ſhelter'd from what evil ſoever attended the *Supremacy*; but in vain: for the queſtion was not whether or no the *Engliſh* attributed to the Crown the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments: who ever accuſed them of intending their Kings ſhould mount the Pulpit, or diſtribute the Communion, or Baptize? and what is there ſo extraordinary in this declaration of Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging that this miniſtry appertains not to her? the queſtion is, whether,

whether, in theſe matters, the royal Majeſty hath a ſimple direction and external execution only, or whether it hath not alſo an eſſential influence as to the validity of *Eccleſiaſtical* acts. But altho' it be in appearance reduced to the ſimple execution in this article, the contrary was but too manifeſt in practice. Licence for preaching was granted by letters patent and under the great ſeal. The *Queen* made *Biſhops* by the ſame authority that the *King* her Father and the *King* her Brother had done before, and for a limited time, if ſhe pleaſed. The commiſſion for conſecrating them iſſued from the regal power. Excommunications were decreed by the ſame authority. The *Queen* regulated by her injunctions, not the external worſhip only, but Faith and Doctrine, or made them be regulated by her *Parliament*, whoſe acts derived their validity from her: nor was any thing more unheard of among Chriſtians than the proceeding of thoſe times.

Burn. 2. part. 1. 111. p. 385. 400. 402. 397. &c.

XV. The Parliament continues to attribute to themſelves the deciſion of points of Faith.

The *Parliament* pronounced directly in regard to Hereſy; regulated the conditions under which Doctrine was to be judged heretical; and where theſe conditions were wanting, forbad the condemning of it; and *reſerved to itſelf the cognizance thereof.* The matter in hand is not to examine, whether the rule, which the *Parliament* preſcribed, be good or bad, but whether the *Parliament*, a ſecular body, whoſe acts receive their ſanction from the Prince, be impower'd to decide in matters of Faith, and *reſerve to itſelf the cognizance thereof*; that is, whether they may challenge it to themſelves, and take away the exerciſe of it from the Biſhops on whom *Chriſt* had beſtow'd it: for the *Parliament*'s ſaying, *they would judge with the aſſent of the Clergy in their Convocation*, was nothing but a ſham; ſince,

Ibid. 386.

Ibid.

ſince, when all is ſaid, this was ſtill reſerving to the *Parliament* the ſupreme authority, and hearing the Paſtors rather as Counſellors whoſe lights they borrow'd, than as natural Judges, to whom only the deciſion appertain'd of divine right. I cannot think a Chriſtian heart can hear of ſuch an invaſion of the paſtoral authority and the rights of the Sanctuary without a ſigh.

XVI. On what is grounded the validity of the *Engliſh* Ordinations.

But leſt it ſhould be imagined, that all theſe attempts of the ſecular authority on the rights of the Sanctuary, were nothing but uſurpations of the *Laity*, the *Clergy* not conſenting to them, and this under pretext of the above explanation given by the ſaid *Clergy* to the *Queen*'s Supremacy in the thirty ſeventh article of the *Confeſſion* of *Faith*; what precedes and what follows, evince the contrary. What precedes, foraſmuch as this Synod being compoſed, as juſt obſerved, of both houſes of the Clergy intending to ſet forth the validity of the ordination of *Biſhops*, of *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, grounds it on a form contain'd *in the book of Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and ordaining of Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the time of King* Edward *the ſixth, and confirmed by authority of Parliament.* Weak Biſhops! wretched Clergy! who chuſe rather to take the form of their Ordination from a book made *lately*, but ten years ago in King *Edward*'s time, and confirmed by the authority of *Parliament*, than from the *Sacramentary* of St. *Gregory*, the author of their converſion, wherein they might ſtill read the form, according to which their Predeceſſors and the holy Monk St. *Auguſtin*, their firſt Apoſtle, had been conſecrated; altho' this book was warranted, not indeed by the authority of *Parliaments*, but by the univerſal tradition of all Chriſtian Churches.

Syn. Lond. Art. 36.
Synt. Gen. p. 107.
Rur. 385.
Ibid.

Upon

Upon this it was that theſe Biſhops founded the validity of their Conſecration, and the Orders of their Prieſts and Deacons; and this was done purſuant to a decree of *Parliament* in 1559, wherein the doubt concerning Ordination was ſolved by an Act authorizing the book of Ordination, which was join'd to King *Edward*'s Liturgy: ſo that had not the Parliament made theſe Acts, the Ordinations of their whole Clergy had ſtill remain'd dubious.

XVII. Sequel of this matter.

Burn. Ibid. p. 392.

The *Biſhops* and their *Clergy* who had thus enſlaved the Eccleſiaſtical authority, conclude in a manner anſwerable to ſuch a beginning; when, after having ſet forth their Faith in all the foregoing articles to the number of thirty nine, they conclude with this ratification, wherein they declare, *That theſe articles being authorized by the conſent and aſſent of Queen* Elizabeth, *ought to be received and executed throughout the whole realm of* England. Where we find the *Queen*'s approbation, and not only *her conſent* by ſubmiſſion, but alſo her *aſſent*, as I may ſay, by expreſs deliberation, mention'd in the Act as a condition that makes it valid; inſomuch that the decrees of Biſhops in matters the moſt within the verge of their Miniſtry, receive their laſt form and validity, in the ſame ſtyle with Acts of *Parliament*, from the Queen's approbation, theſe weak Biſhops never daring all this while to remonſtrate, after the example of all paſt Ages, that their decrees, of themſelves valid and by that ſacred authority, which *Jeſus Chriſt* had annexed to their character, required nothing elſe from the regal power, but an entire ſubmiſſion and exterior protection. Thus, whilſt they forget the primitive inſtitutions of their *Church* together with the *Head* whom *Jeſus Chriſt* had given them, and ſet up Princes for their Heads whom

XVIII. Deciſions of Faith reſerved to the authority royal, by the declaration of the Biſhops.

whom *Jeſus Chriſt* had not appointed for that end, they degraded themſelves to that pitch, that no Eccleſiaſtical Act, not even thoſe which regard *Preaching*, *Cenſures*, *Liturgy*, *Sacraments*, nay *Faith* itſelf, have any force in *England*, but inaſmuch as they are approved and made valid by *Kings*; which in the main gives to *Kings* more than the *Word*, and more than the adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*, ſince it renders them the ſovereign arbiters of one and the other.

XIX. The ſame Doctrine in *Scotland*. MD LXVIII. *Synt. Gen.* 1 *part p.* 109. *ibid.* 126. 1581.

'Tis for the ſame reaſon that we behold the firſt *Confeſſion* of *Scotland*, ſince ſhe became *Proteſtant*, publiſh'd in the name of the *Parliament*; and a ſecond *Confeſſion* of the ſame kingdom, bearing this title: *A general confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith according to the word of God, and the acts of our Parliaments.*

A great multitude of different declarations was requiſite to explain how theſe Acts did not attribute the *Epiſcopal* juriſdicton to the *Crown*: but all was nothing but mere words, ſince, when all is ſaid, it ſtill ſtands inconteſtable that no Eccleſiaſtical Act hath any force in that kingdom, no more than in *England*, unleſs ratified by the *King* and *Parliament*.

XX. The *Engliſh* doctrine, which makes the King *Head* of the Church, condemn'd by the *Calviniſts*. *Syn. of Paris* 1565. *Syn. of Rochelle* 1571.

Our *Calviniſts*, I own, ſeem far remote from this Doctrine; and I find, not only in *Calvin*, as already obſerved, but alſo in the national Synods, expreſs condemnations of thoſe who confound the Civil government, with that of the Church, *By making the Magiſtrate Head of the Church, or by ſubjecting the Eccleſiaſtical government to the people.* But there is nothing but will go down with theſe men, provided you are an enemy to the *Pope* and *Rome*: inſomuch that, by ſtreſs of equivocations and explanations the *Calviniſts* were gain'd, and brought in *England* even to ſubſcribe the Supremacy.

It

It appears by the whole tenor of the acts, which I have reported, how vain it is to pretend that, in the reign of *Elizabeth*, this Supremacy was reduced to more reaſonable terms than in the precedent reigns, there being, on the contrary, no alteration to be found in the main. Among other fruits of the Supremacy, one was, the *Queen*'s invading the revenues of the Church under the pretence of *giving the full value of them*, even thoſe of the Biſhops, ſuch as, till then, had remain'd ſacred and inviolate. Treading in the ſteps of the *King* her Father, towards binding the nobility in the intereſts of the *Supremacy* and *Reformation*, ſhe made them a preſent of a ſhare in theſe conſecrated goods, and this ſtate of the Church enſlaved both in her temporals and ſpirituals, is call'd the *Engliſh* Reformation, the re-eſtabliſhment of Evangelical purity.

XXI. All that remain'd to the Church ſeiz'd upon. *Burn. l.* III. 394. &c. *Thuan. lib.* xxi. M D LIX. *Burn. l.* III. *p.* 394.

Nevertheleſs, if we may form a judgment of this Reformation according to the Goſpel-rule, by its fruits, there was never any thing more deplorable: ſeeing the effect which this miſerable ſubjection of the Clergy did produce, was, that from thence forwards Religion was no more than a ſtate-engine always veering at the breath of the Prince. *Edward*'s Reformation, which had intirely changed that of *Henry* VIIIth, was changed itſelf in an inſtant under *Mary*, and *Elizabeth* deſtroy'd in two years all that *Mary* had done before.

XXII. A remarkable paſſage in Mr. *Burnet*, concerning the *Engliſh* Reformation.

The Biſhops, reduced to fourteen in number, ſtood firm, together with about fifty or ſixty Eccleſiaſticks: but, excepting ſo ſmall a number in ſo great a kingdom, all the reſt paid obedience to the *Queen*'s injunctions, yet with ſo little goodwill for the new Doctrine they were made to embrace, *that probably*, ſays Mr. *Burnet*, *if Queen*

P. 401.

Ibid.

Elizabeth *had not lived long, and a Prince of another Religion had ſucceeded before the death of all that generation, they had turned about again to the old ſuperſtitions as nimbly as they had done in Queen* Mary's *time.*

XXIII. *Inamiſſibility* of juſtice rejected by the Church of *England.* *Synt. Gen.* 1. *part. Conf. Aug. Art.* xvi. xvii. *p.* 102.

In this ſame *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, which had been confirm'd under *Elizabeth* in 1562, there are two important points relating to Juſtification. In one of them, the *Inamiſſibility* of juſtice is rejected clearly enough by this declaration. *After we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from grace given, and ariſe again, and amend our lives.* In the other, the certainty of predeſtination ſeems quite excluded, when, after ſaying that *The doctrine of predeſtination is full of comfort to Godly perſons, by confirming their Faith of eternal ſalvation to be enjoy'd through Jeſus Chriſt*, they add, *It is a downfall for carnal perſons either into deſperation, or into wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living.* And, in concluſion, that *we muſt receive God's promiſes, as they be* GENERALLY *ſet forth to us in holy Scripture: and in our doings, that will of God is to be follow'd, which we have expreſly declared unto us in the word of God*; the which ſeems to exclude that ſpecial certitude, whereby each of the faithful is obliged to believe in particular, as of Faith, that he is in the number of the elect, and comprehended within that abſolute decree, by which God wills their ſalvation: a Doctrine not agreeable, it ſeems, to the *Proteſtants* of *England*, altho' they not only bear with it in the *Calviniſts*, but alſo the deputies from their Church have confirm'd it, as we ſhall ſee, in the Synod of *Dort.* Book xiv.

XXIV. The beginning of the diſturbances in

Queen *Elizabeth* encouraged underhand that diſpoſition which thoſe of *France* were in towards a rebellion: near the ſame time that the *Engliſh* Reformation

Reformation was modell'd, under that *Queen*, they declared themſelves. Our *Reform'd*, after about thirty years, grew weary of deriving their glory from their ſufferings; their patience could hold out no longer; nor did they from that time, exaggerate their ſubmiſſion to our Kings. This ſubmiſſion laſted but whilſt they were in a capacity of curbing them. Under the ſtrong reigns of *Francis* I. and *Henry* II. they were in reality very ſubmiſſive, and made no ſhew of an intention to levy war. The reign no leſs weak than ſhort of *Francis* II. inſpired them with boldneſs. The fire, ſo long conceal'd, flamed out in the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*. Yet a ſufficient ſtrength ſtill remain'd in the Government to have quench'd it at the beginning: but during the minority of *Charles* the ninth and under the regency of a *Queen*, all whoſe policy aſpired no further than to maintain her power by dangerous and trimming meaſures, the revolt became intire and the conflagration univerſal over all *France*. A particular account of theſe intrigues and wars comes not within my ſphere, nor ſhould I ſo much as have ſpoken of theſe commotions, if, contrary to all preceding declarations and proteſtations, they had not produced this new Doctrine in the Reformation, that it is lawful to take up arms againſt Prince and Country, in *Religion*'s cauſe.

France, fomented by *Elizabeth*. Change of the *Calvinian* Doctrine. *Burn. l.* III. *p.* 415. 416.

It had been well foreſeen, that the new reformed would not be ſlack in proceeding to ſuch meaſures. Not to trace back the wars of the *Albigenſes*, the ſeditions of the *Wickliffiſtes* in *England*, the furies of the *Taborites* in *Bohemia*, it had been but too apparent, what was the reſult of all the fine proteſtations of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*. The leagues and wars ſo much deteſted at firſt, as ſoon as ever the *Proteſtants* were

XXV. The *Calviniſts* took arms from maxims of Religion. *Thuan. lib.* XXVII. 1560. *T.* II. *p.* 17. *La Poplin.*

l. vii. *p.* 246. 255.

were ſenſible of their ſtrength, became lawful, and *Luther* added this new article to his Goſpel. The Miniſters too of the *Vaudois* had but juſt taught this Doctrine, when the war was commenced in the Valleys againſt their Sovereigns the Dukes of *Savoy*. The new *Reformed* of *France* were not backward to follow theſe examples, nor is there any doubt but they were ſpirited up to it by their Doctors.

XXVI. *Beza* owns that the conſpiracy *Amboiſe* was enter'd upon from a maxim of conſcience.

As for the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, all Hiſtorians teſtify as much; nay; *Beza* owns it in his Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. It was from the influence of their Doctors, that the Prince of *Condè* believed himſelf innocent, or ſeem'd to believe it, altho' ſo heinous an attempt had been undertaken by his orders. It was reſolved on by the Party, to furniſh him *with men and money*, to the end *he might have a competent force:* ſo that the deſign then on foot, after the ſeizure of the two *Guiſes* in the Caſtle itſelf of *Amboiſe* where the King was in perſon, and forcibly carrying them away, was nothing leſs than from that very time to light up the torch of civil war throughout the whole kingdom. The whole body of the *Reformation* came into this deſign, and on this occaſion the Province of *Xaintonge* is praiſed by *Beza, for having done their duty like the reſt.* The ſame *Beza* teſtifies an extream regret, that ſo juſt an enterprize ſhould have fail'd, and reſolves the bad iſſue of it into the perfidiouſneſs of certain people.

Thuan. T. 1. *l.* xxiv. *p.* 752. *La Poplin. liv.* vi. *Bez. Hiſt. Eccl. liv.* III. *p.* 250. 254. 270. MDLX. *Ibid.* 313.

XXVII. Four demonſtrations that the riot of *Amboiſe* was the handy-work of

The *Proteſtants*, it is true, were deſirous of giving to this enterprize, as they do to all others of this nature, a pretext of publick good, in order to inveigle ſome Catholicks into it, and to skreen the Reformation from the infamy of ſo wicked an attempt. But four reaſons demonſtrate its being, at the bottom, an affair of Religion,

and

and an enterprize carried on by the Reformed. In the firſt place, becauſe it was ſet on foot occaſionally from the executions of ſome of the Party, and eſpecially of *Anne du Bourg*, that famous pretended Martyr. *Beza*, after relating this execution together with the other evil treatments the *Lutherans* underwent (then all the Reformed were ſo call'd) introduces the hiſtory of this conſpiracy, and at the head of the motives which gave birth to it, places *Theſe manifeſtly tyrannical ways of proceeding, and the menaces that on this occaſion were levelled at the greateſt men of the kingdom*, ſuch as the Prince of *Condè* and the *Chaſtillons*. Then it was, ſays he, *that many Lords awaked as from a profound ſleep: ſo much the more*, continues this Hiſtorian, *as they conſidered, that the Kings* Francis *and* Henry *never would attempt any thing againſt the men of* quality, *contenting themſelves with awing the great ones by the correction of the meaner ſort; that now quite different meaſures were taken*; whereas, *in conſideration of the number concern'd, they ſhould have applied leſs violent remedies, rather than thus open a gate to a million of ſeditions.*

Proteſtants and that the motive to it was Religion. Firſt demonſtration.

The Confeſſion is ſincere, I muſt own. Whilſt nothing but the dregs of the people were puniſh'd, the Lords of the Party did not ſtir, but let them go quietly to execution. When they, like the reſt, were threaten'd, they bethought themſelves of their weapons, or, as the author expreſſes it, *Each man was forced to look at home, and many began to range themſelves together, to provide for a juſt defence, and to re-ſettle the ancient and lawful government of the kingdom.* This laſt word was neceſſary to diſguiſe the reſt: but what goes before, ſhews plainly enough the deſign in hand, and the ſequel evinces it ſtill more clearly. For theſe means of *a juſt defence* imported,

XXVIII. Second demonſtration, wherein the advice of *Beza* and the Divines of the Party, is reported.

Ibid. 249. ported, that the thing *Having been propoſed to Lawyers and men of renown in* France *and* Germany, *as likewiſe to the moſt learned Divines; it was diſcover'd that they might lawfully oppoſe the Government uſurpt by the* Guiſes, *and take up arms, in caſe of need, to repel their violence, provided the Princes of the blood, who in ſuch caſes are born lawful Magiſtrates, or one of them, would but undertake it, eſpecially at the requeſt of the Eſtates of* France, *or of the moſt ſound part thereof.* Here then is a ſecond demonſtration againſt the new *Reformation*, becauſe the Divines, whom they conſulted, were *Proteſtants*, as it is expreſly ſpecified by *Thuanus*, with them an unexceptionable author. And *Beza* inſinuates it plainly enough, when he ſays, they took the advice *of the moſt learned Divines*, who, in his judgment, could be none elſe but the *Reformed*. As much may we believe in regard of the *Lawyers*, no *Catholick* having ever been ſo much as named.

Lib. xxiv. *p.* 372. *Edit. Gen.*

XXIX. Third demonſtration.

A third demonſtration, ariſing from the ſame words is, that theſe Princes of the blood, *born Magiſtrates in this affair*, were reduced to the ſole Prince of *Condè* a declared *Proteſtant*, altho' there were five or ſix more at the leaſt, and amongſt others, the King of *Navarre*, the Prince's elder Brother and firſt Prince of the blood; but whom the Party fear'd rather than depended on: a circumſtance that leaves not the leaſt doubt that the deſign of the new *Reformation* was to command the enterprize.

XXX. Fourth demonſtration.

La Poplin. Ibid. 164. &c.

Nay, not only the Prince is the ſole perſon placed at the head of the whole Party, but, what makes the fourth and laſt conviction againſt the Reformation. *This the moſt ſound part of the Eſtates*, whoſe concurrence was demanded, were almoſt all *reformed*. The moſt important and the moſt ſpecial orders were addreſſed to them, and

and the enterprize regarded them alone. For the end they propoſed to themſelves therein was, as *Beza* owns, that *A Confeſſion of Faith might be preſented to the King aſſiſted by a good and lawful counſel.* It is plain enough, *this counſel would never have been good and lawful*, unleſs the Prince of *Condè* with his Party had govern'd it, and the *Reformed* obtain'd all they had a mind to. The action was to begin by a requeſt they would have preſented to the King for obtaining liberty of conſcience; and he who managed the whole affair, was *la Renaudie*, a man condemn'd to rigorous penalties for forgery, by a decree in *Parliament*, at which court he ſued for a benefice; after this, ſheltering himſelf at *Geneva*, turning Heretick out of ſpite, *burning with a deſire of revenge and of defacing by ſome bold action the infamy of his condemnation*, he undertook to ſtir up to rebellion, as many diſaffected perſons as he could meet with; and at laſt retiring into the houſe of a *Huguenot* Lawyer at *Paris*, had the direction of all matters in conjunction with *Antony Chandieu*, the Proteſtant Miniſter of *Paris*, who afterwards gave himſelf the name of *Sadael.*

Hiſt. Eccl. l. III. *p.* 313.

Thuan. Ibid. 733. 738.

XXXI. The *Huguenots* that diſcover'd the conſpiracy, do not juſtify the Party.

True it is, the *Huguenot* Lawyer, with whom he lodged, and *Ligueres* another *Huguenot*, had a horror of ſo atrocious a crime, and diſcover'd the plot: but that does not excuſe the Reformation, but ſhews only, there were ſome particular men in the ſect, whoſe conſcience was better than that of the *Divines* and *Miniſters*, and that of *Beza* himſelf and the whole body of the Party, who ran headlong into the conſpiracy over all the Provinces of the Realm. And truly, we have ſeen the ſame *Beza* accuſing *of perfidiouſneſs* theſe two faithful ſubjects, who alone of all the Party, had an abhorrence of and diſcover'd the plot: ſo that, in the judgment of the Miniſters, thoſe

Beza. Thuan. La Poplin. Ibid. S. n. 26. 1.

that came into this black conſpiracy, are the honeſt men, and thoſe who detected it, are the traytors.

XXXII. The proteſtation of the conſpirators does not juſtify them.

It is to no purpoſe to ſay, that *la Renaudié* and all the conſpirators proteſted, they had no deſign of attempting any thing againſt the *King*, or *Queen*, or the royal family: for, is a man to be deem'd innocent becauſe he had not form'd the deſign of ſo execrable a parricide? was it ſo light a matter in a ſtate, to call in queſtion the *King*'s majority and elude the ancient laws, which had fixed it at fourteen years of age by the joint conſent of all the orders of the Realm? to preſume, on this pretext, to appoint him ſuch counſel as they thought fit? to ruſh arm'd into his Palace? to aſſault and force him? to raviſh from this ſacred *aſylum* and out of the King's arms, the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, on account that the *King* made uſe of them in his counſel? to expoſe the whole court and the *King*'s own perſon to all the violence and all the bloodſhed that ſo tumultuous an attack, and the night's obſcurity, might produce? in a word, to fly to arms over all the kingdom, with a reſolution not to lay them down, till the *King* ſhould be forced into a compliance with all that they deſired? were the particular injury done to the *Guiſes* here only to come in queſtion, what right had the Prince of *Condè* to diſpoſe of theſe Princes, to deliver them up to the hands of their enemies who as *Beza* himſelf owns, made a great part of the conſpirators, and to employ the ſword againſt them, as ſpeaks *Thuanus*, ſhould they not conſent voluntarily to relinquiſh all ſtate-affairs? what! under pretext of a particular commiſſion given, as *Beza* words it, *To men of a well-approved and wiſe conduct* (ſuch as *la Renaudie*) *in order to inquire ſecretly, yet thoroughly*

Ord. de Charles V. 1373. & 74. & ſeq. Vid. la Poplin. l. vi. 155. & ſeq.

Beza. 250. Thuan. 732. 738.

Beza. Ibid.

roughly and exactly, into all the employments heap'd upon the Guiſes, ſhall a Prince of the blood, of his private authority, hold them for legally convicted, and put them in the power of thoſe, whom he knows to be *Spurred on with the ſpirit of revenge for outrages received from them, as well in their own perſons, as thoſe of their kindred and relations*, for theſe are *Beza*'s words. What becomes of ſociety, if ſuch wicked attempts be allow'd of? but what becomes of Royalty, if men dare to execute them ſword in hand, in the *King*'s own Palace, ſeize on his Miniſters and tear them from his ſide, put him under tuition, his ſacred Perſon in the power of rebels, who would have poſſeſſed themſelves of his Caſtle, and upheld ſuch a treaſon with a war ſet on foot over all the kingdom? this is the fruit reſulting from the counſels *of the moſt learned* Proteſtant *Divines, and Lawyers of the beſt renown*. This is what *Beza* approves, and what *Proteſtants* defend even to this day.

Beza. *Ibid.* *Burn. l.* III. *p.* 415.

XXXIII. The ſupplineſs and connivance of *Calvin*.

Calvin is cited, who, after the contrivance had miſcarried, wrote two letters wherein he teſtifies, he had never approved it. But after having had notice of a conſpiracy of this nature, is it enough to blame it, without giving himſelf any further concern to ſtop the progreſs of ſo flagitious an undertaking? had *Beza* believed, that *Calvin* did as much deteſt this deed as it deſerved, would he have approved it himſelf, would he have boaſted to us the approbation *of the moſt learned Divines* of the Party? who does not therefore perceive, that *Calvin* acted here too remiſly, and provided he could exculpate himſelf in caſe of ill ſucceſs, was no wiſe averſe to the conſpirators hazarding the event? if we believe *Brantome*, the Admiral was in a much better diſpoſition: and the Proteſtant writers vapour much at

Crit. de Maimb. T. I *Lett.* XV. *n.* 6. *p.* 263. *Cal. Ep.* *p.* 312. 313.

Crit. Ibid. *Lett.* II. *n.* 2.

at what he wrote in the life of this nobleman, *viz.* that none durſt ever ſpeak to him about this enterpriſe, *Becauſe they held him for a man of probity, a man of worth, a lover of honour, who accordingly would have ſent back the conſpirators well rebuked, and detected the whole; nay, would himſelf have been aiding to quell them.* Yet nevertheleſs the thing was done, and the Hiſtorians of the Party relate with complacency, what ought not to be mention'd but with horror.

Brant. vie. del' Amiral de Chuſtil.

XXXIV. Reflexions on the uncertainty of hiſtories uſeleſs in this occaſion.

There is no room here for eluding a certain fact, by diſcourſing on the uncertainty of hiſtories and the partiallity of Hiſtorians. Theſe common-place-topicks are only fit to raiſe a miſt. Should our Reformed arraign the credit of *Thuanus*, whoſe works they printed at *Geneva*, and *whoſe authority*, we have been lately told by a Proteſtant hiſtorian, *none ever diſputed*; they have but to read *la Popliniere* one of their own, and *Beza* one of their chiefs, to find their Party convicted of a crime, which the *Admiral*, as much a *Proteſtant* as he was, judged ſo unworthy of a man of honour.

Crit. Ibid. n. 1. 4. *Burn. T.* 1. *Preface.*

XXXV. The firſt wars under *Charles* IX. in which all the Party concurred. MDLXII.

Yet this great man of honour, who had ſuch an abhorrence of the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe* either becauſe it did not ſucceed, or becauſe the meaſures were ill-concerted, or becauſe he found open war more to his advantage; made no ſcruple, two years after, of putting himſelf at the head of the rebellious *Calviniſts*. Then the whole Party declared themſelves. *Calvin* made no reſiſtance for this time, and rebellion was the crime of all his diſciples. Thoſe, whom their hiſtories celebrate as the moſt moderate, only ſaid, they ought not to begin. However, this was their joint opinion, that to ſuffer themſelves to be butcher'd, like ſheep, was not the profeſſion of men of courage: but, to be men of courage in this

La Poplin. l. viii. *Beza. T.* II. *l.* vi. *p.* 5.

this way, they muſt renounce the title of *Reformers*, and much more, that of *Confeſſors* of the Faith, and *Martyrs*: for it is not in vain that St. *Paul* ſaid after *David*, *we are accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter*; *and Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf: *Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep, in the midſt of wolves*. I have by me *Calvin*'s own letters well atteſted, wherein, at the beginning of the troubles of *France*, he thinks he does enough in writing to the Baron *des Adrets* againſt pillaging and violence, againſt image-breaking, and againſt the depredation of ſhrines and Church-treaſures *without publick authority*. To be ſatisfied, as he is, with telling the ſoldiers thus enrolled, *Do violence to no man, and be content with your pay*, adding nothing more; is ſpeaking of this militia as you do of a lawful militia: and it is thus that St. *John the Baptiſt* decided in behalf of thoſe who bore arms under their lawful Princes. The doctrine, which allow'd taking them up in the cauſe of Religion, was afterwards ratified, I don't ſay by the Miniſters in particular only, but alſo in common by their Synods, and it was neceſſary to proceed to this deciſion in order to ingage in the war thoſe *Proteſtants*, who from a ſenſe of the ancient principles of Chriſtian Faith, and the ſubmiſſion they had ſo frequently promiſed at the beginning of the new *Reformation*, did not believe that a Chriſtian ſhould maintain the liberty of conſcience otherwiſe than by ſuffering, according to the Goſpel, in all patience and humiltiy. The brave and wiſe *la Noüe*, who was at firſt of this opinion, was drawn into a contrary ſentiment and practice by the authority of the Miniſters and Synods. The Church was for that time *infallible*, and they yielded blindly to her authority againſt their own conſciences.

Rom. viii. 36.

Mat. x. 16.

Lukê, iii. 14.

Now

XXXVI. Decisions of the *Calvinian* national Synods, in approbation of taking up arms.

Now the expreſs deciſions relating to this matter were, for the moſt part, made in *provincial* Synods; but, that there may be no occaſion to ſearch for 'em there, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that theſe deciſions were precedented by the *national* Synod of *Lions* in 1563, *Art.* xxxviii. by particular facts of this import, " That a Mi-
MDLXIII. " niſter of *Limouſin* who, in other reſpects, had " behaved uprightly; terrified by the threats of " his enemies, had writ to the Queen-mother, " that he never had conſented to the bearing of " arms, although he had conſented and contri- " buted thereto. *Item*, that he had promiſed not " to preach till the King ſhould grant him leave. " Since that time, having a ſenſe of his fault, " he had made a publick confeſſion of it before " all the people, on a day of celebrating the " Supper, in the preſence of all the Miniſters of " the country and of all the faithful. The query " is, whether he may reſume his paſtoral charge? " the opinion is, he may: nevertheleſs, he ſhall " write to him by whom he had been tempted, " to notify to him his repentance, and ſhall in- " treat him to let the Queen know as much, and " all whomſoever this ſcandal to his Church " might have reach'd; and it ſhall be in the " breaſt of the Synod of *Limouſin*, to remove " him to ſome other place, as they ſhall think " moſt prudent. "

XXXVII. Another deciſion.

It is ſo chriſtian and ſo heroick an act, in the new *Reformation*, to make war againſt their *Sovereign* for Religion's ſake, that it's made criminal in a *Miniſter* to have repented of, and ask'd pardon for it of his *Queen*. Reparation muſt be made before all the people in the moſt ſolemn act of Religion, namely, at the *Supper*, for reſpectful excuſes made to the *Queen*; and ſo far muſt the inſolence be carried, as to have it declared

clared to her in perſon, that this tender of reſpect is recalled, to the end ſhe may be aſſured that from henceforth, they will have no manner of regard for her; nay, they are not certain, after all this reparation and retracting, whether or no the ſcandal which this ſubmiſſion had cauſed amongſt the reform'd people, would be quite defaced. Therefore it cannot be denied, that obedience was ſcandalous to them: thus it is decided by a *national* Synod. But here is, in the forty eighth article, another deciſion which will not appear leſs wonderful: *An Abbot arrived to the knowledge of the Goſpel, had burnt all his titles, and theſe ſix years, hath not ſuffered Maſs to be ſung in the Abby.* What a Reformation! but here lies the ſtreſs of his encomium: *Nay, hath always comported himſelf* FAITHFULLY AND BORN ARMS FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE GOSPEL. A holy Abbot indeed, who far remote from *Popery*, no leſs than from the diſcipline of St. *Bernard* and St. *Benedict*, would not endure either *Maſs* or *Veſpers* in his Abby, whatever might have been the Founders expreſs injunction; and moreover, diſſatisfied with thoſe ſpiritual weapons which St. *Paul* ſo much recommended, yet too feeble for our warriors courage, hath generouſly carried arms, and drawn the ſword againſt his Prince in defence of the new Goſpel. *Let him be admitted to the Supper*, concludes the whole *national* Synod, and this Myſtery of peace becomes the ſalary of that war he had waged againſt his country.

XXXVIII. The ſame Doctrine perpetuated in the ſucceeding Synods till our days.

This tradition of the Party hath been handed down to ſubſequent times ſucceſſively; and the Synod of *Alais* in 1620, return thanks to Mr. *de Chaſtillon* for his letter wherein *He proteſted to them, that he would employ whatever was in his power, after the example of his Predeceſſors, for the*

the advancement of the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. This was their ſtile. The juncture of times, and the affairs of *Alais* explain the intention of this Lord; and what the Admiral *de Chaſtillon* and *Dandelot* his predeceſſors meant by the kingdom of *Chriſt*, is well known.

XXXIX. What was the ſpirit of the Huguenots in theſe wars.

The Miniſters, who taught this doctrine, thought to impoſe upon the world, by ſetting up that fine diſcipline in their troops ſo much commended by *Thuanus*. It laſted indeed about three months: after this, the Soldiers ſoon tranſported into the moſt grievous exceſſes, thought themſelves well excuſed, if they did but cry out, *long live the Goſpel*; and the Baron *des Adrets* who knew full well the temper of this militia, upon his being reproach'd, as a Huguenot Hiſtorian relates, that after quitting them he had done nothing worthy of his firſt exploits, excuſed himſelf by ſaying, there was nothing he durſt not enterprize *with a ſoldiery, whoſe pay was revenge, paſſion, and honour*, whom *he had bereft of all hopes of pardon* by the cruelties he had ingaged them in. If we believe the Miniſters, our *Reformed* are ſtill in the ſame diſpoſitions; and the moſt voluminous of all their writers, the author of new ſyſtems, and the Interpreter of prophecies, has but lately publiſh'd in print, that *The fury, at this day, thoſe are in who have ſuffered violence, and* THE RAGE *they have conceived at being forced, ſtrengthens the love and attach they had to truth.* This, according to the Miniſters, is the ſpirit that animates theſe new *Martyrs*.

D. Aub. T. 1. l. III. ch. 9. p. 155. 156.

Jur. accompliſs. des Proph. Avis a tous les Chret.

Towards the middle of his Preface or Introduction.

XL. Whether the exam-

It ſerves not the turn of our *Reformed*, to excuſe themſelves, as to the civil wars, by the example of *Catholicks* under *Henry* III. and *Henry* IV. ſince beſides the incongruity of this *Jeruſalem*'s defending herſelf by the authority of

Tyre

Tyre and *Babylon*, they are very ſenſible, that the body of *Catholicks* which deteſted theſe exceſſes and remain'd faithful to their *Kings*, was always great: whereas, in the *Huguenot* Party, ſcarce two or three perſons of note can be found that ſtood to their loyalty.

ple of Catholicks vindicates the *Huguenots*.

Here again they make freſh efforts to ſhew, that theſe wars were meerly political, and nothing appertaining to Religion. Theſe empty pretexts deſerve not refutation, there needing no more to diſcover the drift of theſe wars, than to read the treaties of peace and the edicts of pacification, whereof liberty of conſcience, with ſome other privileges for the *Proteſtants*, was always the main import: but becauſe at this time, men are bent more than ever upon darkening the cleareſt fact, duty requires of me I ſhould ſpeak ſomething on this head.

XLI. Vain pretext of *Calviniſts* who pretend that theſe wars did not properly concern Religion.

Mr. *Burnet*, who hath taken in hand the defence of the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, enters alſo the liſts in vindication of the civil wars; but after a manner which ſhews plainly, he is acquainted with no more of our Hiſtory and Laws, than what he has pick'd up from the moſt ignorant and the moſt paſſionate of all *Proteſtant* authors. I forgive his miſtaking that famous *Triumvirate* under *Charles* IX. for the union of the King of *Navarre* with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, whereas, unqueſtionably, it was that of the Duke of *Guiſe*, of the Conſtable *de Montmorency*, and the Marſhal of St. *Andrew*: nor ſhould I even have thought it worth my while to have pointed out theſe ſorts of blunders, were it not that they convict him, who fell into them, of not having ſo much as ſeen one good author. 'Tis a thing leſs ſupportable to have taken, as he has done, the diſorder of *Vaſſi* for a premeditated enterpriſe

XLII. Illuſions of Mr. *Burnet* 2. *part*. *l*. III. *p*. 415. &c.

priſe of the Duke of *Guiſe*, with a deſign to break the edicts, altho' *Thuanus*, whoſe teſtimony he muſt not reject, and (except *Beza*, too prepoſſeſſed with paſſion to be credited on this occaſion) even *Proteſtant* authors aver the contrary. But to ſay that the Regency had been given to *Antony* King of *Navarre*; to deſcant, as he does, on the authority of a Regent; to affirm that this Prince, having outſtript his power in the revocation of the *Edicts*, the people might join themſelves to the firſt Prince of the blood after him, namely to the Prince of *Condè:* to carry on this empty reaſoning, and ſay, that, after the death of the King of *Navarre*, the Regency devolved to the Prince his Brother, and that the foundation of the civil wars was the refuſal made to this Prince *of the Government, to whom it of right belong'd:* is, to ſpeak plainly, of a man ſo poſitive, mixing too much paſſion with too much ignorance of our affairs.

Thuan. l. xxix. 77. *& ſeq. La Poplin. l.* vii. 283. 284.

2. *P. l.* 111. *p.* 416.

XLIII. His groſs blunders and great ignorance of the affairs of *France.*

For in the firſt place it is certain, that in the reign of *Charles* the ninth the Regency was conferred upon *Katherine* of *Medicis*, by the unanimous conſent of the whole kingdom, and even of the King of *Navarre*. Mr. *Burnet*'s Lawyers, who *proved*, as he pretends, that *no Women might be admitted to the Regency*, were ignorant of a ſtanding cuſtom, confirm'd by many examples ever ſince the time of Queen *Blanche* and St *Lewis*. Theſe ſame Lawyers, according to Mr. *Burnet*'s relation, preſumed even to ſay, *That two and twenty was the ſooneſt that any King of* France *had been ever held to be of age to aſſume the government*, contrary to the expreſs tenor of *Charles* the fifth his ordinance in 1374, which has always been a ſtanding law in the whole kingdom without any contradiction. To quote

Vid. la Poplin. l. vi. 155. 156.

Ibid. 616.

theſe

theſe Lawyers, and make *a law for France* of their ignorant and iniquitous deciſions, is erecting into a ſtate-law the pretexts of rebels.

XLIV. Sequel of Mr. *Burnet*'s fallacies.

Neither did the Prince of *Condé* ever pretend to the Regency, no, not even after the death of the King his Brother; and ſo far was he from calling in queſtion the authority of Queen *Katherine*, that, on the contrary, at his riſing in arms, he grounded himſelf on nothing but the ſecret orders he pretended to have received. But what deceived Mr. *Burnet* is, perchance, his having heard ſay, that thoſe who join'd themſelves to the Prince of *Condé* for the King's defence, who, they pretended, was a priſoner in the hands of the *Guiſes*, gave to the Prince the title of lawful *Protector* and *Defender* of the King and Kingdom. An *Engliſh* Man, dazzled with the title of *Protector*, imagined he ſaw in this title, according to the uſage of his Country, the authority of a *Regent*. The Prince never ſo much as dreamt of it, ſince even his elder Brother, the King of *Navarre*, was ſtill living: on the contrary, this empty title of *Protector* and *Defender* of the Kingdom, which in *France* ſignifies juſt nothing, was given him on no other account, but becauſe it was very well perceived, there was no lawful title that could be given him.

Thuan. l. xxix. 1562. *La Poplin. l.* viii.

XLV. The *French Calviniſts* extricate themſelves no better out of this difficulty. *Critiq. de P. Maimb. Let.* xvii. *n.* 5. *p.* 303. *Thuan. l.*

Let us then leave Mr. *Burnet* who, tho' a foreigner, pronounces thus premptorily on our laws, without knowing ſo much as the firſt rudiments. The *French* give the thing a different turn, and ground themſelves on ſome of the *Queen*'s letters, *who begg'd of the Prince to preſerve the Mother and Children and the whole Kingdom againſt thoſe who had a mind to ruin all.* But two convincing reaſons leave no ſhelter for this vain pretext. In the firſt place, becauſe the Queen, who in this manner addreſſed herſelf privately

xxix. *An.* 1552. *p.* 79. 81.

vately to the Prince, out-ſtretch'd her power; it being agreed that, the Regency was conferr'd upon her on condition that ſhe did nothing of conſequence, except, in counſel with the participation and by the advice of the King of *Navarre*, as the firſt Prince of the blood, and Lieutenant-general, eſtabliſhed by the conſent of the Eſtates in all the Provinces and armies during the minority. As therefore the King of *Navarre* was ſenſible, ſhe was driving all to ruin through that reſtleſs ambition ſhe was poſſeſs'd with of preſerving her authority, and that ſhe wholly turn'd on the ſide of the *Prince* and the *Huguenots*; the juſt fear he was in of their becoming maſters, and leſt the Queen, through deſpair, ſhould at length even caſt herſelf into their arms together with the King, made him break all the meaſures of this Princeſs. The other Princes of the blood join'd iſſue with him, no leſs than the chief men of the Kingdom and the *Parliament*. The Duke of *Guiſe* did nothing but by the orders of this King; and the Queen ſo well knew, ſhe exceeded her power in what ſhe requeſted of the Prince, that ſhe never durſt uſe any other words in her addreſſes to him, than thoſe of invitation: ſo that theſe ſo boaſted letters are nothing elſe, in reality, but the anxieties of *Katherine*, not the lawful injunctions of a Regent; ſo much the more (and it is the ſecond proof) as the *Queen* gave ear to the Prince but *for a moment*, and thro' the vain terror ſhe had conceived of being ſtript of her authority; inſomuch that it was eaſily believed, ſays *Thuanus*, ſhe would come off from this deſign as ſoon as ever ſhe ſhould get the better of her fears.

Thuan. l. xxvi. 787. &c.

Thuan. Ibid. 79.

XLVI. The *Calviniſts* convicted

Accordingly, the event diſcovers, that ſhe enter'd ſincerely into the meaſures of the King of *Navarre*, and thence forward never left negotiating

ting with the Prince in order to reclaim him to his duty. Wherefore, theſe letters of the Queen, and all that follow'd thereupon, are counted nothing by Hiſtorians but a vain pretext. Nay, *Beza* makes it plain enough, that all turn'd on Religion, on the breach of edicts, and on the pretended murder of *Vaſſi*. The Prince neither ſtirr'd nor gave orders to the Admiral to take up arms, but *Requeſted, and more than intreated by thoſe* OF THE NEW RELIGION *to grant them his protection, under the name and authority of the King and his Edicts.* by *Beza*. *L.* vi. *Ibid. p.* 4.

XLVII. The firſt war reſolved upon by the advice of all the Miniſters, and the peace concluded notwithſtanding their oppoſition. Teſtimony of *Beza*. *Ibid. p.* 6.

It was in an aſſembly, *at which were preſent the chief men of their Church*, that the queſtion was propoſed, whether they might in conſcience *execute juſtice* on the Duke of *Guiſe, and that with no great hazard*, for thus the caſe was worded; and the anſwer return'd was, that *It was better to ſuffer what might pleaſe God, putting themſelves only on the defenſive; ſhould neceſſity reduce the Churches to that point. Yet, whatever might happen, they ought not to be the firſt to draw the ſword.* Here then is a point reſolved in the new *Reformation*, that they may, without ſcruple, make war on a lawful power, at leaſt in their own defence. Now they took for an aſſault the revocation of the edicts: ſo that the *Reformation* laid it down for a certain Doctrine, that ſhe might fight for the liberty of conſcience in contradiction, not only to the Faith and practice of the Apoſtles, but alſo to the ſolemn proteſtation *Beza* had but juſt made at his demanding juſtice of the King of *Navarre*, viz. *That it appertain'd to the Church of God to ſuffer blows, and not to give them: but that he ought to remember, this anvil had worn out many a hammer.* This ſaying, ſo much extolled by the Party, proved a deceit, ſince after a while, the anvil itſelf fell to ſtrike *Ibid. p.* 3.

contrary to nature, and wearied with bearing
L. vi. *p.* 298. blows, repay'd them in its turn. *Beza* who glories in this conceit, in another place makes this important declaration in the face of all *Chriſtendom*, *That he had warn'd of their* DUTY *as well the Prince of* Condé *as the Admiral, and all the other Lords and men of every degree, that made profeſſion of the* GOSPEL, *to induce them to maintain, by* ALL MEANS POSSIBLE TO THEM, *the authority of the King's edicts and the innocence of the poor-oppreſſed; and ever after hath continued in this ſame will, exhorting, nevertheleſs, every perſon to uſe his arms in the modeſteſt manner poſſible, and to ſeek, next to God's honour, peace in all things, provided they do not ſuffer themſelves to be deceived and impoſed upon.* What a deluſion, to perſuade himſelf, whilſt he actually authorizes a civil war, that he has fulfilled his duty by recommending modeſty to a people up in arms! And as for peace, did he not ſee that the ſecurity he required for it, would always afford pretexts, either of keeping it at a diſtance, or of breaking it? in the mean time, he was by his preachments, as himſelf confeſſes, one of the principal inciters to the war: one of the fruits of his Goſpel was, to teach this new DUTY to ſubjects and officers of the Crown. All the Miniſters
L. vi. 280. 282. concurred in his ſentiments, and he owns himſelf, that when peace was mention'd, the Miniſters ſo much oppoſed it, that the Prince, reſolved on concluding it, was forced to exclude all of them from the debate: for they were bent to hinder the Party from ſuffering the leaſt exception to that Edict, which was moſt favourable to them, namely that of *January*. But the Prince, who had conſented, for peace ſake, to ſome light
Ibid. 283. reſtrictions, *Cauſed them to be read before the nobility, ſuffering none elſe, but the gentlemen hearing*

ing

ing arms, to ſpeak their opinions, as he declared openly in the aſſembly: ſo that the Miniſters, after that time, were neither heard, nor admitted to give in their advice; by this means peace was made and all the clauſes of the new Edict make appear, that nothing but *Religion* was contended for in this war. Nay it is manifeſt, had the Miniſters been hearken'd to, it would have been continued in hopes of gaining more advantageous conditions which they propoſed at large in writing, adding many things even to the Edict of *January*; and they made, ſays *Beza*, a declaration of them *To the end, poſterity might be informed, how they comported themſelves in this affair.* This therefore ſtands an external teſtimony, that the Miniſters approved the war, and were more bent than the Princes and the arm'd Soldiers themſelves, on purſuing it from the ſole motive of Religion, which, they pretend at preſent, was quite out of the queſtion; yet was the fundamental cauſe of the firſt wars by the conſent of all authors both *Catholick* and *Proteſtant.* *Ibid.*

XLVIII. The other wars are deſtitute of all pretext.

The reſt of the wars have not ſo much as a colour of pretext, the *Queen* then concurring with all the powers of the ſtate; neither was there any other excuſe alledged but diſcontents and contraventions: things that, when all is ſaid, have no kind of weight, but in preſuppoſing this error, that ſubjects have a right, in the cauſe of *Religion*, to take up arms againſt their *King*, altho' *Religion* preſcribes nothing but to ſuffer and obey.

XLIX. Anſwers of Mr. *Jurieu.* *Apol pour la reform.* 1. *part.*

I leave now the *Calviniſts* to examine, whether there be the leaſt appearance of ſolidity in all Mr. *Jurieu*'s diſcourſes, where he ſays, that this ſame is a quarrel *wherein Religion came in meerly by chance, and to ſerve for a pretext only*; ſince,

ch. x. *p.* 301. since, on the contrary, it is manifeſt, Religion was at the bottom of it, and the Reformation of the Government was nothing but a cloak to cover their ſhame, for having begun a war of Religion, after ſo many proteſtations how much they abhorred all ſuch conſpiracies.

But here is another kind of excuſe, which this artful Miniſter prepares for his Party as to the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, when he anſwers, that *Be it as it will, it is no otherwiſe criminal than by the Goſpel-rules.* It is then a trifle for *Reformers* who boaſt nought to us but the *Goſpel*, to form a conſpiracy that is condemn'd by the *Goſpel*; nor will they be much concern'd, provided it only militates againſt theſe ſacred ordinances. But what follows in Mr. *Jurieu* will make it evident, he underſtands as little of *Morality* as *Chriſtianity*, ſince he even dares to write theſe words: *The tyranny of the Princes of* Guiſe *could not be overthrown without a great effuſion of blood; the ſpirit of Chriſtianity ſuffers not that: but if this enterprize be ſcann'd according to the rules of worldly morality 'tis not at all criminal.* 'Twas nevertheleſs according to the rules of worldly *Morality*, that the *Admiral* condemn'd the conſpiracy as ſo ſhameful and deteſtable, and, according to the dictates of a man of honour, not barely of a Chriſtian, that he conceived ſuch a horror of it; nor is the corruption of the world arrived as yet to that pitch as to diſcover innocence in deeds, equally ſubverſive of all laws human and divine.

Ibid. ch. xv. *p.* 453.

Ibid.

The Miniſter ſucceeds no better in his deſign, when, inſtead of vindicating his pretended Reformers in their rebellions, he ſets himſelf to point out the corruption of the Court againſt which they rebell'd; as if *Reformers* could have been ignorant of that Apoſtolical command: *Obey your maſters, though they be froward.*

1 *Pet.* ii. 18.

His

His long recriminations with which he fills a Volume, are not a whit more to the purpoſe, ſince this the main queſtion will always return, whether thoſe they boaſt for the world's *Reformers*, have diminiſh'd, or increaſed its evils, and whether they are to be conſider'd as *Reformers* who correct them, or rather as ſcourges whom God ſends to puniſh them.

L. Queſtion concerning the ſpirit of the Reformation. Whether it was a ſpirit of meekneſs, or of violence. *Crit. T.* 1. *Lett.* viii. *n.* 1. *p.* 129. & *ſeq.* *Lett.* xvi. *n.* 9. *p.* 315. &c.

Here might that queſtion find place, whether it be true that the *Reformation*, as ſhe boaſts, never aim'd at eſtabliſhing herſelf by force: but the doubt is eaſily reſolved by all the above-mention'd facts. As long as the *Reformation* was weak, it is true, ſhe always ſeem'd ſubmiſſive; nay, gave out for a fundamental point of her Religion, that ſhe believed it, not only unlawful to uſe force, but even to repel it. But it was ſoon diſcover'd, this was of that kind of modeſty which fear inſpires, a fire hid in aſhes: for no ſooner could the *Reformation* attain to be uppermoſt in any Kingdom, but ſhe was for ruling uncontrol'd. In the firſt place, no ſecurity there for Prieſts and Biſhops: ſecondly, the true Catholicks were proſcribed, baniſhed, deprived of their goods, and in ſome places, of life by the Law of the ſtate, as for inſtance, in *Swedeland*. The fact is certain whatever may have been ſaid to the contrary. This was what they immediately came to who cry'd ſo loud againſt violence; and there needs but to conſider the acrimony, the bitterneſs, and inſolence which was diffuſed thro' the firſt books and the firſt ſermons of theſe *Reformed*; their bloody invectives, the calumnies they blacken'd our Doctrine with, the ſacrileges, the impieties, the idolatries with which they inceſſantly reproached us; the hatred they inſpired againſt us, the plunderings which were the reſult of their firſt preachments, *The ſpite* MDXIV.

Beza. l. 1. *p.* 16.

and violence which appear'd in their ſeditious libels ſet up againſt the *Maſs*; in order to form a judgment what was to be expected from ſuch beginnings.

LI. Sequel of the violent ſpirit, which predominated in the Reformation.

Ibid.

But many wiſe men, ſay they, condemn'd theſe libels: ſo much the worſe for the *Proteſtant* party, whoſe tranſports were ſo extream, that all the wiſe men who remain'd in it, could not repreſs them. Theſe libels were ſpread all over *Paris*, poſted up, and diſperſed in every ſtreet; *fixed even to the door of the King's chamber*; nor did the wiſe ones who diſapproved this, uſe any efficacious meaſures for its prevention. When that pretended Martyr, *Anne du Bourg*, had declared in the tone of a Prophet to the Preſident *Minard*, whom he challenged, that in ſpite of his refuſing to abſent himſelf and decline hearing his cauſe, he never ſhould ſit judge in it; the *Proteſtants* knew full well how to make good his prophecy, and accordingly the Preſident was murder'd towards the evening in entering his houſe. It was known afterwards, that *le Maitre and St. André*, both of them very averſe to the new Goſpel, would have met with the like fate, had they come to the Court: ſo dangerous a thing it is to offend the *Reformation* tho' weak! and we learn from *Beza* himſelf, that *Schart*, a relation of the Queen's, *a man ready for any execution*, and a moſt zealous Proteſtant, *made frequent viſits to the priſoners held in the Parliament-jail on the ſcore of Religion*. He could not be convicted of having ſtruck the ſtroke, yet we ſee, at leaſt thro' what channel the communication might flow; and, howſoever that may be, neither did the Party want men of deſperate reſolution, nor can any be accuſed of this combination but thoſe, who intereſted themſelves for *Anne du Bourg*. 'Tis no hard matter to vent prophecies,

Thuan. lib. xxiii. *An.* 1559. *p.* 669. *Beza. l.* 1. *la Poplin. l.* v. 144.

L. 111. 248. *An.* 1560.

prophecies, when ſuch Angels are at hand to execute them. The aſſurance of *Anne du Bourg* in foretelling ſo diſtinctly what was to happen, diſcovers plainly the good intelligence he had received; and what is ſaid in the hiſtory of *Thuanus*, in order to ſhew him a Prophet rather than an accomplice of ſuch a crime, ſmells rank of an addition from *Geneva*. We muſt not therefore wonder, that a Party which nurſed ſuch daring ſpirits, ſhould take off the mask as ſoon as ever a weak reign open'd a proſpect of ſucceſs, which we have ſeen, they never failed to do.

LII. Vain excuſes.

A new Defender of the Reformation is perſuaded, from the diſſolute behaviour, and whole conduct of the Prince of *Condé*, that there was *More of ambition than Religion in what he did*; and he owns, that Religion *was of no other uſe to him, than to furniſh him with inſtruments of revenge*. He thinks by that means to reſolve all into policy, and juſtify his own Religion: not reflecting, this is the very thing we charge them with; *viz.* that a Religion ſtiling itſelf *Reformed*, was ſo prompt an inſtrument of revenge to an ambitious Prince. 'Tis nevertheleſs the crime of the whole Party. But what does this author ſay to us of the pillaging of Churches and Veſtries, of breaking down Images and Altars? Why truly he thinks to clear all by ſaying that *the Prince neither by prayers, nor by remonſtrances, nor even by chaſtiſements could put a ſtop to theſe diſorders*. This is no manner of excuſe: 'tis a conviction of that violence, which reign'd in the Party, whoſe fury the very *Heads* could not reſtrain. But I am very much afraid that they acted by the ſame ſpirit with *Cranmer* and the reſt of the *Engiſh* Reformers, who, upon the complaints that were made againſt Image-breakers,

Crit. T. 1. *Lett.* 11. *n.* 3. *p.* 45. *& ſeq.*

Ibid. Lett. xviii. *p.* 331.

Ibid. Lett. xvii. *n.* 8.

Altho'

Burn. 2. *p. l.* 1. *p.* 9. *Altho' they had a mind to check the heat of the people and keep it within compaſs, yet were unwilling it ſhould be done after ſuch a manner, as to diſhearten their friends too much.* This was the caſe of the chief leaders of our *Calviniſts*, who, tho' they judged themſelves obliged in honour to blame theſe enormities, yet we do not find, they ever did juſtice on the authors of them. *Beza*'s hiſtory will ſuffice to ſhew, that our *Reformed* were always ready at the leaſt ſignal to run to arms, to break open priſons, to ſeize on Churches; nor was any thing ever ſeen more factious. Who is ignorant of the cruelties exerciſed by the Queen of *Navarre* againſt Prieſts and Religious. The towers from which the Catholicks were caſt headlong, and the deep pits they were flung into are ſhewn to this day. The wells of the Biſhop's palace at *Niſmes*, and the cruel inſtruments employ'd to force them to the *Proteſtant* ſermon, are not leſs known to the whole world. We have ſtill the informations and decrees, by which it appears that theſe bloody executions were the deliberate reſolves of *Proteſtants* in Council aſſembled. We have the original orders of Generals, and thoſe of Cities, at the requeſt of Conſiſtories, to compel *the Papiſts* to embrace the *Reformation by taxes, by quartering ſoldiers upon them, by demoliſhing their houſes, and uncovering the roofs.* Thoſe, who withdrew to eſcape theſe violences, were ſtript of their goods: the records of the Town-houſes of *Niſmes*, *Montauban*, *Alais*, *Montpellier*, and other Cities of the Party, are full of ſuch decrees: nor ſhould I mention them, were it not for the complaints with which our fugitives alarm all *Europe*. Theſe are the men, that boaſt their meekneſs. What a cruelty to perſecute ſuch people meerly for Religion, who warrant all they do

do from Scripture, and chant ſo harmoniouſly their *Pſalms* in Rhime! no fear, they ſoon found means to ſhelter themſelves from Martyrdom, after the example of their Doctors, who always were in ſecurity themſelves whilſt they encouraged others; both *Luther* and *Melanchon*, *Bucer* and *Zuinglius*, *Calvin* and *Oecolampadius* with all the reſt of them, ſpeedily betook themſelves to ſecure ſanctuaries: nor am I acquainted, amongſt the Heads of the *Reformers* with any, even falſe Martyrs, unleſs perchance ſuch a one as *Cranmer*, whom we have ſeen, after a repeated abjuration of his Faith, unreſolved to die in the profeſſion of it, till he was convinced, his renouncing it, would be unavailable to ſave his life.

LIII. Anſwer to thoſe, who might ſay, this is foreign to our ſubject.

But to what purpoſe, it may be objected, the reflecting on theſe paſt tranſactions, which a peeviſh Miniſter will ſay is only done to exaſperate 'em the more, and aggravate their misfortunes? ſuch fears ought not to hinder me from relating what appertains ſo manifeſtly to my ſubject; and all that equitable *Proteſtants* can, in a hiſtory, require from me is, that not relying wholly on the credit of their adverſaries, I alſo give ear to their own Hiſtorians. I do more than this, and not content with hearing them, I join iſſue with them on their evidence. Let our brethren open then their eyes; let 'em caſt them on the ancient Church, which, during ſo many ages of ſo cruel a perſecution, never flew out, not for a moment, nor in one ſingle perſon; but was ſeen as ſubmiſſive under *Dioclefian*, nay, under *Julian* the Apoſtate when ſhe was ſpread over all the earth, as under *Nero* and *Domitian*, when but in her infancy: there indeed appear'd the finger of God truly viſible. But the caſe is quite different, when men rebel as ſoon as able; and when their

wars

wars laſt much longer than their patience. Experience ſufficiently ſhews us in all kinds of ſects, that conceited opinion and ſtrong prejudice can mimick fortitude, at leaſt for a while; but maxims of Chriſtian meekneſs are never in the heart, when men ſo readily exchange them, not only for oppoſite practices, but alſo for oppoſite maxims, with deliberation and by expreſs deciſions, as it is plain our *Proteſtants* have done. Here is therefore a true *Variation* in their Doctrine, and an effect of that perpetual inſtability, which cannot but fix on their *Reformation* a character ſuitable to thoſe works which having but what's human in them, of courſe muſt *come to nought*, according to *Gamaliel*'s maxim. *Acts.* v. 38.

LIV. The aſſaſſination of the Duke of *Guiſe* by *Poltrot*, held by the Reformation as an act of Religion.

The aſſaſſination of *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe* ought not to paſs unmention'd in this hiſtory, foraſmuch as the author of this murder mingled his Religion with his crime. 'Tis *Beza* that repreſents to us *Poltrot* as *excited by ſome ſecret impulſe*, at the time he reſolved upon this infamous exploit; and in order to make us underſtand that this *ſecret impulſe* was from God, he alſo deſcribes the ſame *Poltrot* juſt ready to enter on the execution of this black deſign, *Praying to God moſt ardently, that he would vouchſafe to change his will, if what he intended was diſpleaſing to him; otherwiſe, that he would give him conſtancy, and ſtrength ſufficient to ſlay this tyrant, and by that means free* Orleans *from deſtruction, and the whole Kingdom from ſo miſerable a tyranny. Thereupon, and in the evening of the ſame day*, proceeds *Beza*, he ſtruck the ſtroke; that is, during this enthuſiaſm, and juſt riſing up from that *ardent prayer*. As ſoon as ever our *Reformed* knew the thing was done, *They ſolemnly returned thanks to God with great rejoycings*. The Duke of *Guiſe* had always been the object of their

L. vi. 267. MDLXII. *Ibid.* 268. *Ibid.* 269. *Ibid.* 290.

their hatred. No ſooner were they in a condition to effect it, but we have ſeen them conſpire his ruin, and this by the advice of their Doctors. After the riot of *Vaſſi*, altho' it was certain he had uſed all his endeavours to appeaſe it; the Party roſe up againſt him with hideous clamours; and *Beza* who carried their complaints to Court, acknowledges, *He had deſired and begg'd of God innumerable times, either to change the heart of the* Duke *of* Guiſe, *which, nevertheleſs, he could not hope, or that he would rid the Kingdom of him; whereof he calls to witneſs all thoſe who have heard his prayers and preachments.* It was therefore in theſe preachments, and in publick, that he made *innumerable times*, theſe ſeditious prayers; after the example of thoſe of *Luther*, whereby, we have above obſerved, he knew ſo well how to animate mankind, and ſtir up executioners of his prophecies. By the like prayers the Duke of *Guiſe* was repreſented as a harden'd perſecutor, from whom it was neceſſary to beſeech God that he would deliver the world by ſome extraordinary ſtroke of his Providence. What *Beza* ſays in his own excuſe, *That he did not publickly name the* Duke *of Guiſe*, is much too fond. What ſignifies the naming a man when you know both how to point him out by his characters, and explain yourſelf in particular to thoſe who might ſufficiently have underſtood you? theſe myſterious innuendo's in ſermons and divine ſervice, are more likely to exaſperate mens minds, than more expreſs declarations. *Beza* was not the only one that inveigh'd moſt bitterly againſt the Duke; all the Miniſters railed in the ſame manner. No wonder then, that amongſt ſo many *men diſpoſed for execution*, with which the Party abounded, ſome ſhould be found that thought they did God ſervice

Thuan. lib. xxix. *p.* 77. 78. *l.* vi. 299.

Ibid.

vice in delivering the *Reformation* from ſuch an enemy. The ſtill blacker enterprize of *Amboiſe* had met with the approbation of *Beza* and their Doctors. This in the conjuncture of the ſiege of *Orleans* when the bulwark of the Party together with this City was juſt falling into the Duke's hands, was of a far different importance; and *Poltrot* believed he did more for his Religion than *la Renaudie*. Accordingly, he talk'd openly of his deſign as of a thing that would be well approved of. Altho' he was known in the Party for a man ſworn to kill the Duke of *Guiſe* coſt what it would; neither the Generals, nor the Soldiers, nor even the Paſtors diſſuaded him from it. Believe who pleaſes what *Beza* ſays, that thoſe words were taken *for the vagaries of a giddy-headed perſon*, that would never have vented his deſign had he reſolved to execute it. But the more ſincere *d'Aubigné* is agreed, it was hoped in the Party, he would ſtrike the ſtroke: which, he ſays, *he had learnt from good hands*. It is alſo very certain, that *Poltrot* did not paſs for one that was hair-brain'd. *Soubize*, whoſe ſervant he was, and the *Admiral*, conſider'd him as a uſeful perſon, and employ'd him in affairs of conſequence; and the manner of his uttering himſelf ſpoke him rather a man reſolute at all events, than one *giddy-headed* and *crazy*. *He preſented himſelf* (they are *Beza*'s words) to Mr. *Soubize* a leading man in the Party *to acquaint him that he had reſolved with himſelf in cold blood to deliver* France *from ſo many miſeries, by killing the* Duke *of* Guiſe; *which he durſt boldly undertake*, COST WHAT IT WOULD. The anſwer which *Soubize* return'd him was not calculated to make him relent in his undertaking: for he only tells him *To do his accuſtomed duty*; and as for the matter propoſed, *God knew well how to take care*

Ibid. p. 268.

D'Aub. p. 1. *l.* 111. *ch.* xvii. *p.* 176. *Beza. Ibid.* 268. 295. 297.

Beza. Ibid. 267. 268.

of

of it by other means. So faint a reply, in an action which ought not to be ſpoken of without horror, muſt have diſcover'd to *Poltrot*, in *Soubizes* mind, either the apprehenſion that the thing would not be executed ſucceſsfully, or the deſign of exculpating himſelf, rather than an expreſs condemnation of it. The reſt of the chiefs ſpoke to him with no leſs indifferency: they were ſatisfied with telling him, *He ought to be aware of extraordinary vocations.* This, inſtead of diſſuaſion, was working up a belief in him that his enterpriſe had ſomething in it of heavenly and inſpired; and as *d'Aubigné* expreſſes it in his animated ſtile, *Their remonſtrances, under the appearance of diſſuading, really egg'd him on.* Accordingly, he was but the more determin'd on his black undertaking: he ſpoke of it to every body; and, continues *Beza*, *had his mind ſo bent on it, as to make it the common topick of his diſcourſe.* During the ſiege of *Rouen*, at which the King of *Navarre* was kill'd, this death being mention'd, *Poltrot, Fetching a deep ſigh from the bottom of his breaſt, ha!* ſays he, *this is not enough, a much greater victim muſt ſtill be ſacrificed.* When ask'd what it might be: he anſwer'd, *'Tis the great* Guiſe; *and at the ſame time, lifting up his right arm, This is the arm,* cry'd he, *that will do the deed, and put an end to our misfortunes.* The which he repeated often, and always with the like energy. All theſe diſcourſes ſpeak a man determin'd, ſcorning to conceal himſelf becauſe perſuaded he is doing a meritorious action: but what more diſcovers the diſpoſition of the whole Party, is that of the *Admiral*, whom they ſet up to the whole world as a pattern of virtue and the glory of the *Reformation.* I ſhall not ſpeak here of *Poltrot's* evidence, accuſing him and *Beza*, of having

D'Aub. T. 1. p. 176.

Thuan. l. xxxiii. 207.

having induced him to this deſign. Let us lay aſide the teſtimony of a witneſs, who hath perchance too much varied to be credited on his own word: but the facts averr'd by *Beza* in his hiſtory can't be called in queſtion, much leſs thoſe that are contain'd in the declaration which the *Admiral* and he jointly, on the aſſaſſin's accuſation, ſent to the *Queen*. Thereby then it remains evident, that *Soubize* diſpatch'd *Poltrot* with a packet of letters to the *Admiral* when ſtill near *Orleans* endeavouring to relieve the town: that it was with the *Admiral*'s conſent that *Poltrot* went to the Duke of *Guiſe*'s camp, and making ſhew as if repentant of bearing arms againſt the *King*, ſurrender'd himſelf to him: that the *Admiral*, who otherwiſe could not be ignorant of a deſign made publick by *Poltrot*, learnt from his own mouth that he perſiſted in it ſtill, ſince he owns that *Poltrot*, in departing on his enterprize, *went ſo far as to tell him, it would be an eaſy matter to kill the Duke of* Guiſe: that the *Admiral* ſpoke not a word to put him by it; nay, on the contrary, tho' conſcious of his deſign gave him at one time twenty crowns, and a hundred at another, to mount himſelf well: in thoſe days, a conſiderable ſupply, and abſolutely neceſſary both to facilitate his undertaking and eſcape. Nothing can be more frivolous than what the *Admiral* alledges in his own defence. He ſays, that when *Poltrot* mention'd to him his killing the Duke of *Guiſe*, *he, the Admiral, never open'd his mouth to incite him to undertake it.* There was no need of inciting a man, whoſe reſolution was ſo well taken; and to the end he might accompliſh his deſign, the *Admiral* had no more to do than, as he did, to diſpatch him to the place where he might execute it. The *Admiral* not content to ſend him thither, gives him money to

Ibid. 291. 308.
Ibid. p. 294. 295. *& ſeq.*
P. 209.
P. 308.
Ibid. 297. 391.

o ſupport himſelf there, and for the ſupply of ll neceſſaries for ſuch a deſign, not forgetting ven that of a good horſe and furniture. What he *Admiral* alledged farther, that he ſent *Poltrot* into the camp only to gain intelligence, is manifeſtly nothing but a cloak to that deſign, which e would not own. As for the money, nothing s more weak than what the *Admiral* replies, *viz.* hat he gave it *Poltrot*, *without ever ſpecifying to him the killing or not killing the Duke of* Guiſe. *Ibid.* *Ibid.* 297. But the reaſon he brings in his juſtification for not diſſuading him from ſo wicked an attempt, diſcovers the bottom of his heart. He confeſſes then, that *before theſe laſt troubles, he knew the men who had determined to kill the Duke of* Guiſe; *that far from inducing them to this deſign, or approving it, he had diverted them from it*, and even given notice of it to *Madam de Guiſe:* that, *ſince the affair of* Vaſſi, he had proſecuted the Duke as a publick enemy; *nevertheleſs it cannot be diſcover'd, that he* HAD APPROVED *any attempt ſhould be made on his perſon, till he had notice given him that the Duke had drawn in certain perſons to kill him and the Prince of* Condé. It follows therefore, that after this notice given (as to the truth whereof we ought not to believe an enemy on his bare word) *he did approve* attempting on the Duke's life: but, *ſince that time, he acknowledges, when he heard one ſay, if he could, he would kill the Duke of* Guiſe *even in his camp, he did not diſſuade him from it:* whereby is ſeen at once, that this bloody deſign was common in the *Reformation*, and that the chiefs of it the moſt eſteem'd for their virtue, ſuch was undoubtedly the *Admiral*, did not think themſelves under any obligation of oppoſing it; on the contrary, they concurred to it every the moſt effectual way they

were able: ſo little did an aſſaſſination diſturb their conſciences, provided *Religion* were its motive.

LV. Sequel. *p.* 308. Should it be ask'd, what could induce the *Admiral* to confeſs facts which bore ſo hard upon him? it was not from his ignorance of the difficulties he incurr'd: but, ſays *Beza*, *the Admiral being downright and truly ſincere, if any man of his quality ever was, made anſwer, that if afterwards, upon confronting, he ſhould happen to make ſome further Confeſſion, he might give occaſion to think, that even then he did not diſcover the whole truth*; that is, if rightly underſtood, this *ſincere and downright* man fear'd the force of truth at confronting, and prepared his ſubterfuges, as is uſual to guilty perſons, whoſe conſcience, and fear of being convicted, makes them often confeſs more than could be drawn from witneſſes. Nay it ſeems, if the manner of the *Admiral*'s explaining himſelf be well conſider'd, that he fear'd men ſhould think him innocent, that he ſhunn'd only the formal acknowledgement of a juridical conviction, and, what is more, took pleaſure in diſplaying his revenge. But the moſt politick thing he did for his acquittal was deſi-

Ibid. 308. ring that *Poltrot* might be kept to be confronted with him, relying on his alledged excuſes and the conjuncture of the times, which forbad driving to extremes the Chief of ſo formidable a Party. Neither was the Court ignorant of this, and accordingly the proceſs was concluded. *Poltrot*, who had retracted the charge brought in by him againſt the *Admiral* and *Beza*, perſiſted in acquitting *Beza*

P. 312. even to death: but as for the *Admiral*, he im-

319. 327. peach'd him afreſh by three declarations one after another even amidſt the tortures of his puniſhment, of having induced him to perpetrate this murder *for God's ſervice*. As for *Beza*, it doth not appear

appear, that he had any ſhare in this action otherwiſe, than by his ſeditious preachments, and the approbation he had given of the much more criminal conſpiracy of *Amboiſe:* but very certain it is, that before the fact was committed, he did nothing to prevent it, altho' he could not be ignorant of the deſign, and, when it was over, omitted nothing that might give it all the appearance of an inſpired action. The reader may judge of the reſt, and here is more than ſufficient to make it evident, what ſpirit thoſe were animated with, who thus boaſt their meekneſs.

LVI. *Catholicks and Proteſtants agreed on the queſtion of puniſhing Hereticks.*

There is no need here of explaining myſelf on that queſtion, whether or no Chriſtian Princes have a right to uſe the ſword againſt their ſubjects enemies to ſound doctrine and the Church, the *Proteſtants* being agreed with us in this point. *Luther* and *Calvin* have wrote books expreſly to make good the right and duty of the *Magiſtrate* in this point. *Calvin* reduced this to practice againſt *Servet*, and *Valentine Gentili*. *Melanchthon* approved of this procedure by a letter he wrote to him on this ſubject. The diſcipline of our *Reformed* likewiſe permits recourſe to the ſecular arm in certain caſes; and amongſt the articles of *diſcipline* of the *Geneva* Church, it appears that the Miniſters ought to inform the Magiſtrate againſt the incorrigible, who deſpiſe ſpiritual penalties, and eſpecially againſt thoſe, without diſtinction, who teach new doctrine. And even at this day, the author that moſt bitterly of all the *Calvinian* writers upbraids the *Roman* Church on this ſubject, with the cruelty of her Doctrine, ſubſcribes to it in the main, ſeeing he permits the exerciſe of the power of the ſword in matters of Religion and Conſcience: a thing which in truth cannot be call'd in queſtion without

Luth. de Magiſt. T. III. *Calvin. opuſc. p.* 592. *Ibid.* 600. 659. *Melanc. Calvino inter Calv. Ep. p.* 169. *Jur. Syſt.* II. *ch.* 22. 33. *Lett. Paſt. de la* I. *Année.* I. II. III. *Hiſt. du Papiſ.* 2. *Recrim. ch.* 2. *& ſeq.*

without enervating, and as it were maiming the power of the Legiſlature: ſo that there can't be a more dangerous illuſion, than to fix ſuffering for a characteriſtick of the true Church; nor do I know amongſt Chriſtians any but *Socinians* and *Anabaptiſts* that oppoſe this Doctrine. In a word, the right is certain, but moderation is not leſs neceſſary.

LVII. *Calvin's* death.

Calvin died at the beginning of theſe troubles: 'tis a weakneſs to look for ſomething extraordinary in the death of ſuch ſort of men; God does not always exhibit ſuch examples. Since he permits Hereſies for the trial of his Elect, we ought not to wonder, that, to compleat this trial, he ſuffers the ſpirit of ſeduction, with all the fine appearances wherewith it decks itſelf out, to predominate in them even to the end; and without further informing myſelf about *Calvin*'s life and death, 'tis enough, that he kindled a flame in his country which the effuſion of ſo much blood could not extinguiſh, and is gone to appear before God's judgment-ſeat without the leaſt remorſe for ſo great a crime.

LVIII. New Confeſſion of Faith of the Helvetick Churches.

His death made no alteration in the affairs of the Party; but the inſtability natural to new ſects was always furniſhing the world with ſome new ſpectacle, and *Confeſſions* of *Faith* went on at their uſual rate. In *Switzerland*, the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe, far from being ſatisfied with ſo many *Confeſſions* of *Faith* made in *France* and elſewhere in expoſition of their doctrine, were not even ſatisfied with thoſe that were made amongſt themſelves. We have ſeen that of *Zuinglius* in 1530, we have ſeen another publiſh'd at *Baſil* in 1532, and another of the ſame Town in 1536, another in 1554, agreed to with the joint conſent of the *Switzers* and thoſe of *Geneva*: all theſe *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, altho' ratified by

divers

divers acts, were not deem'd ſufficient; and it was neceſſary to proceed to a fifth in 1566. *Synt. Gen. 1. part. p. 1.*

The Miniſters, who publiſh'd it, were very ſenſible that theſe alterations, in a thing of that importance, and which ought to be ſo firm and dilucid as a *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, diſcredited their Religion. For which reaſon, they ſet forth a Preface, wherein they ſtrive to account for this laſt change; and here is the whole of their defence: *viz. Altho' many nations have already publiſh'd different Confeſſions of Faith, and they themſelves have alſo done the ſame thing by publick writings; nevertheleſs, they alſo propoſe this* (reader obſerve) *becauſe thoſe writings may perchance have been forgotten, or be ſpread in divers places, and explain the thing ſo much at large that all the world have not time to read them.* Yet it is viſible, that theſe two firſt *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, which the *Swiſs* had publiſh'd, ſcarce take up five leaves; and another, which might be tackt to them, is much about the ſame length; whereas, this laſt mention'd which ought to be the ſhorteſt has more than ſixty. And allowing their other *Confeſſions* of *Faith* had been forgotten, nothing was more eaſy than to publiſh them anew, were they contented with them; ſo that there was no neceſſity of publiſhing a fourth, but becauſe they found themſelves obliged to it for a reaſon they durſt not utter; which was the variety of new ſentiments continually riſing in their minds; and as they were not to own their daily loading their *Confeſſions* with ſuch novel fancies, they cloak their changes with ſuch frivolous pretexts.

LIX. The Miniſters frivolous reaſons for this new *Confeſſion* of *Faith*. *Ibid. init. Præfat.*

We have ſeen that *Zuinglius* was an Apoſtle and *Reformer*, without ſo much as knowing what was that Grace by which we are Chriſtians; and he who ſaved even *Philoſophers* by virtue of their

LX. Imputed juſtice begins but then to be known

amongſt the *Swiſs. Conf.* 1532. *Art.* ix. *Synt. Gen.* 1. *p.* 68. 1536. *Art.* 2. 3. *Ibid. p.* 72. *Conſenſ. Art.* III. *opuſc. Cal.* 751. *Conf. fid. c.* XV. *Synt. Gen.* 1. *part. p.* 26.

their morality, was an entire ſtranger to *imputed* Juſtice. Accordingly, nothing appear'd of it in the *Confeſſions* of *Faith* of 1532, and 1536. Grace was acknowledged there in ſuch a manner as Catholicks might have approved, had it been leſs indefinite; and nothing was ſo much as mention'd in them againſt the merit of works. In the convention made with *Calvin* in 1554, it appears that *Calviniſm* began to gain ground; and accordingly *imputed* Juſtice then ſhews itſelf: they had been reform'd near upon forty years without knowing this *fundamental* article of the *Reformation*. The thing was not thoroughly explain'd till in 1566, and it was by ſuch a gradation, that from *Zuinglius*'s exceſſes, they paſs'd inſenſibly to thoſe of *Calvin*.

LXI. The merit of good works how rejected.

Ibid.

In the chapter concerning good-works they ſpeak of them in the ſame ſenſe that other *Proteſtants* do, as the neceſſary fruits of Faith, and reject *their merit*, whereof, we have ſeen, not a word was ſaid in the precedent *Confeſſions*. To condemn them, they here make uſe of a ſaying often inculcated by St. *Auſtin*, but wrong quoted; for, whereas St. *Auſtin* ſays, and inceſſantly repeats it, that God *crowns his own gifts when he crowns our merits*, they make him ſay, *He crowns in us, not our merits, but his own gifts.* The difference of theſe two expreſſions is eaſily perceived, one of which joins the *merits* with the *gifts*, and the other ſeparates them. It ſeems nevertheleſs, as if they had a mind to inſinuate at the cloſe, that they condemn'd *merit* only as oppoſed to *grace*, their concluſion running thus: *We therefore condemn thoſe who ſo defend merit, as to deny grace.* In reality then, no error but that of the *Pelagians* is here condemn'd; for the merit, which we admit, is ſo little contrary to grace, that it is the very gift and fruit thereof.

In

In the tenth Chapter, true Faith is attributed to the ſole predeſtinated by theſe words: *Every man muſt hold it for unqueſtionable, that if he believes, and abides in Jeſus Chriſt, he is predeſtinated.* And a little further on: *If we communicate with Jeſus Chriſt, and he belong to us, and we to him, by true Faith, this is to us a ſufficiently clear and ſure teſtimony that we are written in the book of life.* Hence it is plain, that true Faith, namely juſtifying Faith, appertains only to the Elect; that this Faith and this Juſtice can never be loſt finally; and that temporary Faith is not the true juſtifying Faith. Theſe ſame words ſeem to conclude for the abſolute certainty of *Predeſtination*; for altho' they make it depend on Faith, 'tis a Doctrine received amongſt the whole *Proteſtant* Party, that a believer, in that he ſays, *I believe*, feels in himſelf the true Faith. But herein they are inſenſible of the ſeduction of our ſelf-love, of the mixture of our paſſions ſo ſtrangely complicated, that our own diſpoſitions, and the true motives we are acted by, are often what we, of all things, know with the leaſt degree of certainty; ſo that, in ſaying with that diſconſolate father in the Goſpel, *I believe*, how greatly ſoever we may think ourſelves moved, tho' we ſhould cry out lamentably as he did, and with a flood of tears; we ought nevertheleſs to ſubjoin with him, *Lord, help thou mine unbelief*, and ſhew by that means, that ſaying, *I believe*, is rather an effort in us to produce ſo great an act, than an abſolute certainty of our having produced it.

LXII. Faith appropriated to the elect. Certainty of ſalvation. Inamiſſibility of juſtice. *Cap.* x. *p.* 15.

Mark. ix. 24.

How prolix ſoever be the diſcourſe, which the *Zuinglians* make on *Free-will* in the ninth chapter of their *Confeſſion*, this little is all that's material in it. Three ſtates of man are well diſtinguiſh'd: that of his firſt inſtitution, wherein he

LXIII. Converſion ill-explain'd. *Cap.* ix. *p.* 12.

he had the power of inclining to good, and declining from evil; that of his fall, when unable to do good, he yet is *free to evil*, becauſe he *embraces it voluntarily, and by conſequence with liberty*, altho' God frequently prevents the effect of his choice, and hinders him from accompliſhing his evil purpoſes; and that of his regeneration, when, re-inſtated by the Holy Ghoſt *in the power of voluntarily doing good, he is free*, yet not fully, on accout of the infirmity of concupiſcence remaining in him: *acting, nevertheleſs, not paſſively*; theſe are their terms: odd enough, I own, for what is it to act *paſſively*? and how is it poſſible ſuch an idea ſhould enter any man's head? however, this manner of ſpeech pleaſed our *Zuinglians*. *Acting* (they continue to ſpeak of man regenerated) *not paſſively, but actively, in the choice of good, and in the operation by which he accompliſhes it*. How much was this ſhort of a clear and full explanation! they ought to have join'd to theſe three ſtates, that of man betwixt *corruption* and *regeneration*, when touch'd with Grace, he begins to bring forth the ſpirit of ſalvation amidſt the pangs of repentance. This ſtate is not that of *corruption* in which he wills nought but evil, ſince he begins, in this ſtate, to will good; and if the *Zuinglians* would not conſider it as a ſtate, it being rather a paſſage from one ſtate to another, they ought to explain at leaſt in ſome other place, that, in this paſſage and previouſly to regeneration, the effort man makes thro' Grace to convert himſelf, is not an evil. Our *Reformed* are ſtrangers to theſe neceſſary preciſions: they ought alſo to have explain'd, whether, in this paſſage, when drawn towards good by Grace, we can reſiſt it; and again, whether, in the ſtate of corruption, we do evil ſo of ourſelves

ſelves as not to be able even to abſtain from one evil rather than another; and laſtly, whether in the ſtate of regeneration, working good thro' Grace, we be ſo forcibly attracted to it, as not to have it then in our power to decline to evil. All theſe things were neceſſary to give a right underſtanding of the operation, and even notion of Free-will, which theſe Doctors leave confuſed by terms too indefinite and equivocal.

LXIV. Monſtrous Doctrine on Free-will.

But what ends the chapter diſplays ſtill better the perplexity of their thoughts. *We doubt not*, ſay they, *that men regenerate, or not regenerate, have equally their free-will in common actions, becauſe man, being not inferior to beaſts, hath that in common with them, to will certain things, reject others: thus he may ſpeak or hold his tongue, go out of doors, or remain within.* Strange Doctrine! to make us free like beaſts! they have not a more elevated idea of man's liberty, having ſaid a little before, that by *his fall he is not altogether changed into a log or ſtone*; which is as much as to ſay he wants but little of it. However that may be, the *Swiſs Zuinglians* aim no higher; nay, the *Proteſtants* of *Germany* grovel ſtill lower, when they ſay, that in man's converſion, to-wit, in the moſt noble action he is capable of, in the action by which he unites himſelf with his God; he acts no more than a *ſtone* or *log*, tho' he acts differently on other occaſions. How doſt thou debaſe thyſelf, O man, thus meanly accounting for thy free-will! But infine, ſince man is not a *log*, and, in ordinary actions, his Free-will is made to conſiſt in being able to do certain things, or not to do them; it ought to be conſider'd, that, not finding in ourſelves a different manner of acting in natural actions than we do in others, this ſame liberty accompanies us throughout; and that God knows how

P. 12. 13.

Concord. p. 662. §. 5. *S. lib.* viii. *n.* 48.

how to preſerve it, even when he elevates us by his Grace to actions ſupernatural; it being unworthy of his holy Spirit to make us act any more in theſe than in others, like to beaſts, or rather, like *ſtocks and ſtones.*

LXV. Our *Calviniſts* are more ſparing in their explanations, and why.

It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that we ſpoke nothing of any of theſe matters in treating of the *Confeſſion* of the *Calviniſts.* But the reaſon is, they themſelves paſs them all in ſilence, nor think it worth their while to ſpeak of the manner in which man acts: as if it were a thing indifferent to man himſelf, or did not appertain to Faith to know, in point of liberty, together with one of the moſt beautiful lineaments God has traced in man to make him *in his own Image,* that very thing which renders us worthy of blame or praiſe before God and man.

LXVI. The Supper without Subſtance, and the Preſence only in virtue.

The article of the Supper ſtill remains, in which the *Swiſs* will ſhew themſelves more ſincere than ever. Thoſe indeterminate phraſes, which we have ſeen them employ once only in 1536, by *Bucer*'s advice, and in condeſcenſion to the *Lutherans*, are no longer ſatisfactory to them. Even *Calvin*, their very good friend, cannot bring them over to the *proper Subſtance*, nor the incomprehenſible miracles, whereby the Holy Ghoſt, notwithſtanding the diſtance of place, makes us partakers of it. They ſay therefore, that indeed *We receive*, not an *imaginary nouriſhment, but the own Body, the true Body of our Lord given for us, but interiorly, ſpiritually, by Faith:* the Body and Blood of our Lord, *but ſpiritually by the Holy Ghoſt, who gives and applies to us the things which the Body and Blood of our Lord have merited for us, namely, the forgiveneſs of ſins, the deliverance of our ſouls, and life eternal.* This is then what is call'd *the thing received* in this Sacrament. This thing received indeed,

Cap. xxi. *p.* 48.

indeed, is the forgiveneſs of ſins, and ſpiritual life; and if the Body and Blood are alſo received, 'tis by their benefit and effect; or, as is afterwards ſubjoin'd, *by their figure, by their commemoration*, and not by their ſubſtance. For which reaſon, after having ſaid, *That the Body of our Lord is no where but in Heaven where he ought to be adored, and not under the ſpecies of Bread:* in order to explain the manner in which he is preſent, *He is not*, ſay they, *abſent from the Supper. Tho' the Sun be in Heaven abſent from us, he is preſent to us efficaciouſly*, that is, preſent by his virtue. *How much more is Jeſus Chriſt preſent to us by his vivifical operation?* who does not perceive that what is preſent to us only by its virtue, hath no need of communicating its proper ſubſtance? theſe two ideas are incompatible, nor hath any man ever ſaid ſeriouſly, he receives the proper ſubſtance of the Sun and Stars, under pretext that he receives their influences. Thus *Zuinglians* and *Calviniſts*, who of all, that have ſeparated from *Rome*, brag moſt of being united among themſelves, nevertheleſs reform each other in their ſeveral *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, and never could agree in one common and ſimple explanation of their Doctrine. P. 50.

LXVII. Nothing particular in the Supper.

True it is, that of the *Zuinglians* leaves nothing peculiar to the Supper. The Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is no more there than in any other actions of a Chriſtian; and 'twas in vain that *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid in the Supper only, with ſo much energy, *This is my Body*; ſince with theſe powerful words he was able to work nothing in it that is ſingular. This is the inevitable weak ſide of the *figurative* ſenſe, which the *Zuinglians* were well aware of, and own'd ſincerely: *This ſpiritual nouriſhment is taken*, ſay they, *out of the Supper; and how often ſoever a perſon believes, this*

this Believer hath already received and enjoyeth this food of everlasting life; but, for the same reason, when he receives the Sacrament, that which he receiveth, is not nothing: non nihil accipit. What is our *Lord*'s Supper reduced to? all they can say for it is, that what you receive in it, *is next to quite nothing. For*, proceed our *Zuinglians*, *we continue there to partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord:* so the Supper hath nothing singular in it. *Faith is stirr'd up, increases, is nourish'd with some spiritual food: for as long as we live, it receives a continual increase.* It receives therefore as much of all this out of the *Supper* as in the *Supper*, nor is *Jesus Christ* a whit more there than any where else. In this manner, after saying, that the particular thing received in the Supper, is not a meer nothing, and in fact reducing it to so small a matter; they are not yet able to tell us, what is that little they have left in it. Here is a great *vacuum*, I must own: 'twas in order to supply this emptiness that *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* invented their big swelling words. They thought to fill up this frightful chasm by saying in their Catechism, that out of the Supper, *Jesus Christ* is received *in part only*, whereas, in the Supper, he's received fully. But to what purpose promising such great matters when you mean nothing by them? I like far better the sincerity of *Zuinglius* and the *Swiss*, who own the scantiness of their Supper, than the false plenty of our *Calvinists*, in nothing sumptuous but in words.

LXVIII. The *Swiss* the most sincere of all the Defenders of the figurative sense.

Thus much am I then obliged to say in behalf of the *Zuinglians*, that their *Confession* of *Faith* is of all the most natural and simple; and this not only with reference to the Eucharistick point, but in regard to all the others; in a word,

of all the Proteſtant *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, that of 1566, with all its defects, ſpeaks the moſt clearly what it means to ſpeak.

LXIX. Remarkable Confeſſion of the *Polonian Zuinglians*, in which the *Lutherans* are roughly handled. M D LXX.

Amongſt the *Poliſh* ſeparatiſts from the Church of *Rome*, there were ſome that maintain'd the *figurative* ſenſe, and theſe had ſubſcrib'd in 1567, the *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, which the *Swiſs* had drawn up the year before. They reſted content with it for three whole years: but in 1570, they thought it reaſonable to frame another in a Synod held at *Czenger* which is to be met with in the collection of *Geneva*, in which they particularly ſignalize themſelves on the Supper-article.

Synod. Czen. Synt. Conf. part. 1. *p.* 148.

They condemn the *Reality*, as well *in reſpect to the delirium* of *Catholicks*, who ſay the Bread is changed into the Body, as *in reſpect to the folly* of the *Lutherans*, who place the Body with the Bread: they declare particularly againſt the latter, that the *Reality*, which they admit, cannot ſubſiſt without a change of *ſubſtance*, ſuch as happen'd in the waters of *Egypt*, in the wand of *Moſes*, and in the water at the nuptial feaſt of *Cana*: thus they clearly own that *Tranſubſtantiation* is neceſſary, even by the principles of the *Lutherans*. They hold them in ſuch abhorrence, as to vouchſafe them no other appellation than that of *eaters of human fleſh*, aſcribing every where to them *a carnal and bloody* manner of communicating, as if they eat raw fleſh. After condemning the *Papiſts* and the *Lutherans*, they ſpeak of others under error, whom they call *Sacramentarians*. *We reject*, ſay they, *the phrenſy of thoſe who believe that the Supper is an empty ſign of our abſent Lord*. By theſe words they aim at the *Socinians*, as introducers of an empty Supper, tho' unable to ſhew that their own is better furniſh'd, nothing at all being to be found in either of them, with reſpect to the Body and the Blood,

Cap. de Cæn. Dom. p. 153.

Cap. de Sacramentariis p. 155.

but

Ibid. p. 153. 154. *Cap. de Præſ. in Cœnâ. p.* 155.

but *ſigns, commemoration, and virtue.* To place ſome difference betwixt the *Zuinglian* and *Socinian* Supper, they ſay *in the firſt place, that the Supper* is not *the ſole memorial of Jeſus Chriſt abſent*, and make an expreſs chapter concerning the Preſence of *Jeſus Chriſt* in this myſtery. But endeavouring to expound it, they confound themſelves with terms that are not of any language, words ſo uncouth and barbarous, as not to be tranſlated. *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſay they, is preſent in the Supper both as God and man: as God, *Entèr, præſentèr*; render theſe words who can: *by his Jehoval divinity*, that is, in common ſpeech, by his divinity properly ſo call'd, and expreſs'd by the incommunicable name, *As the vine in its branches, and the head in its members.* All this is true, but nothing to the Supper, where the queſtion relates to the Body and Blood. They proceed therefore to ſay, that *Jeſus Chriſt*

P. 155. is preſent as man in four ways. *In the firſt place*, ſay they, *by his union with the word, inaſmuch as he is united to the word who is every where. Secondly, he is preſent in his promiſe by the word and by Faith, communicating himſelf to his elect as the vine communicates itſelf to its branches, and the head to its members, tho' diſtant from it. Thirdly, he is preſent by his ſacramental inſtitution, and the infuſion of his holy ſpirit. Fourthly, by his office of diſpenſer, or by his interceſſion for his elect.* They add, he is not preſent *carnally, nor locally*, it being requiſite he ſhould be *no where corporally till the day of univerſal judgment, except in heaven.*

LXX. Ubiquity taught by the *Poliſh Zuinglians.*

The three laſt of theſe four ways of Preſence are well enough known amongſt the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe. But will they be able to make us comprehend the firſt, agreeably to their ſentiments? have they ever taught, as the *Poles*

of

of their communion do, that *Jeſus Chriſt is preſent as man, in the Supper, by his union with the Word, becauſe the Word is every where preſent?* This is the reaſoning of *Ubiquitarians*, who attribute to *Jeſus Chriſt* an Omnipreſence as to place, even according to his human nature: but this extravagance of the *Ubiquitarians* is no where maintain'd but amongſt the *Lutherans*. The *Zuinglians* and *Calviniſts* reject it equally with the *Catholicks*. Yet this notion is borrow'd by the *Poliſh Zuinglians*, who, not fully ſatisfied with the *Zuinglian* Confeſſion which they had ſubſcribed, tack to it this new *Dogma*.

LXXI. Their agreement with the *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*.

They did more, and that very year united themſelves with the *Lutherans*, whom they had but juſt condemn'd *as groſs and carnal men*, as men who taught *a cruel and bloody* communion. They ſued for their communion, and thoſe *eaters of human fleſh* became their brethren. The *Vaudois* enter'd into this agreement, and all, aſſembled together at *Sendomir*, ſubſcribed what had been defined concerning the Supper-article in the *Confeſſion* of Faith call'd *Saxonick*.

But for the better underſtanding of this triple union betwixt the *Zuinglians*, *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*, it will be neceſſary to know who theſe *Vaudois* were, who then appear'd in *Poland*. It may not be amiſs to know moreover, what were the *Vaudois* in general, they being at laſt turn'd *Calviniſts*; and many *Proteſtants* doing them ſo much honour as to aſſert even that the Church, perſecuted by the *Pope*, preſerved her ſucceſſion in this Society: ſo groſs and manifeſt a deluſion, that I muſt ſtrive once for all to cure them of it.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XI.

A ſhort Hiſtory of the ALBIGENSES, the VAUDOIS, the WICKLIFFISTS, and HUSSITES.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

A ſhort Hiſtory of the Albigenſes *and* Vaudois. *That they are two different Sects. The* Albigenſes *are compleat* Manicheans. *Their origin explain'd. The* Paulicians *are a branch of the* Manicheans *in* Armenia, *whence they paſs into* Bulgaria, *thence into* Italy *and* Germany, *where they are called* Cathari; *and into* France, *where they took the name of* Albigenſes. *Their prodigious errors, and their hypocriſy are diſcover'd by all cotemporary authors. The illuſions of* Proteſtants *endeavouring to excuſe them. The teſtimony of St.* Bernard, *who is wrongfully accuſed of credulity. The origin of the* Vaudois. *The Miniſters in vain make them the diſciples of* Berengarius. *They believed* Tranſubſtantiation.

The

The ſeven Sacraments acknowledged by them. Confeſſion and ſacramental Abſolution. Their error, a kind of Donatiſm. *They make the Sacraments depend on the holineſs of their Miniſters, and allow the adminiſtration of them to pious lay-men. Origin of the Sect call'd the Brethren of* Bohemia. *That they are not* Vaudois, *which origin they contemn: nor the diſciples of* John Huſs, *tho' they brag of it. Their deputies ſent over all the World to ſeek for Chriſtians of their belief, without being able to find any.* Wickliff's *impious Doctrine.* John Huſs, *who glories in being his diſciple, abandons him in regard of the Euchariſt. The diſciples of* John Huſs *divided into* Taborites *and* Calixtins. *The confuſion of all theſe Sects. The* Proteſtants *can draw from thence no advantage for the eſtabliſhment of their Miſſion, and ſucceſſion of their Doctrine. The agreement of the* Lutherans, *of the* Bohemians, *and the* Zuinglians *in* Poland. *The diviſions and reconciliations of ſectaries make equally againſt them.*

'TIS incredible what pains our Reform'd have been at, in order to find themſelves predeceſſors in all foregoing ages. In the fourth age, of all the moſt illuſtrious, tho' none could be found but *Vigilantius* alone, that oppoſed the honour paid to Saints and the veneration of their relicks, he is look'd on by *Proteſtants* as the perſon who preſerved the *Depoſitum*, namely, the ſucceſſion of Apoſtolick doctrine, and is preferr'd to St. *Jerom* who has the whole Church on his ſide. For the ſame reaſon too *Aërius* ought to be conſider'd as

I. What is the ſucceſſion of *Proteſtants.*

the only one whom God enlightned in the ſame century, for he alone rejected the ſacrifice which every where elſe, in the *Eaſt* as well as the *Weſt*, was offer'd for the relief of the Dead. But unluckily he was an *Arian*; and they were aſham'd to count amongſt the witneſſes of the truth, a man that denied the Divinity of the Son of God. But I am amazed they ſtuck at that. *Claude* of *Turin* was an *Arian*, and the diſciple of *Felix* of *Urgel*, that is, a *Neſtorian* into the bargain. But becauſe he broke *Images*, he finds place amongſt the fore-fathers of the *Proteſtants*. It matters not how far ſoever the reſt of the *Iconoclaſts*, as well as he, have outſtretch'd this point, even to ſay, that God forbad the arts of painting and ſculpture; 'tis ſufficient they tax'd the reſt of Chriſtians with idolatry to be enrolled amongſt the firſt-rate witneſſes of the truth. *Berengarius* impugn'd nothing but the *Real* Preſence, leaving all the reſt as he found it: but the rejecting of one only tenet, was ſufficient to make him a *Calviniſt*, and a Doctor of the true Church. *Wickliff* will be of that number, notwithſtanding all the impieties we ſhall ſee he taught: tho' even, by aſſerting that Kings, Lords, Magiſtrates, Prieſts, Paſtors, are no longer ſuch from their falling into mortal ſin, he hath equally ſubverted all order in the *Church* and *State*, and fill'd both with tumult and ſedition. *John Huſs* follow'd this Doctrine, and, what is more, ſaid *Maſs* to the end of his life, and adored the *Euchariſt*; yet for ſtanding up againſt the Church of *Rome* in other points, muſt be placed by our *Reformed* in the Calendar of their Martyrs. In a word, provided they have mutter'd againſt any one point of our tenets, eſpecially inveigh'd againſt the Pope, in other reſpects be they what they will, and of what opinion ſoever, they ſtand on

Jon. Aur. præf. cont. Claud. Taur.

on the liſt of Proteſtant anceſtry, and are deem'd worthy to keep up the ſucceſſion of that Church.

But of all the predeceſſors the *Proteſtants* have made choice of, the moſt welcome to them, at leaſt to the *Calviniſts*, are the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*. What can be their aim in this? 'twere but a weak ſupport. To make their antiquity riſe ſome ages higher (for the *Vaudois*, allowing them all they deſire, and *Peter de Bruis* with his diſciple *Henry*, reach no farther than the eleventh age;) and there to ſtop ſhort unable to ſhew one before them, is being forced to a ſtand much beneath the time of the Apoſtles; 'tis calling for help from men as weak and as much put to it as themſelves; who, alike with them, are challenged to ſhew their predeceſſors; who, no more than they, are able to produce them; who by conſequence, are guilty of the ſame crime of innovation they are accuſed of: ſo that naming them in this cauſe, is naming accomplices of the ſame crime, not witneſſes that may lawfully depoſe in their defence.

II. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes* weak ſupport to *Calviniſts*.

Nevertheleſs, this ſupport, ſuch as it is, is eagerly embraced by our *Calviniſts*, and the reaſon is this. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, it ſeems, form'd Churches ſeparated from *Rome*, which *Berengarius* and *Wickliff* never did. Making them therefore their anceſtors, is giving themſelves, in ſome manner, a ſeries of Church-ſucceſſion. As the origin of theſe Churches, no leſs than the Faith they made profeſſion of, was as yet ſomewhat obſcure at the time of the pretended *Reformation*, the people were made believe, they were of a very ancient date, and ſprung from the firſt ages of Chriſtianity.

III. Why the *Calviniſts* lay a ſtreſs on them.

I wonder not that *Leger*, one of the *Vaudois Barbes* (for ſo they call'd their Paſtors) and their moſt celebrated Hiſtorian, hath given into this

IV. Ridiculous pretenſions of the *Vaudois*

and of *Beza*.

this error; for he was unqueſtionably the moſt bold and ignorant of all mankind. But there is cauſe to wonder, it was embraced by *Beza*, and that he hath written in his eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory not only that the *Vaudois*, *time immemorial*, *had oppoſed the abuſes of the Church of* Rome, but alſo, in the year 1541, *enter'd on record*, *by a publick and authentick act*, *the doctrine taught them as from father to ſon down from the year* 120, *after Chriſt's nativity*, *as their ancient predeceſſors always had inform'd them.*

L. 1. *p.* 35. *Ibid.* 39.

V. Falſe origin boaſted of by the *Vaudois*.

Here is certainly a fine tradition, had it but the leaſt proof to countenance it. But unfortunately, *Waldo*'s firſt diſciples did not trace it up ſo high; and the remoteſt antiquity they challenged was of withdrawing from the Church of *Rome*, at the time when under Pope *Sylveſter* I. ſhe accepted the temporal domains that *Conſtantin* the firſt Chriſtian Emperor endow'd her with. This is ſo frivolous a cauſe of rupture, and the pretenſion withal ſo ridiculous, as not to deſerve refuting. A man muſt have loſt his wits to perſuade himſelf, that, ever ſince St. *Sylveſter*'s time, that is, about the year 320, there was a ſect amongſt Chriſtians, which the Fathers knew nothing of. We have in the Councils held in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, anathema's pronounced againſt an infinity of different ſects: we have the catalogues of Hereſies drawn by St. *Epiphanius*, by St. *Auſtin*, and ſeveral other Church-authors. The moſt obſcure and the leaſt follow'd ſects, are thoſe which appear'd in a corner of the world, as that of certain women call'd *Collyridians*, not to be met with but I know not where in *Arabia*; that of the *Tertullianiſts* or *Abelians* who were only in *Carthage*, or in ſome villages near *Hippo*, and many others equally obſcure did not eſcape their knowledge.

Epiph. hær. 79. *Aug. hær.* 86. 87. *Tertull.*

The

The zeal of Paſtors, that labour'd to bring back the ſtray'd ſheep, diſcover'd all to ſave all: none but theſe Separatiſts on account of eccleſiaſtical revenues, were unknown to every body. Theſe men more temperate than an *Athanaſius*, a *Baſil*, an *Ambroſe*, and all the other Doctors, more wiſe than all the Councils, who, without rejecting goods given to the Church, were contented with making rules for their juſt adminiſtrations; ſo well, I ſay, did theſe men play their part, as never to have been heard of by them. The aſſurance to aſſert this, was certainly the height of impudence in the firſt *Vaudois*. But, with *Beza*, to mount this ſect, unknown to all ages, up to the year of our Lord 120, is giving himſelf anceſtors and Church-ſucceſſion by too glaring an impoſition.

VI. The deſign of this eleventh book, and what is to be ſhewn therein.

The *Reformed*, diſguſted at their novelty, which they were continually upbraided with, ſtood in need of this weak ſupport. But, in order to draw ſome advantage from it, it was alſo requiſite to ſet other artifices on foot: it was requiſite to conceal carefully the true ſtate of theſe *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*. Of two quite different ſects they made but one; and this, leſt the *Reformed* ſhould eſpy amongſt their anceſtors a too manifeſt contrariety. But above all, their abominable Doctrine was kept a ſecret: no notice taken that theſe *Albigenſes* were compleat *Manicheans*, no leſs than *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry* his diſciple: not a word, that theſe *Vaudois* had ſeparated from the Church upon grounds equally deteſted by the new *Reformation* and by the Church of *Rome:* the ſame diſſimulation was uſed in regard of the *Poliſh Vaudois*, but nominally ſuch; and the people kept ignorant that their Doctrine was neither that of the ancient *Vaudois*, nor that of the *Calviniſts*, nor that of

the *Lutherans*. The hiſtory I am going to furniſh of theſe three ſects, altho' epitomiz'd, will be nevertheleſs ſupported with ſuch pregnant proofs, as to make the *Calviniſts* aſham'd of the anceſtors, they have made choice of.

The Hiſtory of the new MANICHEANS, *call'd the Hereticks of* TOULOUSE *and* ABBY.

VII. Errors of the *Manicheans*, progenitors of the *Albigenſes*.

IN order to apprehend what follows, you muſt not be wholly ignorant, what theſe *Manicheans* were. Their whole Theology turn'd on the queſtion of the origin of evil: they beheld it in the world, and were for diſcovering its principle. It could not be God, becauſe he is infinitely good. It was therefore neceſſary, ſaid they, to acknowledge another principle, which being evil by its nature, might be the cauſe and origin of evil. Here then is the foundation of the error: two firſt principles, one of good, the other of evil; enemies, by conſequence, and of a contrary nature; which having fought and mix'd in the ſtrife, one diffuſed good on the world, the other evil; one light, the other darkneſs, and ſo on: for it's needleſs to relate here all the impious extravagancies of this abominable Sect. It ſprung from *Paganiſm*, and its principles may be ſeen even in *Plato*. It reign'd amongſt the *Perſians*. *Plutarch* hath acquainted us with the names they gave to the good and evil cauſe. *Manes* a *Perſian* ſtrove to introduce this prodigy into the Chriſtian Religion in *Aurelian*'s reign, *viz.* towards the end of the third century. *Marcion* had begun ſome years before, and his Sect, divided into many branches, had prepared the way for the impieties and delirium's *Manes* grafted on it.

Now

Now the conſequences, theſe Hereticks drew from this Doctrine, were no leſs abſurd than impious. The *Old Teſtament* with all its ſeverity was but a fable, or at beſt, but the product of the evil principle: the myſtery of the *Incarnation*, an illuſion; and the Fleſh of *Jeſus Chriſt*, a phantom: for Fleſh being the work of the evil principle, *Jeſus Chriſt* the Son of the good God, could not in truth have veſted himſelf with it. As our bodies came from the bad principle, and our ſouls from the good, or rather, were the very ſubſtance of it, it was not lawful to beget children, nor unite the ſubſtance of the good principle with that of the bad: ſo that marriage, or rather the generation of children, was prohibited. The fleſh of animals, and every thing proceeding from it, as white meats, was the work of the evil cauſe; the ſame of wine: all theſe were impure by nature, and the uſe of them criminal. Here then are manifeſtly thoſe men ſeduced by Devils, of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaks, that were, *In latter times .... to forbid to marry*, and command *to abſtain from meats*, as unclean, *which God hath created.*

VIII. Conſequences of the *Manichean*'s falſe principle.

1 *Tim.* iv. 1. 3.

Theſe wretches, who ſought only to deceive the world by appearances, endeavour'd to juſtify themſelves by the example of the *Catholick* Church, wherein the number of thoſe that forbore marriage from the profeſſion of continence, was very great, and abſtinence from certain meats was either practiſed always, as by many *Anchorets* after *Daniel*'s example; or at particular times, as in *Lent*. But the holy Fathers replied, there was a great difference betwixt thoſe that condemn'd the procreation of children, as the *Manicheans* did expreſly, and thoſe that preferr'd continence to it with St. *Paul* and *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, and judg'd it unlawful for them to

IX. The *Manicheans* endeavour'd to juſtify themſelves by the uſages of the Church.

Aug. l. xxx. *cont. Fauſt. Man. c.* 3. 4. 5. 6. *Dan.* 1. 8. 12. 1 *Cor.* vii.

26. 32. 34. 38. *Mat.* xix. 12. *Luke* ix. 62. 1 *Tim.* iv. 4.

to look back after making profeſſion of ſo perfect a ſtate of life. Beſides, it was a different thing to abſtain from certain meats, either to ſignify ſome myſtery, as in the *Old Teſtament*, or to mortify the ſenſes, as was ſtill continued in the *New:* a different thing to condemn them with the *Manicheans*, as impure, as evil, as the work *not of God*, but of the bad principle. And the Fathers obſerved, that the Apoſtle expreſly impugn'd this latter ſenſe, which was that of the *Manicheans*, by theſe words: *Every creature of God is good.* And again by theſe: *nothing is to be refuſed* of all God has created; from thence concluding, that there was no wonder the *Holy Ghoſt* had warn'd the faithful ſo long before, by the mouth of St. *Paul*, againſt ſo great an abomination.

X. Three other characteriſticks of the *Manicheans*. Firſt, the ſpirit of ſeduction. *L.* 11. *cont. Fauſ. Man. c.* 19. *& l.* iv. *Conf. c.* 1. *Theod. l.* 1. *hær. Fab. c. ult. de Manich. Ibid.*

Such were the principal points of the *Manichean* doctrine. But this ſect had beſides two remarkable Characteriſticks; one, that in the midſt of theſe impious abſurdities, which the Devil had inſpired them with, they yet mix'd ſomething in their diſcourſes of ſo ſpecious a nature, ſo prodigiouſly ſeducing, that St. *Auſtin* himſelf, ſo great a genius, was enſnared thereby, and remain'd amongſt 'em nine whole years, a great zealot of this Sect. 'Twas obſerved likewiſe, that this was one of thoſe Hereſies which it is moſt difficult to be reclaim'd from: for to impoſe upon the vulgar, it had juggling and unaccountable deluſions, ſo far even as to be tax'd with ſorcery; in a word, none of the implements of ſeduction were wanting to it.

XI. Second characteriſtick; hypocriſy.

The ſecond Characteriſtick of the *Manicheans* is, their knowing how to conceal what was moſt deteſtable in their Sect, with ſo profound an artifice, that not only ſtrangers, but even thoſe of the profeſſion, paſs'd a long time amongſt them

in

n ignorance thereof. For beneath the colour-ble pretext of chaſtity they hid impurities not o be named, and which made part of their very myſteries. Amongſt 'em were ſeveral degrees. Thoſe, whom they call'd *Auditors*, knew not the bottom of the Sect; and their *Elect*, namely, hoſe that were let into the whole Myſtery, care-fully kept cloſe from their probationers the abo-minable ſecret, till they had been prepared for it by ſeveral gradations. They made a ſhow of bſtinence and the exterior of a life not only good, but mortified; and one part of the ſeduc-ion was, the arriving as it were by ſtages to hat which was believed the more perfect, be-cauſe hidden.

XII. Third character-iſtick: mixing with the *Catholicks* in the Churches and concealing themſelves. *Leo.* 1. *Serm.* 45. *qui eſt* iv. *de Quadr.* c. 5.

For the third Characteriſtick of theſe hereticks, ve may further obſerve in them a ſurpriſing dexterity in mixing with the faithful, and con-cealing themſelves under the appearance of the ame profeſſion; for this diſſimulation was one of the artifices they employ'd to inveigle men nto their ſentiments. They were ſeen promiſcu-ouſly with others in the Churches: there they eceived the Communion; and altho' they never eceived the Blood of our Lord, as well becauſe hey deteſted wine uſed in conſecration, as lſo becauſe they did not believe *Jeſus Chriſt* had rue Blood; the liberty allow'd in the Church of partaking of one or both kinds, was the cauſe hat, for a long time, the perpetual affectation of their rejecting that of wine, paſs'd unper-ceived. At length St. *Leo* diſcover'd them by his mark: but their cunning to elude the notice of the Catholicks, tho' diligent, was ſo great, hat they ſtill conceal'd themſelves, and ſcarce were diſcover'd under the Pontificate of St. *Gela-ſius*. At that time therefore, in order to render hem wholly diſtinguiſhable to the people, it was neceſſary

neceſſary to proceed to an expreſs prohibition of communicating otherwiſe than under both kinds; and to ſhew that this prohibition was not founded on the neceſſity of always taking them conjointly, St. *Gelaſius* grounds it in formal terms on this cauſe, for that thoſe, who refuſed the ſacred wine, did it thro' *a certain ſuperſtition*: an evident proof, that, were it not for this ſuperſtition, which rejected one of the parts of this Myſtery as evil, the uſage in its nature had been free and indifferent, even in ſolemn aſſemblies. *Proteſtants*, that believed this word, *ſuperſtition*, was not ſtrong enough to expreſs the abominable practices of the *Manicheans*, did not reflect that this word, in the latin tongue, ſignifies all falſe Religion; but that it is particularly appropriated to the *Manichean* Sect, on account of their abſtinences and ſuperſtitious obſervances: the books of St. *Auſtin* witneſs this ſufficiently.

Gelaſ. in Dec. Grat. de conſ. diſtinct. 2. c. Comperimus.

Yvo. Microl. &c. De morib. Ecc. Cath. c. 34.

De morib. Manich. c. 18.

Cont. Ep. fundam. c. 15.

XIII. The *Paulicians* or *Manicheans* of *Armenia*.

This ſo hidden a Sect, ſo abominable, ſo full of ſeduction, of ſuperſtition, and hypocriſy, notwithſtanding imperial Laws which condemn'd its followers to death, yet maintain'd and diffuſed itſelf. The Emperor *Anaſtaſius* and the Empreſs *Theodora*, wife to *Juſtinian*, had given it countenance. The followers thereof are to be ſeen under the children of *Heraclius*, that is, in the ſeventh age, in *Armenia* a Province bordering on *Perſia*, the birth-place of this deteſtable ſuperſtition, and formerly ſubject to the Empire. They were there ſettled, or confirm'd by one named *Paul*, from whom the name of *Paulicians* was given them in the *Eaſt*, by one named *Conſtantine*, and infine, by one named *Sergius*: they arrived to ſo great power in that country, either by the weakneſs of the Government, or the protection of the *Saracens*, or even by the favour of the Emperor *Nicephoras* much wedded

Cedr. T. 1. p. 432.

to

this Sect, that at length, being perſecuted by the Empreſs *Theodora*, the Wife of *Baſil*, they were able to build Cities, and take up arms againſt their Sovereigns. *Cedr. T. II. p. 480. Ib. p. 541.*

XIV. History of the *Paulicians* by *Peter* of *Sicily* addreſs'd to the Archbiſhop of *Bulgaria*.

These wars were long and bloody under the reign of *Baſil* the *Macedonian*, to-wit, at the cloſe of the ninth contrary. *Peter* of *Sicily* was ſent by this Emperor to *Tibrica* in *Armenia*, which *Cedrenus* calls *Tephrica*, a ſtrong hold of theſe Hereticks, to treat about the exchange of priſoners. During this time he became thoroughly acquainted with the *Paulicians*, and dedicated a book concerning their errors to the Archbiſhop of *Bulgaria* for reaſons hereafter ſpecified. *Voſſius* acknowledges, we are much obliged to *Raderus* for giving us, in *Greek* and *Latin*, ſo particular and ſo excellent a hiſtory. There *Peter* of *Sicily* paints out to us theſe Hereticks in their proper characters, their two principles, the contempt they had of the *Old Teſtament*, their prodigious addreſs in concealing themſelves when they pleaſed, and the other aforeſaid tokens. But he remarks two or three worth our notice: *viz.* their particular averſion to the *Images* of Chriſt crucified, a natural conſequence of their error, foraſmuch as they rejected the Paſſion and Death of the Son of God; their contempt of the *Holy Virgin*, whom they did not account the Mother of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſince they denied his human Fleſh; and above all, their abhorrenee of the *Euchariſt*. *Pet. Sic. Hiſt. de Manich. Cedr. Ib. 541. &c. Voſs. de Hiſt. Græc. Pet. Sic. Ib. Præf. &c. Ibid. Ibid.*

XV. The conformity of the *Paulicians* with the *Manicheans*, whom St. *Auſtin* refuted.

Cedrenus, who has taken the greateſt part of what he writes of the *Paulicians* from this Hiſtorian, inſtances after him, theſe three characteriſticks, namely, their averſion to the *Croſs*, to the *bleſſed Virgin*, and the *holy Euchariſt*. The ſame ſentiments had the *Manicheans* of old. We learn from St. *Auſtin*, their Euchariſt was different

Cedr. T. 11. p. 434. Aug. hær. 46. &c. Lib. xx. Cont. Fauſ. c. 4.

rent from ours, and ſomething ſo execrable a not to be thought on, much leſs written. B the new *Manicheans* had alſo received, from th ancient, another Doctrine we are to obſerve. S long ſince as St. *Auſtin*'s time, *Fauſtus* the *Ma nichean* upbraided the *Catholicks* with their ido latry in the honour they pay'd the holy Martyr and in the ſacrifices they offer'd on their Relick

Ibid. c. 21. & ſeq.

St. *Auſtin* remonſtrated to them, this worſhi

Ibid. c. 18.

had nothing common with that of the Heathen becauſe it was not the worſhip of *Latria* or ſubjection and perfect ſervitude; and if they of fer'd to God the holy oblation of the Body an Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, *at* the tombs and *on* th relicks of the Martyrs, they were far from offe ring *to* them this ſacrifice, but hoped only *To ex cite themſelves thereby to the imitation of their vir tues, to be brought into partnerſhip with their me rits, and laſtly, to be aſſiſted by their prayers.* S clear an anſwer did not prevent the new *Man cheans* from continuing the calumnies of thei

Petr. Sci. Ibid.

forefathers. *Peter* of *Sicily* acquaints us, that *Manichean* woman ſeduced an ignorant lay-man call'd *Sergius*, by telling him, Catholicks ho nour'd the Saints as *Divinities*, and for that reaſon *Lay-men* were hinder'd from reading the *Holy Scripture*, leſt they ſhould diſcover a num ber of the like errors.

XVI. The deſign of the *Paulicians* on the *Bulgarians*, and *Peter* of *Sicily*'s inſtruction to hinder the effect. *Pet. Sic. initio lib.*

'Twas by ſuch calumnies as theſe the *Man cheans* ſeduced the ignorant. A great deſire o enlarging their Sect was always remark'd among them. *Peter* of *Sicily* diſcover'd, whilſt Em baſſador at *Tibrica*, that it was reſolved in th Counſel of the *Paulicians*, to ſend Preachers o their ſect into *Bulgaria*, in order to ſeduce thoſ new converts. *Thrace* bordering on this Provinc had been infected with this Hereſy long before So there was but too much reaſon to fear th

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worſt for the *Bulgarians*, ſhould the *Paulicians*, the moſt cunning of the *Manichean* Sect, attempt to ſeduce them; and 'twas this induced *Peter* of *Sicily* to inſcribe the above-mention'd book to their Archbiſhop, to fore-arm them againſt ſuch dangerous Hereticks. Spite of all his pains, it is certain, the *Manichean* Hereſy took deep root in *Bulgaria*, and thence ſoon after ſpread itſelf over the other parts of *Europe*; whence came, as we ſhall ſee, the name of *Bulgarians*, given to the followers of this Hereſy.

XVII. The *Manicheans* begin to appear in the *Weſt* after the year of our Lord one thouſand. *Rev.* xx. 2. 3. 7. *Mat.* xii. 29. *Luke* xi. 21. 22. *Acta Conc. Aurel. ſpicil. T.* II. *Conc. Lab. T.* ix. *Glab. lib.* III. *c.* 8.

A thouſand years had elapſed ſince the birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the prodigious relaxation of diſcipline threatn'd the *Weſtern* Church with ſome extraordinary diſaſter. Beſides, 'twas not unlikely the dreadful time when Satan was to be let looſe, foretold in the *Revelations*, *after a thouſand years*, which may denote a thouſand years after that *the ſtrong-arm'd*, to-wit, the victorious Satan, *was bound* by *Jeſus Chriſt* at his coming into the world. Howſoever that may be, *in* this time and in 1017, during King *Robert*'s reign, Hereticks were diſcover'd at *Orleans* of ſuch a Doctrine as long before had been unheard of amongſt the *Latins*.

An *Italian* woman brought into *France* this abominable Hereſy. Two Canons of *Orleans*, one call'd *Stephen* or *Heribert*, the other, *Liſoïus*, both men of reputation, were the firſt inveigled. There was great difficulty in diſcovering their ſecret. But at length, a perſon named *Arifaſte* ſuſpecting what it might be, having inſinuated himſelf into their familiarity, theſe Hereticks and their followers confeſs'd, after a great deal of pains, that they denied the human Fleſh of *Jeſus Chriſt*; that they did not believe Remiſſion of ſins was given in *Baptiſm*, nor that the Bread and Wine could be changed into the Body

XVIII. *Manicheans* that came from *Italy*, diſcover'd at *Orleans* in the time of King *Robert*.

Glab. Ibid. *Acta. Conc. Aurel.* Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*. It was diſcover'd they had a particular *Euchariſt*, by them call'd the Celeſtial Food. It was cruel and abominable and wholly ſuitable to the *Manichean* genius altho' not found amongſt thoſe of old. But beſides what was ſeen at *Orleans*, *Guy* of *Nogent* alſo takes notice of it in other countries; nor is it to be wonder'd, new prodigies are to be met with in ſo cloſe a Sect, whether invented by them, or but newly brought to light.

De vitâ ſuâ lib. III. *c.* 16.

XIX. Sequel. *De hær. in hær. Man. Pet. Sic. Ib. Cedr. T.* I. *p.* 434. Here are the genuine Characteriſticks of *Manicheiſm*. We have ſeen theſe Hereticks reject the *Incarnation*. As for *Baptiſm*, St. *Auſtin* ſays expreſly, the *Manicheans did not give it, and believed it uſeleſs*. *Peter* of *Sicily*, and after him *Cedrenus*, tells us the ſame of the *Paulicians*: all together depoſe, the *Manicheans* had a different Euchariſt from ours. What was ſaid by the Hereticks of *Orleans*, that we ought not to beg the Saints aſſiſtance, was alſo of the ſame ſtamp, and ſprung, as is ſeen above, from the ancient ſource of this Sect.

XX. Sequel. *Ibid.* *Ibid.* They ſaid nothing openly of the two principles, but ſpoke with contempt of the Creation, and the books which record it, meaning the *Old Teſtament*; and confeſs'd under execution, they had entertain'd evil ſentiments *concerning the Lord of the univerſe*. The reader will remember, that he was judged the evil principle by the *Manicheans*. They went to the ſtake with joy, in hopes of a miraculous delivery, ſo ſtrangely were they poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of ſeduction. Now this was the firſt inſtance of the like puniſhment. It's known, the *Roman* laws condemn'd the *Manicheans* to death: the holy King *Robert* judged them worthy of the flames.

Cod. de hær. l. 5.

XXI. The ſame Hereſy in At the ſame time, the ſame Hereſy is diſcover'd in *Aquitaine* and *Toulouſe*, as appears by the hiſtory

ſtory of *Ademarus* of *Chabanes* Monk of the bbey of St. *Cibard* in *Angouleſme*, contempo- ry with theſe Hereticks. An ancient writer of e hiſtory of *Aquitaine*, publiſh'd by the cele- rated *Peter Pithou*, acquaints us, there were iſcover'd in this Province, whereof *Perigord* ade part, *Manicheans that rejected Baptiſm, e ſign of the holy Croſs, the Church, and the Redeemer himſelf; denying his Incarnation, and Paſſion, and the honour due to Saints, lawful Mar- iage, and the uſe of meat.* And the ſame author ews us, they were of the ſame Sect with the Hereticks of *Orleans*, whoſe error came from *Italy*.

Gaſcoigny and at *Toulouſe*. *Bib. nov. L'Abb. T.* 11. *p.* 176. 180. *Frag. Hiſt. Aquit. edi. ta à Petro Pith. Bar. T.* xi. *An.* 1017.

In effect, we ſee the *Manicheans* had ſettled in at country. They were called *Cathari* as much s to ſay, pure. Formerly other Hereticks had ſſum'd that name, the *Novatians*, in the per- uaſion that their life was more pure, than that f others, on account of the ſeverity of their iſcipline. But the *Manicheans* elated with their ontinency and abſtinence from Fleſh, which hey believed unclean, accounted themſelves not nly *Cathari*, or pure, but alſo, as St. *Auſtin* elates, *Cathariſts*, namely purifiers, by reaſon f that part of the divine Subſtance, which was ix'd with the herbs and pulſe together with he contrary Subſtance, from which in eating hem, they ſeparated and purified this divine ubſtance. Theſe, I own, are monſtrous opi- ions; and 'twere hardly to be believed, that men could have been ſo ſtrangely infatuated, had not experience taught us that God ſets, to man's proud mind, examples of the blindneſs he may fall into, when abandon'd to himſelf. This hen is the true original of the Hereticks of *France*, ſprung from the *Cathari* of *Italy*.

XXII. The *Manicheans* of *Italy* call'd *Cathari*, and why.

De hær. in hær. Man.

Vignier, whom our *Reformed* have accounted the Reſtorer of hiſtory in the laſt age, ſpeaks of this

XXIII. Origin of the *Mani-*

nicheans of *Toulouſe* and *Italy*. Proof that they came from *Bulgaria*. *Bib. Hiſt.* 2. *p.* in the year 1022. *p.* 672.

this Hereſy, and the diſcovery thereof made in the Council of *Orleans*, whoſe date he places, by miſtake, in 1022, and obſerves, that, *In this year many people were taken and burnt, for the crime of Hereſy, in the preſence of King* Robert; *for it is written*, continues he, *that they ſpoke ill of God and the Sacraments, to wit, of Baptiſm and the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, as likewiſe of marriage*; nor would eat meats that had blood and fat, reputing them unclean. He reports, alſo that the chief of theſe Hereticks was call'd *Stephen*, whereof he cites *Glaber* for witneſs with the chronicle of St. *Cibard*; *according to whoſe teſtimony*, proceeds he, *many other followers of the ſame Hereſy, call'd* Manicheans, *were executed elſewhere, as at* Toulouſe *and in Italy*. No matter, tho' this author was miſtaken in the date and ſome other circumſtances of his hiſtory; he had not ſeen the acts which have been recover'd ſince that time. It's enough that this Hereſy of *Orleans*, which had *Stephen* for one of its authors, whoſe enormities King *Robert* took vengeance of, and whoſe hiſtory *Glaber* hath reported, be acknowledged for *Manichean* by *Vignier*; that he held it for the ſource of that Hereſy, which afterwards was puniſh'd at *Toulouſe*, and that all this impiety, as we are going to ſee, was derived from *Bulgaria*.

XXIV. The ſame origin proved by an ancient Author quoted by *Vignier*. Addition to the ſecond part. *p.* 133.

An ancient author cited in the additions of the ſame *Vignier* leaves no room to doubt of it. The paſſage of this author, which *Vignier* tranſcribes intire in *Latin*, imports, *That as ſoon as the Hereſy of the* Bulgarians *began to ſpread itſelf in* Lombardy, *they had for Biſhop a certain man call'd* Mark, *who had received his ordination from* Bulgaria, *and under whom were the* Lombards, *the* Tuſcans, *and thoſe of* Marc-Ancona: *but that another Pope, named* Nicetas, *came from* Conſtantinople

Conſtantinople *into* Lombardy, *who impeach'd the ordination of* Bulgaria; and that *Mark* had received his from *Drungaria*.

XXV. Sequel of the ſame paſſage.

What country he meant by *Drungaria*, I have no need to examine. *Renier* thoroughly acquainted, as we ſhall ſee, with all theſe Hereſies, tells us of the *Manichean* Churches of *Drungaria and* Bulgaria, *whence come all the reſt* of the Sect both in *Italy* and *France*; which perfectly well agrees, as is plain, with *Vignier*'s author. In this ſame *ancient author* of *Vignier* we ſee, that this Hereſy *brought from beyond ſea, to wit from* Bulgaria, *thence ſpread itſelf thro' other Provinces, where afterwards it was in great vogue, into* Languedoc, Toulouſe, *and eſpecially into* Gaſcony; *whence the name of* Albigenſes, *as for the like reaſon, that of* Bulgares *was conferr'd on the Sect*, on account of its origin. I ſhall not repeat what *Vignier* obſerves, how the name *Bulgare* was turn'd to its preſent ſignification in our language. The word is too infamous, but its derivation certain; nor leſs certain that the *Albigenſes* were call'd by this name in token of the place they came from, namely from *Bulgaria*.

Ren. cont. Wald. c. 6. *T.* iv. *Bibl. PP. part.* 2. *p.* 759. *Vignier. Ib.*

XXVI. Council of *Tours* and *Toulouſe* againſt the *Manicheans* of this laſt City.

There needs no more to convict theſe Hereticks of *Manicheiſm*. But in proceſs of time the evil grew more apparent, principally in *Languedoc* and *Toulouſe*, for this City was like the *Metropolis* of the Sect, *Whence the Hereſy extending itſelf*, as ſpeaks the Canon of *Alexander* III. in the Council of *Tours*, *like a cancer into the neighbouring countries, infected* Gaſcony *and the other Provinces*. As the ſource of the evil, as I may ſay, there took its riſe, there alſo the remedy was firſt applied. The Pope *Callixtus* II. held a Council at *Toulouſe*, where were condemn'd the Hereticks that *rejected the Sacrament of our*

Conc. Tur. III. *c.* 3.

Conc. Tol. An. 1119. *Can.* 3.

Lord's Body and Blood, Infant-Baptiſm, the Prieſthood, and all Eccleſiaſtick orders, with lawful marriage. The ſame Canon was repeated in the general Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* II. The character of *Manicheiſm* is here ſeen in the condemnation of Marriage. And again, in rejecting the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*; for it ought to be taken good notice of that the *Canon* imports, not that theſe Hereticks had ſome error touching the Sacrament, but *that they rejected it*, as we have ſeen the *Manicheans* did likewiſe.

Conc. Later. 11. *An.* 1139. *Can.* 23.

XXVII. Their conformity with the *Manicheans* known by St. *Auſtin.* The ſame Hereſy in *Germany.*

As for the Prieſthood and all Eccleſiaſtick orders, the total ſubverſion of the Hierarchy introduced by the *Manicheans*, and the contempt they had of all Church-ſubordination, may be ſeen in St. *Auguſtin* and other authors. In reſpect of Infant-Baptiſm, we ſhall obſerve hereafter, that the new *Manicheans* impugn'd it with particular induſtry: and, altho' they rejected *Baptiſm* in general, what ſtruck men with ſurpriſe was chiefly the refuſal they made of this Sacrament to children, whilſt the Church in general ſhew'd ſo much eagerneſs to confer it on them. Therefore the ſenſible Characteriſticks whereby this *Toulouſian*, afterwards call'd *Albigenſian* Hereſy, made itſelf known, were ſpecified in this Canon of *Toulouſe* and *Lateran*. The bottom of the error lay more deeply concealed. But the more this curſed offſpring from *Bulgaria* diffuſed itſelf in the *Weſt*, their *Manichean* tenets became the more palpable. They penetrated into the heart of *Germany*, and the Emperor *Henry* IV. there diſcovered them at *Goſlar* a City of *Suabia*, towards the middle of the eleventh century, ſurpriſed whence could proceed this *Manichean* progeny. Theſe here were known by their abſtaining *from the fleſh of animals of what kind ſoever, and*

Aug. de hær. in hær. Man. Ecb. Serm. 1. *Bib. PP. T.* iv. 2. *part. p.* 81. *Ren. cont. Wald. c.* 6.

Herm. cont. ad An. 1052. *Par. To* xi. *ad Eund. An. Centuriat. in Cent.* xi. *c.* 5. *ſub fin.*

and believing their use prohibited. The error soon spread in *Germany* on all sides; and in the twelfth century, many of these Hereticks were met with near about *Cologn.* The name of *Cathari* made the Sect known, and *Ecbert* a cotemporary Author and able Divine shews us, in these *Cathari* near *Cologn*, all the *Manichean* characters: the same detestation of Flesh and Marriage: the same contempt of *Baptism*: the same abhorrence of Communion: the same repugnance to believe the truth of the Son of God's *Incarnation* and *Passion:* in short, other the like marks which it's needless to repeat.

Ecb. Serm. 12. *adv. Cath.* T. iv. *Bib. PP. part.* 2.

XXVIII. Sequel of *Ecbert's* sentiments concerning the *Manicheans* of *Germany.*

But as Heresies change, or in time shew themselves plainer, so many new tenets and usages are perceptible in this. For instance, in explaining to us amongst the rest, the contempt the *Manicheans* had of Baptism, *Ecbert* acquaints us, that altho' they rejected the Baptism of Water, they gave, with lighted torches, a certain Baptism of Fire, whereof he sets forth the ceremony. They were obstinately bent against Infant-Baptism, which I observe again, it being one of the distinguishing marks of these new *Manicheans.* They had likewise another not less remarkable; their maintaining that the Sacraments lost their virtue by the bad life of those that administred them. Wherefore they exaggerated the corruption of the *Clergy*, in order to persuade that we had no longer any Sacraments amongst us; and this is one of the reasons for which we have seen they were accused of rejecting all Ecclesiastick Orders together with the Priesthood.

Serm. 1. 8. 11. *Ib. Serm.* 7. *Ibid. Serm.* 4. &c.

XXIX. It's discover'd that they held two first principles.

The belief of these new Hereticks, as to the two principles, was not as yet fully brought to light. For altho' men were very sensible, this was the foundation of their rejecting the union of both sexes, and whatever proceeded from it in

all animals, as fleſh, eggs, and white meats, yet as far as I can find, *Ecbert* is the firſt that objects this error to them in expreſs terms. Nay, he ſays, *he had moſt certainly diſcover'd*, that their private motive for abſtaining from fleſh was, *Becauſe the devil was the creator of it.* You ſee how difficult it was to dive into the bottom of their Doctrine; yet it appear'd ſufficiently by its conſequences.

Ecb. Serm. 6. *p.* 99.

XXX. Variations of theſe Hereticks. *Serm.* 5. *p.* 94.

We learn from this ſame author, that theſe Hereticks ſhew'd themſelves, at times, more moderate in regard to Marriage. One call'd *Hartuvinus* allow'd a youth amongſt them to marry a maiden, but required they ſhould be both Virgins, and not proceed beyond the firſt child: which I take notice of in order to ſhew the fantaſticalneſs of a Sect contradictory to itſelf, and often forced to act counter to its own principles.

XXXI. Their induſtry to conceal themſelves.

But the moſt certain token to know theſe Hereticks by, was the pains they took to conceal themſelves, not only by receiving the Sacraments with us, but alſo by anſwering like us, when urg'd touching their Faith. This was the ſpirit of the Sect from its beginning, and we have before taken notice of it, ever ſince the time of St. *Auſtin* and St. *Leo*. *Peter* of *Sicily*, and after him *Cedrenus*, ſhews us the ſame character in the *Paulicians*. They did not only deny in general, that they were *Manicheans*, but alſo interrogated in particular concerning each tenet of their Faith, they feign'd themſelves Catholicks, betraying their ſentiments by manifeſt lyes, or at leaſt diſguiſing them by equivocations worſe than lyes, becauſe more artful and fuller fraught with hypocriſy. For example, when ſpoken to concerning the Water of *Baptiſm*, they received it, underſtanding by the Water of *Baptiſm*, the Doctrine

Petr. Sic. init. lib. de Hiſt. Man.

Ibid. Cedr. T. 1. *p.* 434.

Doctrine of our Lord, whereby ſouls are purified. All they ſay abounded with the like allegories, and men took them for orthodox, unleſs from long cuſtom they had learnt to ſee through their deluſive anſwers.

XXXII. Their equivocations when interrogated about Faith.

Ecbert informs us of one which it was impoſſible to gueſs at. It was known they rejected the *Euchariſt*; and when, to ſound them on ſo important an article, they were ask'd whether they *made* the Body of our Lord: they anſwer'd readily, they *made* it, underſtanding that *their own Body* which they *made* in ſome wiſe by their food, was *the Body of Jeſus Chriſt*, by reaſon that, according to St. *Paul*, they were the members of it. By theſe artifices they appear'd outwardly good Catholicks. But, what is yet more unaccountable, one of their tenets was, that the Goſpel forbad ſwearing for whatſoever cauſe: nevertheleſs, when examin'd concerning their Religion, they believed it lawful not only to lye, but to forſwear themſeves, and had learnt from the ancient *Priſcillianiſts*, another branch of the *Manicheans* known in *Spain*, this verſe cited by St. *Auſtin*; *Jura, perjura, ſecretum prodere noli: Swear true or falſe, as long as thou betrayeſt not the ſecret of the Sect.* For which reaſon, *Ecbert* ſtyl'd them *obſcure men*, men that did not preach, but whiſper'd in the ear, who lurk'd in corners, and mutter'd rather in private than explain'd their Doctrine. This was one of the Sect's allurements: there was ſomething of a charm in this impenetrable Secret obſerved amongſt them; and as the wiſe man ſaid, *Thoſe waters you drink by ſtealth are the pleaſanteſt.* St. *Bernard*, who was well acquainted with theſe Hereticks, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, remarks in them this particular character, that, whereas other Hereticks, egg'd on by the ſpirit of pride, ſought only to make themſelves

Ech. Serm. 1. 11.

Bern. in Cant. Serm. 65.

De hær. in hær. Priſcil.

Ech. Serm. 2.

Bern. Ib. init. lib. id. Serm. 1. 2. 7. &c.

Ibid.

Prov. ix. 17.

Serm. 65. *in Cantic.*

known; these, on the contrary, strove only to conceal themselves: others aim'd at victory; but these, more mischievous, sought only to annoy, lurking silently in the grass, that they might instil their poison the more securely as the bite was less expected. The thing was; their error, once discover'd, was already half vanquish'd by its own absurdity: wherefore they betook themselves to the ignorant, to mechanicks, to silly women, to peasants, and recommended nothing so much to them as this mysterious Secret.

Ibid. Ecb. init. lib. &c. Bern. Serm. 65. 66.

XXXIII. *Enervin* consults St. *Bernard* about the *Manicheans* near *Cologn*.

Enervin, who served God in a Church near *Cologn* at the time these new *Manicheans*, whom *Ecbert* speaks of, were discover'd there, gives in the main the same account of them as this author; and not finding in the Church a greater Doctor he could address himself to for their conviction than the great St. *Bernard*, Abbot of *Clairvaux*, he wrote him that fine letter the learned *Francis Mabillon* hath given us in his *Analects*. Therein, besides the *Dogmata* of these Hereticks which it is needless to repeat, we see the partialities which occasion'd their discovery: we see the distinction betwixt *the Auditors and the Elect*, a certain character of *Manicheism* specified by St. *Austin*: we there see, that *they had their Pope*, a truth which afterwards became more manifest: and infine, that they boasted, *Their Doctrine had a continued succession down to us, but hidden ever since the time of the Martyrs, and after that in* Greece, *and in some other countries*; which is very true, since it came from *Marcion* and *Manes* Heresiarchs of the third century: and thereby it is apparent, in whose shop was first vended this method of maintaining the Church's perpetuity, by a hidden series, and Doctors pick'd up here and there without any manifest and legitimate succession.

Enervin. Ep. ad S. Bern. Anal. III. *p.* 452. *Ibid.* 455. 456. *P.* 457.

But

But leſt it ſhould be ſaid, the Doctrine of theſe Hereticks was, perchance, calumniated for want of being well underſtood: it appears as well by *Enervin*'s letter as by *Ecbert*'s ſermons, that the examination of theſe Hereticks was made in publick, and that it was one of their Biſhops with a companion of his who defended their Doctrine to their utmoſt in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, the whole Clergy, and all the People.

XXXIV. Theſe Hereticks interrogated before all the people. *Ibid.* 453. *Ecb. Serm.* 1.

St. *Bernard*, whom the pious *Enervin* excited to confute theſe Hereticks, then compoſed the two fine Sermons on the *Canticles*, in which he ſo vigorouſly impugn'd the Hereticks of his time. They carry ſo manifeſt a relation to *Enervin*'s letter, that it's plain this gave occaſion to them: but it's no leſs plain by St. *Bernard*'s ſo aſſured and poſitive way of ſpeaking, that he had alſo other informations, and knew more of the matter than *Enervin* himſelf. And indeed, it was now above twenty years, ſince *Peter de Bruis* and his diſciple *Henry* had ſecretly ſpread their errors in *Dauphiny*, in *Provence*, and eſpecially in the neighbourhood of *Toulouſe*. St. *Bernard* took a journey into that country expreſly to root up this bad ſeed, and the miracles he there wrought, in Confirmation of the *Catholick* truth, are more conſpicuous than the Sun. But the material point to be obſerved is, that he ſpar'd no pains to inform himſelf fully concerning a Hereſy he was going to oppoſe; and after frequent conferences with the diſciples of theſe Hereticks, he could not be ignorant of their Doctrine. Now he diſtinctly inſtances, together with their condemnation of *Infant-Baptiſm*, *the invocation of Saints*, *the oblations for the Dead*; that of *the uſe of Marriage*, and *of all that proceeded*, far or near, *from the union of both ſexes*, *as fleſh and white meats*. He taxes them likewiſe with not

XXXV. The tenets of theſe Hereticks refuted by St. *Bernard*, who was well acquainted with them at *Toulouſe*.

Serm. 66.

Serm. 65.

admitting the *Old Teſtament, and their receiving*
Serm. 66. *the Goſpel only.* Another alſo of their errors remark'd by St. *Bernard* was, that a ſinner ceaſed to be a Biſhop, and *that the Popes, the Archbiſhops, the Biſhops, and Prieſts were neither capable of giving, or receiving the Sacraments, by reaſon they were ſinners.* But what he moſt inſiſts on, is their hypocriſy, not only in the deceitful appearance of their auſtere and penitential life, but alſo in the
Serm. 65. cuſtom they conſtantly obſerved of receiving the Sacraments with us, and profeſſing our Doctrine publickly, which they inveigh'd againſt in ſecret. St. *Bernard* ſhews, their piety was all diſſimulation. In appearance they blamed commerce with women, and nevertheleſs were all ſeen to paſs days and nights apart with them. The profeſſion they made of abhorring the ſex, ſeem'd to warrant their not abuſing it. They believed all oaths forbidden, yet, examined concerning their Faith,
Ibid. did not ſtick at perjury: ſuch oddneſs and inconſtancy is there in extravagant minds! From
2 *Theſſ.* ii. 7. all theſe things St. *Bernard* concluded, this was *the myſtery of iniquity* foretold by St. *Paul*, ſo much the more to be fear'd, the more hidden it was; and that theſe were they whom the Holy Ghoſt made known to the ſame Apoſtle,
Serm. 66. as *giving heed to ſeducing Spirits and Doctrines*
1 *Tim.* iv. 1. 2. 3. *of devils, ſpeaking lyes in hypocriſy; having their conſcience ſear'd with a hot iron; forbidding to marry*, and commanding to *abſtain from meats which God hath created.* All the characters agree too clearly with them to need inſiſting on; behold here the fine Anceſtors our *Calviniſts* have choſen.

XXXVI. *Peter de Bruis*, and *Henry.* To ſay that theſe Hereticks of *Toulouſe*, of whom St. *Bernard* ſpeaks, are not the ſame with thoſe vulgarly call'd *Albigenſes*, were too groſs a fallacy. The Miniſters are agreed that *Peter de Bruis*,

Bruis, and *Henry* are two Chiefs of this Sect, and that *Peter* the venerable Abbot of *Cluny* their cotemporary, of whom we ſhall ſoon ſpeak, attack'd the *Albigenſes under the name of* Petrobuſians. If the chiefs are convicted of *Manicheiſm*, the diſciples have not degenerated from this Doctrine, and theſe bad trees may be judged of by their fruit: for altho' it be certain from St. *Bernard*'s letters, and from the authors then living, that he converted many of theſe *Touloufian* Hereticks, the diſciples of *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry*, yet the race was not extinguiſh'd, which the more private it kept itſelf, the more proſelites it gain'd. They were call'd *the good men* from their apparent meekneſs and ſimplicity: but their Doctrine became manifeſt in an interrogatory, many of them underwent at *Lombez* a little town near *Alby*, in a Council held there in 1176.

La Roq. Hiſt de l'Euch. 452. 453.

Ep. 241. *ad Tol. Vit. S. Bern. lib.* III. *c.* 5.

Act. Conc. Lumb. T.x. Conc. Lab. An. 1176.

Gaucelin Biſhop of *Lodeve*, of no leſs capacity in ſound Doctrine than penetration into their artifices, was there commiſſion'd to examine them about their Faith. They ſhuffle in many articles; they lye in others: but own in expreſs terms, that *They reject the Old Teſtament*; *that they believe the Conſecration of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt equally good whether made by Laymen or Clergy, if good men*; *that all ſwearing is unlawful*; *and that Biſhops and Prieſts, devoid of the qualities preſcribed by St.* Paul, *are neither Biſhops nor Prieſts*. They never could be brought, whatever was ſaid, to approve of Marriage, nor Infant-Baptiſm; and the obſtinate refuſal to acknowledge ſuch certain truths, was taken for a confeſſion of their error. They were condemn'd alſo from the Scripture as men that refuſed to confeſs their Faith; and on all the points propoſed, were urged home by *Ponce* Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*,

XXXVII. The Council of *Lombez*. Famous examination of theſe Hereticks.

Narbonne, by *Arnold* Biſhop of *Niſmes*, by the Abbots, and eſpecially by *Gaucelin* Biſhop of *Lodeve*, whom *Gerald* Biſhop of *Alby* there preſent and Ordinary of *Lombez*, before the place was erected into a Biſhoprick, had veſted with his authority. I do not think there can be ſeen, in any *Council*, either a more regular procedure, or *Scripture* better employ'd, or a diſpute more preciſe and convincing. Let men come and tell us after this, that what is ſaid of the *Albigenſes*, is all meer calumny.

XXXVIII. Hiſtory of the ſame Council by a cotemporary author. *Roger. Hoved. in Annal. Angl.*

An hiſtorian of theſe times recites at length this *Council*, and gives a faithful abridgment of more ample acts which ſince have been retrieved. He begins his account thus. *There were Heretick in the province of* Toulouſe *who would have themſelves be call'd good men, and were maintain'd by the ſoldiers of* Lombez. *Thoſe ſaid, they neither received the law of* Moſes, *nor the Prophets, nor the Pſalms, nor the Old Teſtament, nor the Doctors of the New, except the Goſpels, St.* Paul's *Epiſtles, the ſeven canonical Epiſtles, the Acts, and Revelations.* Setting all the reſt aſide, here is enough to make our *Proteſtants* bluſh for the errors of their anceſtors.

XXXIX. Why theſe Hereticks are call'd *Arians*. *La Roq. ib. Bar. T. XII. An.* 1176. *p.* 674.

But in order to raiſe a ſuſpicion of ſome calumny in the proceedings againſt them, they obſerve, they were not call'd *Manicheans* but *Arians*; yet the *Manicheans* were never accuſed of *Arianiſm*; a miſtake, ſay they, which *Baronius* himſelf has own'd. What a fetch is this, to cavil about the title men give a Hereſy, when they ſee it ſpecified, not to mention other marks, by that of rejecting the *Old Teſtament?* But we muſt alſo ſhew theſe contentious ſpirits, what reaſon there was to accuſe the *Manicheans* of *Arianiſm*. It was becauſe, as *Peter* of *Sicily* expreſly tells us, *They profeſſed the Trinity in words,* *Petr. Sic. ibid.*

words, but denied it in their hearts, and turn'd the myſtery into impertinent allegories.

This is likewiſe what St. *Auſtin* fully informs us of. *Fauſtus* Biſhop of the *Manicheans* had written: *We confeſs under three names one only and the ſame Divinity of God the Father Almighty, of Jeſus Chriſt his Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* But then he further adds: *that the Father dwelt in the principal and ſovereign light call'd by St.* Paul *inacceſſible. As for the Son, he reſided in the ſecond light, which is viſible; and being twofold, according to the Apoſtle who ſpeaks of the power and wiſdom of Jeſus Chriſt, his power reſided in the Sun, and his wiſdom in the Moon; and finally in regard of the Holy Ghoſt, his habitation was in our ambient air.* This is what *Fauſtus* ſaid: whereby St. *Auſtin* convicts him of ſeparating the *Son* from the *Father* even by corporeal ſpaces; nay, of ſeparating him from himſelf, and of ſeparating the *Holy Ghoſt* from them both; to ſituate them alſo, as did *Fauſtus*, in ſo unequal places, was placing betwixt the divine Perſons a too manifeſt inequality. Such were theſe allegories fraught with ignorance, by which *Peter* of *Sicily* convicted the *Manicheans* of denying the *Trinity*. Such an explanation as this was far from a Confeſſion of it; but, as St. *Auſtin* ſays, *was ſquaring the belief of the Trinity by the rule of his own conceits.* An author of the twelfth century, cotemporary with St. *Bernard*, acquaints us that theſe Hereticks declined ſaying, *Gloria Patri*; and *Renier* has it expreſly, the *Cathari* or *Albigenſes* did not believe *that the Trinity was one only God, but believed that the Father was greater than the Son and the Holy Ghoſt.* No wonder then that the *Catholicks* have ſometimes rank'd the *Manicheans* with thoſe that denied the

XL. The ſentiment of the *Manicheans* concerning the *Trinity*, from St. *Auſtin*. *Fauſt. ap. Aug. lib.* XX. *cont. Fauſt. Ibid. c.* 7.

Herib. Mon. Ep. Anal. III.

Ren. cont. Wald. c. 6. *T.* iv. *Bib. PP. f.* 759.

the *bleſſed Trinity*, and, on this conſideration, given them the name of *Arians*.

XLI. *Manicheans* at *Soiſſons*. The teſtimony of *Guy* of *Nogent*. *De vitâ ſuâ lib.* III. *c.* 16.

To return to the *Manicheiſm* of theſe Hereticks, *Guy* of *Nogent*, a celebrated author of the twelfth age and ancienter than St. *Bernard*, ſhews us Hereticks near *Soiſons* that *made a phantom of the Incarnation*; *that rejected Infant-baptiſm*; *that held in abhorrence the Myſtery wrought at the Altar*; *yet took the Sacraments with us*; *that rejected all manner of Fleſh, and whatſoever proceeds from the union of both ſexes.* They made, after the example of thoſe Hereticks above-ſeen at *Orleans*, a *Euchariſt* and *Sacrifice* not fit to be deſcribed? and, to ſhew themſelves completely like the other *Manicheans*, *they conceal'd themſelves like them, and mix'd clandeſtinly amongſt us*, confeſſing and ſwearing any thing, to ſave themſelves from puniſhment. *Ibid.*

XLII. Teſtimony of *Radulphus Ardens* concerning the Hereticks of the *Agenois*. *Rodul. Ard. Serm. in Dom.* VIII. *poſt. Trin. T.* II.

Let us add to theſe witneſſes *Radulphus Ardens* a renown'd author of the eleventh age, in the deſcription he gives us of the Hereticks of the *Agenois*, who *brag of leading the life of the Apoſtles*; *who ſay, they do not lye, they do not ſwear*; *who condemn the uſe of Fleſh and Marriage*; *who reject the Old Teſtament, and receive a part only of the New*; *and, what is more terrible, admit two Creators*; *who ſay, the Sacrament of the Altar is nothing but meer Bread*; *who deſpiſe Baptiſm and the Reſurrection of bodies.* Are not theſe *Manicheans* in their proper colours? Now, we deſcry no other Characteriſticks in them than in thoſe of *Toulouſe* and *Alby*, whoſe Sect, we have ſeen, extended itſelf into *Gaſcony* and the adjacent Provinces. *Agen* alſo had its particular Doctors: but, be that as it will, the ſame ſpirit is diſcernable every where, and all is of the ſame ſtamp.

Thirty

Thirty of these Hereticks of *Gascony* took shelter in *England* in the year 1160. They were call'd *Poplicans* or *Publicans*. But let us see what was their Doctrine from *Gulielmus Neobridgensis* an Historian near to those times, whose testimony *Spelman*, a *Protestant* author, has inserted in the second Tome of his *English* Councils. *These Hereticks*, says he, *were brought before the Council held at* Oxford. Girard, *the only person of any learning, answer'd well as to the substance of the heavenly Physician: but proceeding to the remedies he had left us, they spoke very ill, abhorring Baptism, the Eucharist* and *Marriage*, and *despising Catholick unity*. Protestants put in the Catalogue of their ancestors these *Gascoign* Hereticks, for speaking ill (in the sentiment of the *English* nation then believing the *Real* Presence) of the Eucharistick Sacrament. But they ought to have consider'd, that these *Poplicans* stand accused, not of denying the *Real* Presence, *but of abhorring the Eucharist no less than Baptism and Marriage:* three visible Characteristicks of *Manicheism*; nor do I hold these Hereticks wholly justified as to the other points, under pretext that they did not answer amiss; for we have seen too much of the wiles of these people; and at best they would be never the less *Manicheans* for mitigating some few errors of this Sect.

XLIII. The same Hereticks in *England*. *Guil. Neobridg. Rer. Ang. lib.* II. *c.* 13. *Conc. Oxon. T.* II. *Conc. Ang. Conc. Lab. T.* X. *An.* 1160. *La Roq. Hist. de l'Euch. ch.* 18. *p.* 460.

Even the name of *Publicans* or *Poplicans* was a name of the *Manicheans*, as is manifestly seen from the testimony of *William le Breton*. This author, in the life of *Philip August* dedicated to his eldest Son *Lewis*, speaking of these Hereticks, *vulgarly call'd Poplicans*, says, *that they rejected Marriage; accounted it a crime to eat flesh; and had other superstitions specified by St.* Paul *in few words: viz.* in the first to *Timothy*.

XLIV. That the *Poplicans* or *Publicans* are *Manicheans*. *Phil. lib.* I. *Duch. T.* V. *Hist. Franc. p.* 102.

Our

XLV. The Miniſters make the *Vaudois Manicheans* in making them *Poplicans*. *La Roq.* 455.

Our *Reformed* nevertheleſs think they do an honour to the diſciples of *Waldo* by ranking them amongſt the *Poplicans*. There needed no more to condemn the *Vaudois*. But I ſhall take no advantage from this miſtake: I ſhall leave to the *Vaudois* their particular Hereſies, it being enough for me here to have ſhewn the *Poplicans* convicted of *Manicheiſm*.

XLVI. The *Manicheans* of *Ermengard*. *Aubert*. *La Roq.*

I own, with the *Proteſtants*, that *Ermengard*'s treatiſe ought not to have been intitled, *againſt the Vaudois*, as it was by *Gretſer*, for he ſpeaks in no kind about theſe Hereticks: but the thing was, in *Gretſer*'s time, the general name of *Vaudois* was given to all Sects ſeparate from *Rome* ever ſince the eleventh or twelfth century down to *Luther*'s days; which was the reaſon that this author, publiſhing divers treatiſes againſt theſe Sects, gave them this common title, *againſt the Vaudois*. Yet he did not omit to preſerve, to each book, the title he had found in the Manuſcript. Now *Ermengard* or *Ermengaud* had intitled his book thus: A Treatiſe *againſt thoſe Hereticks who ſay, it is the Devil, and not God, that created the world and all things viſible.* He refutes in particular, chapter by chapter, all the errors of theſe Hereticks, which are all thoſe of *Manicheiſm* ſo frequently remark'd by us. If they ſpeak againſt the *Euchariſt*, they ſpeak no leſs againſt *Baptiſm:* if they reject the worſhip of Saints and our other doctrinal points, they do no leſs reject the *Creation*, the *Incarnation*, the *Law* of *Moſes*, *Marriage*, eating of *Fleſh*, and the *Reſurrection*; ſo that to value themſelves on the authority of this Sect, is placing their glory in infamy itſelf.

Tom. x. *Bib. PP.* 1. *part. p.* 1233.

Ibid. cap. xi. *Ibid.* xii. *Ibid.* xiii. *Ibid. c.* 1. 11. 111. vii. *Ibid.* v. xv. xvi.

XLVII. An examination of

I paſs by many other witneſſes which after ſo many convincing proofs are no longer neceſſary: but

but ſome there are not to be omitted, on account that they inſenſibly lead us to the knowledge of the *Vaudois*.

the authors, who treat of the *Manicheans* and *Vaudois*, is proceeded to.

In the firſt place, I produce *Alanus* a famous Monk of the *Ciſtercian Order*, and one of the firſt authors that writ againſt the *Vaudois*. He dedicated a treatiſe againſt the Hereticks of his time to the Count of *Montpellier* his Lord, and divided it into two books. The firſt concerns the Hereticks of his country. To them he aſcribes the two principles, the denial of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Incarnation, and attributing to him a fantaſtical body, and all the other points of *Manicheiſm* againſt the law of *Moſes*, againſt the *Reſurrection*, againſt the uſe of *Fleſh*, and *Marriage*: to which he adds ſome other things we had not as yet ſeen in the *Albigenſes*; amongſt others, the damnation of St. *John Baptiſt* for having doubted of the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*, for they took for a doubt, in this holy precurſor, what he cauſed his diſciples to ſay to our Saviour, *Art thou he that ſhould come?* a moſt extravagant notion, but very conformable to what *Fauſtus* the *Manichean* writes, as St. *Auſtin* teſtifies. The other authors, that wrote againſt theſe new *Manicheans*, unanimouſly lay the ſame error to their charge.

XLVIII. Proof from *Alanus* that the Hereticks of *Montpellier* are *Manicheans*. *Alan. p.* 31. *Mat.* xi. 3. *Li.* v. *cont. Fauſt. c.* 1. *Ebrard. Antihær. c.* 13. *T.* IV. *Bib. PP. p.* 1332. *Ermeng. c.* VI. *ibid.* 1339. &c.

In the ſecond part of his work, *Alanus* treats concerning the *Vaudois*, and there makes a liſt of their errors, which we ſhall ſee in due place: it ſuffices to obſerve here, that there is nothing amongſt them ſavouring of *Manicheiſm*, and that at firſt ſight, theſe two Hereſies are quite diſtinguiſh'd.

XLIX. The ſame author diſtinguiſhes the *Vaudois* from the *Manicheans*.

That of *Waldo* was as yet a novelty. It took its riſe at *Lions* in the Year 1160, and *Alanus* wrote in 1202, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. A little after, and near upon the year

L. *Peter* of *Vaucernay* diſtinguiſhes mighty

well these two Sects, and shews the *Albigenses* are *Manicheans*. *Hist. Albi. Pet. Mon. Val-Cern. cap.* 2. *T.* v. *Hist. Franc. Ducheſn. Ibid.*

year 1209, *Peter* of *Vaucernay* compiled his hiſtory of the *Albigenſes*, where treating on the different Sects and Hereſies of his time, he begins with the *Manicheans*, and ſpecifies their ſeveral parties, wherein are always to be ſeen ſome Characteriſticks of thoſe above obſerved in *Manicheiſm*, altho' in ſome ſtrain'd higher, and in others more temper'd according to the fancy of theſe Hereticks. Be that as it will, the whole is bottom'd on *Manicheiſm*, and this is the peculiar Characteriſtick of that Hereſy, which *Peter de Vaucernay* repreſents to us *in the Province of* Narbonne, namely the Hereſy of the *Albigenſes* whoſe hiſtory he undertakes. Nothing like this does he attribute to the other Hereticks, of whom he treats. *There were*, ſays he, *other Hereticks call'd* Vaudois, *from a certain* Waldius *of* Lions. *Theſe doubtleſs were bad, but nothing in compariſon of the firſt.* Then he obſerves in few words four of their capital errors, and immediately after returns to his *Albigenſes*. But theſe errors of the *Vaudois* are far remote from *Manicheiſm*, as will ſoon appear: here then we have again the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*, two Sects thoroughly diſtinguiſh'd, and the laſt clear from any character of *Manicheiſm*.

LI. *Peter* of *Vaucernay*, in his plain way has well ſpecified the Characteriſticks of the *Manicheans*.

The *Proteſtants* will have it, that *Peter* of *Vaucernay* ſpoke of the *Albigenſian* Hereſy, without well knowing what he ſaid, on account of his charging them with blaſphemies which are not to be found even in the *Manicheans*. But who can anſwer for all the ſecrets and new inventions of this abominable Sect. What *Peter* of *Vaucernay* makes them ſpeak touching the two *Jeſus's*, whereof one was born in the viſible and terreſtrial *Bethlehem*, the other in the celeſtial and inviſible, is much of a piece with the other extravagancies of the *Manicheans*. This inviſible *Bethlehem* does

oes not ill ſuit with the ſupernatural *Jeruſalem*, *Petr. Sic.*
hich *Peter* of *Sicily*'s *Paulicians* call'd the *Mo-*
her of God, whence *Jeſus Chriſt* proceeded.
ay what they will of the viſible *Jeſus*, that he
as not the true Chriſt, that he was accounted
vil by theſe Hereticks, I ſee nothing in all that
ore extravagant than the other blaſphemies of
he *Manicheans*. We meet in *Renier* with He- *Ren. cont.*
eticks holding ſomewhat akin to what the *Ma-* *Wald. c.*
icheans held, and acknowledging a *Chriſt* Son *6. T. iv.*
of *Joſeph* and *Mary*, evil at firſt and a ſinner, *2. part.*
but afterwards turn'd good, and the reſtorer of *Bib. PP.*
heir Sect. Certain it is, theſe *Manichean* He- *p.* 753.
eticks were much addicted to change. *Renier*, *Ibid.* 759.
nce of their number, diſtinguiſhes the new
rom the ancient opinions, and obſerves many
ovelties to have ſprouted up amongſt them in
is time, and ſince the year 1230. Ignorance
nd extravagance ſeldom hold long in the ſame
tate, and know no bounds in man. However it
e, if hatred conceived againſt the *Albigenſes*
ade men charge them with *Manicheiſm*, or if
ou pleaſe, ſomething worſe than hatred; whence
oes proceed that care they took to excuſe the
audois, ſince it cannot be ſuppoſed they were
etter loved than thoſe, or leſs declared enemies
o the Church of *Rome?* Yet we have already
wo authors very zealous for the Catholick Doc-
ine, and very averſe to the *Vaudois*, who care-
ully diſtinguiſh them from the *Manichean*
lbigenſes.

Here is alſo a third not leſs conſiderable. 'Tis LII.
brard native of *Bethune*, whoſe book intitled, Diſtinction of the
ntibereſy, was compoſed againſt the Hereticks two Sects
f *Flanders*. Theſe Hereticks were call'd *Piples* by *Ebrard*
r *Piphles* in that country language. A *Prote-* of *Be-*
ant author does not conjecture ill, imagining *thune*.
his word *Piphles* to be a corruption from that *Ib. p.*
1075.

of *Poplicans*; and thence may be learnt that these *Flemish* Hereticks, like the *Poplicans*, were perfect *Manicheans*, nevertheless good *Protestants*, if we believe the *Calvinists*, and worthy to be their Ancestors. But not to dwell on the name, we need but give ear to *Ebrard* an author of that country, in his description of these Hereticks. At the first touch, he shews they rejected the *Law*, and the God that gave it: the rest is of the same stamp, they not only despising *Marriage*, but the use of *Flesh meat*, and the *Sacraments*.

Pet. de Val-Cern. Ibid c. 2. La Roq. 454.

Ibid. c. 1. 2. 3. & seq.

LIII. The *Vaudois* well distinguish'd from the *Manicheans*. *Cap.* 25.

After methodically digesting all he had to say against this Sect, he proceeds to speak against that of the *Vaudois*, which he distinguishes, like the rest, from that of the new *Manicheans*; and this is the third witness we have to produce. But here is a fourth of greater importance in this fact than all the rest.

LIV. Testimony of *Renier*, that had been of the Sect of *Manicheans* in *Italy* seventeen years. *Ren. cont. Wal. T.* iv. *Bib. PP. part.* 2. *p.* 746. *Præf. Ibid.* 746. *Ibid.* 756. 757. *Ibid. c.* 7. *p.* 765. *Ibid. c.*

'Tis *Renier* of the Order of *Dominican* Friars, from whom we have already cited some passages. He wrote about the year 1250, or 54, and the title he gave his book was, *De Hæreticis*; *of Hereticks*, as he testifies in his Preface. He styles himself *Brother* Renier *formerly an Heresiarch, and now a Priest*, on account of his having been seventeen years among the *Cathari*, as he twice acknowledges. This author is well known among the *Protestants*, who have never done boasting the fine description he has made of the manners of the *Vaudois*. He is the more to be credited in their respect, as he tells us both good and bad with so great sincerity. Now it cannot be alledged he had not a competent knowledge of the several Sects of his time. He had been frequently present at the examination of Hereticks, and there it was that the minutest differences were most narrowly scan'd of so many obscure

bſcure and cunning Sects, wherewith *Chriſten-* III. *p.*
dom, at that time, was over-run. Many of them 748.
were converted, and detected all the Myſteries
of the Sect, which had been ſo carefully con-
cealed. A thorough knowledge of the diſtem-
per is half the cure. Over and above this, *Re-*
nier applied his ſtudy to the reading of Hereti-
cal books, as of that great Volume of *John* of *Ibi. c.* 6.
Lions a leading man amongſt the new *Mani-* *p.* 762.
cheans, and from thence extracted the articles of 763.
his Doctrine which he reports. No wonder
then, this author has given us a more exact ac-
count than any other, of the differences in his
cotemporary Sects.

LV. He diſtinguiſhes them mighty well from the *Vaudois*. The Characteriſticks of *Manicheiſm* in the *Cathari*.

The firſt he inſtances in is that of the *poor* *Ibi. c.* v. *p.* 749. & *ſeq.*
men of *Lions* deſcended from *Peter Waldo*, all
whoſe *Dogmata* he ſets down even to the moſt
nice preciſion. All therein is far remote from
Manicheiſm, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Thence
he proceeds to the other Sects of the *Manichean*
race; and comes at length to the *Cathari*, whoſe
ſecrets he was intirely acquainted with: for be-
ſides his having been, as already obſerved, ſe-
venteen years amongſt them, and thoroughly ini-
tiated in the Sect, he had heard their greateſt
Doctors preach, and amongſt others, one call'd
Nazarius the ancienteſt of them all, who boaſted
of having been form'd under the diſcipline, ſixty
years before, of the two chief Paſtors of the
Bulgarian Church. However, obſerve this ex-
traction always from *Bulgaria*. 'Twas from
hence the *Cathari* of *Italy*, amongſt whom
Renier dwelt, derived their authority; and as
he had been converſant amongſt them ſo many
years, 'tis not to be wonder'd, he has the moſt
accurately unfolded, as to all particulars, their
Errors, their Sacraments, their Ceremonies, the
different parties form'd amongſt them, with the

Ibid. c. VI. 753. 754. *Ibid.* 755. *Ibid.* 756.

affinities as well as the diverſities of one from the other. In him, every where are to be ſeen very clearly the principles, the impieties, and the whole ſpirit of *Manicheiſm*. The diſtinction of the *Elect* and *Auditors*, a particular Characteriſtick of the Sect, frequent in St. *Auſtin* and other authors, is found here diſtinguiſh'd under another name. We learn from *Renier*, that theſe Hereticks, beſides the *Cathari* or *Pure*, the moſt conſummate of the Sect, had alſo another claſs
Ibid. 756. which they call'd *their Believers*, made up of all ſorts of people. Theſe were not admitted to all the Myſteries; and the ſame *Renier* relates that the number of the perfect *Cathari*, in his
Ibid. 759. time, when the Sect was weakned, *Did not exceed four thouſand in all Chriſtendom*; but *that the Believers were innumerable: a computation*; ſays he, *which ſeveral times has been made amongſt them.*

LVI. A remarkable liſt of the *Manichean* Churches. The *Albigenſes* compriſed in it. All of them deſcended from *Bulgaria*.

Amongſt the *Sacraments* of theſe Hereticks their impoſition of hands in order to remit ſins is chiefly to be obſerved: they call'd it *Conſolation*; it ſerved both inſtead of *Baptiſm* and *Penance*. You ſee it in the above *Council* of *Orleans*, in *Ecbert*, in *Enervin*, and in *Ermengard*. *Renier* gives the beſt account of it, as an adept in the Myſteries of the Sect. But the moſt remarkable thing in *Renier*'s book is the exact liſt of the Churches of the *Cathari*, and his account of the ſtate they were in at his time. They counted ſixteen in all, and amongſt the reſt he reckons *The Church of* France, *the Church of* Toulouſe, *the Church of* Cahors, *the Church of Alby*, and infine, *the Church of* Bulgaria, *and the Church of* Drunganicia, *whence*, ſays he, *ſprung all the reſt*. This conſider'd, I ſee not how the *Manicheiſm* of the *Albigenſes* can be call'd in queſtion, nor their deſcent from the *Manicheans of Bulgaria*. The reader has but to call to mind

T. ix. *Conc. Ecb. Ren. c.* xiv. *T.* iv. *Bib. PP.* 1. *part. p.* 1254. *Ibid.* 759.

the two Orders of *Bulgaria* and *Drungaria* mentioned by *Vignier*'s author, and which united themſelves in *Lombardy*. I repeat once more that there is no neceſſity of ſearching what this *Drungaria* can be. Theſe obſcure Hereticks often took their name from unknown places. *Renier* tells us of *Runcarians*, a *Manichean* Sect of his time, whoſe name was taken from a village. Who knows but this word, *Runcarians*, was a corruption of *Druncarians?*

Ren. Ibi. p. 753. 756.

We find in the ſame author, and elſewhere, ſo many different names of theſe Hereticks, that it were labour loſt to inquire their origin. *Patarians*, *Poplicans*, *Toulouſians*, *Albigenſes*, *Cathari*, were under different names, and often with ſome diverſity, in Sect *Manicheans*, all of *Bulgarian* deſcent; whence alſo they took the name moſt in uſe among the vulgar.

LVII. The ſame origin proved from *Matthew Paris*.

So certain is this origin, that we find it acknowledged even in the thirteenth century. *At this time*, ſays *Matthew Paris* (*viz*, in the year 1223,) the *Albigenſian Hereticks made themſelves an Antipope call'd* Bartholomew, *in the confines of Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*. It appears afterwards, that the *Albigenſes* went in crowds to conſult him; that he had a *Vicar* at *Carcaſſone* and *Toulouſe*, and diſpatch'd his Biſhops far and near: which comes up manifeſtly to what was ſaid by *Enervin*, that theſe Hereticks had their *Pope*; altho' the ſame author acquaints us that all did not own him. And that no doubt might remain as to the error of the *Albigenſes* mentioned by *Matthew Paris*; the ſame author aſſures us, *The Albigenſes of Spain* that took up arms in 1234, amongſt many other errors, *Particularly denied the Myſtery of the Incarnation.*

The *Pope* of the *Albigenſes* in *Bulgaria*. *Mat. Paris in Henr.* III. *An.* 1223. *p.* 317. *Ep. Enerv. ad S. Bernard. Anal. Mabill.* III. *Ibid. An.* 1234. *p.* 395.

Notwithſtanding ſuch great impieties, the outward appearance of theſe Hereticks was ſurpri-

LVIII. The great hypocriſy of theſe Hereticks from *Enervin. Anal.* III. *p.* 454.

ſing. *Enervin* introduces them ſpeaking in theſe terms: *You for your part*, ſaid they to Catholicks, *join houſe to houſe, and field to field: the moſt perfect amongſt you, as the Monks and Canons regular, if they poſſeſs no goods in property, have them at leaſt in common. We, the poor of Jeſus Chriſt, without repoſe, without ſettled habitations, wander from Town to Town like ſheep in the midſt of wolves, and ſuffer perſecution like the Martyrs and Apoſtles.* They boaſted next their abſtinence, their faſts, the narrow way they walk'd in, and call'd themſelves the only followers of the Apoſtolick life, for that, contented with neceſſaries, they had neither houſe, nor land, nor riches, *On account*, ſaid they, *that Jeſus Chriſt neither had nor poſſeſſed the like things, nor ſuffer'd his Diſciples to poſſeſs them.*

LIX. And from St. *Bernard.* Conformity of their diſcourſe with that of *Fauſtus* the *Manichean* in St. *Auſtin. Serm.* 65. *Serm.* 66. *L.* V. *cont. Fauſt. c.* 1.

According to St. *Bernard*, there was *Nothing more Chriſtian in appearance* than their ſpeech, nothing more blameleſs than their manners. Therefore they call'd themſelves the *Apoſtolick*, and bragg'd of leading the lives of the Apoſtles. Methinks, I hear over again *Fauſtus* the *Manichean* who, in St. *Auſtin*, thus ſpeaks to Catholicks: *You ask me whether I receive the Goſpel? you ſee I do in my obſerving what the Goſpel preſcribes: of you I ought to ask whether you receive it, ſince I ſee no mark of it in your lives. For my part, I have forſaken father, mother, wife and children, gold, ſilver, meat, drink, delights, pleaſures; content with having what is ſufficient for life from day to day. I am poor, I am peaceable, I weep, I ſuffer hunger and thirſt, I am perſecuted for juſtice-ſake, and do you queſtion whether I receive the Goſpel?* After this, muſt perſecutions be ſtill taken for a mark of the true Church and true piety? 'tis the language of *Manicheans.*

But

But St. *Auſtin* and St. *Bernard* ſhew them, that their virtue was nothing but vain oſtentation. To carry the abſtinence from meats ſo far as to ſay, they are unclean and evil in their nature; and continence, even to the condemnation of Marriage, is, on one hand, to attack the *Creator*, and, on the other, looſing the reins to evil deſires by leaving them abſolutely without a remedy. Never believe any good of thoſe who run virtue to extremes. The depravation of their minds venting itſelf in ſuch extravagance of ſpeech, introduces into their lives diſorders without end.

LX. Their hypocriſy confounded by St. *Auſtin* and St. *Bernard*. *Bern. Serm.* 66. *in Cant.*

St. *Auſtin* informs us that theſe people, who debarr'd themſelves of Marriage, allow'd liberty for every thing elſe. What, according to their principles, they properly had in abhorrence (I am aſhamed to be forced to repeat it) was conception, whereby appears, what an inlet was open'd to the abominations, whereof the old and new *Manicheans* ſtand convicted. But, as among the different Sects of theſe new *Manicheans*, there were degrees of weakneſs, the moſt infamous of all were thoſe call'd *Patarians*; which I the more willingly take notice of by reaſon that our *Reformed*, who place them expreſly amongſt the *Vaudois*, glory in deſcending from them.

LXI. The infamy of theſe Hereticks and chiefly of the *Patarians*. *Aug. Ren. c.* xvi. *Ebrard c.* 26. *T.* iv. *Bib. PP.* 1. *part. p.* 1178. *Ren. c.* vi. *T.* iv. *Bib. PP.* 2. *part. p.* 753. *La Roq. hiſ. de l'Euc.* 2. *part. ch.* 18. *p.* 445.

Thoſe that make the greateſt oſtentation of their virtue and the purity of their lives, generally ſpeaking, are the moſt corrupt. It may have been obſerved how theſe impure *Manicheans* prided themſelves, at their beginning, and thro' the whole progreſs of the Sect, in a virtue more ſevere than that of others; and in the view of inhancing their own merit ſaid, that the *Sacraments* and Myſteries loſt their efficacy in impure hands. It's neceſſary to take good notice of this part of their Doctrine, which we have ſeen in

LXII. Doctrine of theſe Hereticks that the effect of the Sacraments de-

pends on the ſanctity of the Miniſters. *Ren. c.* vi. *ibi. p.* 756. 759. *Erm. c.* 14. *de imp. Man. Ibid. p.* 1254.

Enervin, in St. *Bernard*, and in the *Council* of *Lombez*. Wherefore *Renier* repeats twice, that this impoſition of hands, by them call'd *Conſolation*, and wherein they placed the remiſſion of ſins, was unprofitable to the receiver, if the giver of it were in ſin, tho' hidden. Their manner of accounting for this Doctrine, according to *Ermengard*, was becauſe a perſon having loſt the *Holy Ghoſt*, is no longer impower'd to give it; which was the very reaſon alledged by the *Donatiſts* of old.

LXIII. They condemn all oaths and puniſhment of crimes. *Bern. Serm.* 66. *in Cant. Ebrard. c.* 14. 15. *Erm. c.* 18. 19. *Ibid. p.* 1134. 1136. 1260. 1261.

It was moreover for ſhew of ſanctity and to raiſe themſelves above others, that they ſaid, a Chriſtian ought never to affirm the truth by oath for what cauſe ſoever, not even in a Court of judicature, and that it was unlawful to put any one to death however criminal. The *Vaudois*, as we ſhall ſee, borrow'd from them all theſe extravagant maxims and all this vain exterior of piety.

Such were the *Albigenſes* by the teſtimony of all their cotemporary authors, not one excepted. The *Proteſtants* bluſh for them, and all they can anſwer is, that theſe exceſſes, theſe errors, and all theſe diſorders of the *Albigenſes*, are the calumnies of their enemies. But have they ſo much as one proof for what they advance, or even one author of thoſe times, and for more than four hundred years after, to back them in it? For our parts, we produce as many witneſſes as have been authors in the whole univerſe who have treated of this Sect. Thoſe that were educated in their principles have reveal'd to us their abominable ſecrets after their converſion. We trace up the damnable Sect even to its ſource: we ſhew whence it came, which way it ſteer'd its courſe, all its Characteriſticks, and its whole pedigree branching from the *Manichean* root.

They

They oppoſe againſt us conjectures, nay, what conjectures? We ſhall take a view of them, for I mean to produce here thoſe that carry the beſt appearance.

LXV. Examination of *Peter de Bruis*'s Doctrine. The Miniſters objection taken from *Peter* of *Cluny*. *Petr. Ven. con. Petrobr.* *T.* xxii. *Bib. Max. p.* 1034. *Serm.* 65. *in Cant. Pet. Vener. Ibid. p.* 1037.

The greateſt effort of our adverſaries, is in order to juſtify *Peter de Bruis* and his diſciple *Henry*. St. *Bernard*, ſay they, accuſes them of condemning *Meats* and *Marriage*. But *Peter* the *venerable Abbot* of *Cluny*, who much about that time refuted *Peter de Bruis*, ſpeaks nothing of theſe errors, and accuſes him of five only: of denying *Infant-Baptiſm*, of condemning *hallow'd* Churches, of breaking *Croſſes* inſtead of venerating them, of rejecting the *Euchariſt*, of ridiculing *Oblations* and Prayers for the dead. St. *Bernard* avers, this Heretick and his followers *received only the Goſpel*. But *venerable Peter* ſpeaks *doubtingly of it*. *Fame*, ſays he, *hath publiſh'd that you do not wholly believe either in Jeſus Chriſt, or the Prophets, or the Apoſtles: but reports, frequently deceitful, are not to be lightly credited, there being ſome even that ſay, you reject the whole Canon of the Scriptures.* Whereupon he adds: *I will not blame you for what is uncertain.* Here *Proteſtants* commend the prudence of *venerable Peter*, and blame St. *Bernard*'s credulity, as one too eaſily aſſenting to confuſed reports.

LXVI. *Peter de Bruis*'s Doctrine according to *Peter* of *Cluny*. *Opuſc. cont. Servet.*

But in the firſt place, to take only what the *Abbot* of *Cluny* reproves as certain in this Heretick, there is more than enough to condemn him. *Calvin* has number'd amongſt blaſphemies the Doctrine condemning *Infant-Baptiſm*. The denying it with *Peter de Bruis*, and his diſciple *Henry*, was refuſing ſalvation to the moſt innocent age of man; it was ſaying, that for ſo many ages, during which ſcarce any were baptized but children, there had been no *Baptiſm* in the world,

world, no *Sacrament*, no *Church*, no *Chriſtians*. 'Tis what cauſed horror in the Abbot of *Cluny*. The reſt of *Peter de Bruis*'s errors, refuted by this venerable author, are not leſs inſupportable. Let us give ear to what he is reproach'd with in regard of the *Euchariſt* by this holy Abbot, who hath juſt declared to us, he will object nothing to him but what is certain. *He denies*, ſays he, *that the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt can be made by virtue of the divine word and miniſtry of the Prieſt, and avers, all that is done at the Altar is unprofitable.* This is not only denying the truth of the Body and Blood, but like the *Manicheans*, rejecting abſolutely the *Euchariſt*. For which reaſon the holy *Abbot* ſubjoins a little after: *Were your Hereſy contain'd within the bounds of that of* Berengarius, *who in denying the truth of the Body did not deny the Sacrament or the appearance and figure of it, I would refer you to the authors that have refuted him. But,* proceeds he a little after, *you add error to error, Hereſy to Hereſy; and not only deny the truth of the Fleſh and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, but their Sacrament, their figure and their appearance; and ſo leave God's people without a ſacrifice.*

Ibid. p. 1057.

LXVII. St. *Bernard* as circumſpect as *Peter* of *Cluny*.

As for the errors this holy *Abbot* ſpeaks not to, and thoſe he doubts of, it's eaſy to comprehend that the reaſon of this was, their not being as yet ſufficiently proved, nor all the ſecrets of a Sect, which had ſo many windings and turnings, thoroughly diſcloſed at the beginning. They came to light by degrees, and *venerable Peter* aſſures us himſelf, that *Henry* the diſciple of *Bruis* had added a great deal to the *five chapters* condemn'd in his maſter. He had by him the writing, wherein all this Hereſiarch's new errors were collected from his own mouth. But this holy *Abbot* waited, before he refuted them, for

Ep. ad Epiſcop. Arelat. &c. *Ante Epiſt. contra Petrobr. Ibid p.* 1034.

for ſtill further aſſurance. St. *Bernard*, who had beheld theſe Hereticks at cloſe view, knew more of them than *venerable Peter* who wrote only from report: nor did he know all, and for that reaſon, would not venture to call them compleat *Manicheans*; for he was not leſs circumſpect than *venerable Peter* to impute nothing to them but what was certain. Accordingly, obſerve how he ſpeaks of their impurities: *men ſay, they do ſhameful things in private. Men ſay*, implies, he had not as yet a full aſſurance of them, for which reaſon he forbore to ſpeak poſitively. Thoſe that knew them, ſpoke out: but this diſcretion of St. *Bernard* makes it plain, how certain that was, with which he reproach'd them. *Serm.* 66. *Serm.* 65.

LXVIII. Anſwer to what is objected concerning St. *Bernard*'s credulity.

But, it's objected, he was credulous, and *Otho* of *Freiſingen*, an author of thoſe times, has reproach'd him with it. We muſt alſo hearken to this conjecture, which the *Proteſtants* lay ſuch ſtreſs on. It is true, *Otho* of *Freiſingen* thinks St. *Bernard* too credulous, by reaſon he cauſed the manifeſt errors of *Gilbert de la Poiree* Biſhop of *Poitiers* to be condemn'd, which his diſciple *Otho* ſtrove to extenuate. This reproach of *Otho* is therefore the excuſe which an affectionate diſciple prepares for his maſter. However let us ſee, wherein he makes St. *Bernard*'s credulity to conſiſt. *In this*, ſays *Otho*, that *this Abbot, as well from the fervor of his Faith, as his innate goodneſs, being a little too credulous; the Doctors that relied too much on human reaſon, and the wiſdom of this world, were miſtruſted by him; and if he were inform'd, their Doctrine was not wholly conformable to Faith, he eaſily believed it.* Was he in the wrong? no certainly, and experience ſufficiently evidences that *Peter Abelard*, who for this reaſon incurr'd his ſuſpicion, and *Gilbert*, who explain'd the *Trinity* rather according to *Ariſtotle*'s topicks *Albert. La Roq. Oth. Friſ. in Frider. lib.* 1. *c.* 46. 47. *Ibid.*

topicks than tradition and the rule of Faith, ſtray'd from the paths of truth, ſince their errors, condemn'd by *Councils*, are equally abandoned by *Catholicks* and *Proteſtants*.

LXIX. St. *Bernard* imputes nothing to *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry* the ſeducers of the *Touloufians* but what he knows. *Ep.* 241. *ad Hildef. com. Pet. Vener. cont. Petrobr. Act. Hild. Anal.* III. 312. *& ſeq.* &c. *Serm.* 65.

Let us not then accuſe here the credulity of St. *Bernard*. If he has repreſented *Henry* the diſciple of *Peter de Bruis* and the ſeducer of the *Touloufians*, as the moſt profligate and hypocritical of men, all cotemporary authors paſs'd the ſame judgment on him. The errors he imputes to the diſciples of theſe Hereticks have been own'd, and were diſcover'd daily more and more as the ſequel of this hiſtory ſhall manifeſt. Nor was it raſhly that St. *Bernard* lays thoſe to their charge which we find in his ſermons. *I will relate to you*, ſays he, *their extravagances, which came to our knowledge either by the anſwers they have made, without reflexion, to Catholicks; or by the mutual reproaches which their diviſions brought to light; or by the things confeſs'd by them when converted.* Thus were theſe extravagances diſcover'd, which St. *Bernard* afterwards calls blaſphemies. Had there been nothing elſe in the *Henricians* but that blind paſſion for thoſe women their conſtant companions, with whom, as St. *Bernard* relates, they paſs'd their lives ſhut up in the ſame chamber night and day, this were enough to raiſe an abhorrence of them. Yet the thing was ſo notorious, that St. *Bernard* aſſign'd it as a mark to know them by: *Tell me*, ſaid he to them, *my friend, who is this woman? is ſhe your wife? no, anſwer they; that does not agree with my profeſſion. Is ſhe your daughter, your ſiſter, your niece? no, ſhe belongs to me in no degree of kindred. But are you ignorant, it is not allowable by the laws of the Church for thoſe, who profeſs continency, to cohabit with women? part then with her, if you be not reſolved to ſcandalize the*

Ibid.

the Church. Otherwiſe, this fact, which is manifeſt, will make us ſuſpect the reſt, tho' not ſo manifeſt. He was not too credulous in this ſuſpicion, and the filthineſs of theſe falſe pretenders to Continence has ſince been revealed to the whole world.

LXX. Concluſion: that Proteſtants reap nothing but ſhame by making the *Albigenſes* their Predeceſſors.

How comes it then to paſs that the *Proteſtants* undertake the defence of theſe villains? The reaſon is but too evident. 'Tis the earneſt deſire they have of finding out predeceſſors. They meet with none but ſuch as theſe that ſtood out againſt venerating the Croſs, praying to Saints, making oblations for the Dead. They are concerned to find no where the foot ſteps of their *Reformation* but amongſt the *Manicheans*. Becauſe they inveigh againſt the *Pope* and Church of *Rome*, the *Reformation* is inclined to favour them. The *Catholicks* of thoſe times reproach them with their bad notions concerning the *Euchariſt*. Our *Proteſtants* would have been glad they had been but meer *Berengarians*, diſpleaſed with the *Euchariſt* in part, not *Manicheans*, averſe to it in the whole. But tho' it had been ſo, theſe *Reformed*, whom you will have your brethren, conceal'd their Doctrine, *frequented our Churches, honour'd Prieſts, went to the oblation: confeſs'd their ſins, communicated, received with us*, continues St. *Bernard*, *the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt*. Behold them therefore in our aſſemblies, which in their hearts they deteſted as the Conventicles of Satan; preſent at *Maſs*, which, in their error, they accounted an *Idolatry* and *Sacrilege*; and in ſhort, practiſing the uſages of the Church of *Rome*, which they believed was the kingdom of *Antichriſt*. Are theſe the diſciples of him, who commanded his Goſpel to be preach'd on the houſe-tops? Are theſe the children of light? Are

Serm. 65. *in Cant.* *Ecbert.* *Ren.*

theſe

these the works which shine forth before men, or rather such as should be hid in darkness? in a word, are these fit Fathers for the *Reformation* to chuse and boast of?

A History of the VAUDOIS.

LXXI. Beginning of the *Vaudois*, or *Poor men* of *Lions*.

THE *Vaudois* stand them no better in-stead, in order to settle a legitimate succession. Their name is derived from *Waldo* the author of the Sect. *Lions* was the place of their nativity. They were call'd the *Poor men* of *Lions*, on account of the poverty affected by them; and as the City of *Lions* was then call'd in *Latin Leona*, they had also the appellation of *Leonists*, or *Lionists*.

LXXII. The names of the Sect.

Ebrard. Ibid. c. 25. Conrad. Ursper. Chron. ad An. 1212.

They were also call'd the *Insabbatized* from an ancient word signifying shoes, whence have proceeded other words of a like signification still in use in several other languages as well as ours. They took therefore the name of the *Insabbatized* from a sort of shoes of a particular make, which they cut in the upper part to shew their feet naked like the Apostles, as they said; and this fashion was affected by them in token of their Apostolick Poverty.

LXXIII. Their history *Bipartite*. Their beginnings specious.

Ren. c. v. *p.* 749.

Now here is an abridgment of their history. At their first separation they held but few tenets contrary to ours, if any at all. In the year 1160, *Peter Waldo* a Merchant of *Lions*, at a meeting held as customary, with the other rich Traders of the Town, was so lively struck with the sudden death of one of the most eminent amongst them, that he immediately distributed all his means, which were considerable, to the poor of that City; and having, on that account, gather'd a great number of them, he preach'd to them voluntary poverty, and the imitation of the life of *Jesus Christ* and his *Apostles*. This is what

Renier

Renier ſays, whom the *Proteſtants*, pleaſed with the encomiums we ſhall find he beſtows on the *Vaudois*, will have us believe in this matter preferably to all other authors. But we are going to ſee, what miſguided piety can arrive to. *Peter Pylicdorf*, who beheld the *Vaudois* in their moſt flouriſhing condition, and related, not only their *Dogmata*, but deportment too with much ſimplicity and learning, ſays, that *Waldo*, moved with thoſe words of the *Goſpel* ſo highly favourable to poverty, believed the *Apoſtolick* life was no longer to be found on earth. Bent on reſtoring it, he ſold all he had. *Others, touch'd with compunction, did the ſame*, and united together in this undertaking. At the firſt riſe of this obſcure and timorous Sect, either they had none, or did not publiſh any particular tenet; which was the reaſon that *Ebrard* of *Bethune* remarks nothing ſingular in them but the affectation of a proud and lazy poverty. One might ſee theſe *Inſabbatized* or *Sabbatized*, ſo he calls them, with their naked feet, or rather with *their ſhoes cut open* at top, waiting for alms, and living only on what was given them. Nothing was blamed in them, at firſt, but oſtentation, and without liſting them as yet amongſt Hereticks, they were reproach'd only with imitating their pride. But let us hear the ſequel of their hiſtory: *After living a while in this pretended Apoſtolick Poverty, they bethought themſelves that the Apoſtles were not only poor, but alſo preach'd the Goſpel.* They ſet themſelves therefore to preach according to their example, that they might wholly imitate the Apoſtolick life. But the *Apoſtles* were *ſent*, and theſe men, whoſe ignorance render'd them incapable of ſuch *Miſſion*, were excluded by the *Prelates*, and laſtly by the *Holy See*, from a miniſtry which they had uſurpt without their leave. Nevertheleſs

Lib. cont. Wal. c. 1. T. iv. Bib. PP. 2. part. p. 779.

Antih. c. 25.

Ibi. 1168.

Ibid.

Ibi. 1170.

Pylicd. Ibi.

theleſs they continued it in private, and mur-
Pylicd. Ibi. Ren. Ibid. mur'd againſt the *Clergy* that hinder'd them from preaching, as they ſaid, thro' jealouſy, and on account that their Doctrine and holy life was a reproach to the others corrupted manners.

LXXIV. Whether *Waldo* were a man of learning. *Ren. c.* vi.

Some *Proteſtants* have aſſerted, that *Waldo* was a man of learning: but *Renier* ſays only, *He had a ſmall tincture of it*; *aliquantulum litera-tus*. Other *Proteſtants*, on the contrary, take advantage from the great ſucceſs he had in his ignorance. But it's but too well known, what a dexterity often may be met with in the minds of the moſt ignorant men, to attract to them thoſe that are alike diſpoſed, and *Waldo* ſeduced none but ſuch.

LXXV. The *Vaudois* condemn'd by *Lucius* III. *Bern. Abb. Fontiſcal. adv. Wald. Sect. T.* iv. *Bib. PP. Præf. p.* 1195. *Ibid.*

This Sect, in little time, made a great progreſs. *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontcauld*, who ſaw their beginnings, remarks their increaſe under *Pope Lucius* the third. This *Pope*'s Pontificate commences in 1181, to wit, twenty years after *Waldo* had appear'd at *Lions*. Twenty years at leaſt were requiſite to make a body and ſo conſiderable a Sect as to deſerve notice. At that time therefore *Lucius* III, condemn'd them; and as his *Pontificate* held but four years, this firſt condemnation of the *Vaudois* muſt have fallen betwixt the year 1181, when this *Pope* was raiſed to St. *Peter*'s Chair, and the year 1185, wherein he died.

LXXVI. They come to *Rome*. They are not accuſed of any thing in reſpect to the *Real Preſence*. *Chron. ad An.* 1212.

Conrade Abbot of *Urſperg*, thoroughly acquainted, as we ſhall find, with the *Vaudois*, hath written, that *Pope* Lucius *placed them in the number of Hereticks, on account of ſome* Dogmata *and ſuperſtitious obſervances*. As yet theſe *Dogmata* are not ſpecified; but there is no queſtion, that, if the *Vaudois* had denied ſuch remarkable points as that of the *Real Preſence* (a matter become ſo notorious by *Berengarius*'s condemnation)

condemnation) it had not been thought ſufficient to ſay in general, they held *ſome ſuperſtitious Dogmata*.

Much about the ſame time, in the year 1194, a ſtatute of *Alphonſus* or *Ildephonſus*, King of *Arragon*, reckons the *Vaudois* or *Inſabbatized*, otherwiſe the *poor men* of *Lions*, amongſt *Hereticks* anathematized by the *Church*, and this is manifeſtly in conſequence of the ſentence pronounced by *Lucius* III. After this Pope's death, when in ſpite of his decree theſe Hereticks ſpread themſelves far and near, and *Bernard* Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, who condemn'd them anew after a great inqueſt, could not ſtem the current of their progreſs, many pious perſons, *Eccleſiaſticks* and *others*, procured a *Conference* in order to reclaim them in an amicable manner. *Both ſides agreed to chuſe for Umpire* in the Conference, a holy Prieſt call'd *Raimond* of *Daventry*, *a man illuſtrious for birth, but much more ſo for the holineſs of his life*. The aſſembly was very ſolemn, *and the diſpute held long*. Such paſſages of Scripture, as each party grounded itſelf on, were produced on both ſides. The *Vaudois* were condemn'd, and declared *Hereticks* in regard to all the heads of accuſation.

LXXVII. Another proof that their errors did not regard the Euchariſt.. *Apud. Em. 2. p. direct. inq. q.* xiv. *p.* 287. *& apud. Marian. Præf. in Luc. Trid. T.* iv. *Bib. PP. 2. p. p.* 582. *Bern. de Font. Cal. adverſus Wal. Sect. in Præf. T.* iv. *Bib. PP. 3. p. p.* 1195.

Thereby appears that the *Vaudois*, tho' condemn'd, had not as yet broken all meaſures with the Church of *Rome*, in that they had agreed to the Umpirage of a Catholick and Prieſt. The Abbot of *Fontcauld*, preſent at the Conference, did commit to writing, with much judgment and perſpicuity, the debated points, and the paſſages alledged on both ſides: ſo that nothing can give us a clearer inſight into the whole ſtate of the queſtion, ſuch as it then was, and at the beginning of the Sect.

LXXVIII Proof of the ſame truth by a famous Conference, whereinall pointswere diſcuſs'd.

LXXIX. Articles of the Conference.

The diſpute chiefly turn'd on the obedience due to *Paſtors*. It's plain, the *Vaudois* refuſed it, and, notwithſtanding all their prohibitions, believed they had a right to preach, both men and women. As this diſobedience could be grounded on nothing elſe, but the Paſtors unworthineſs, the *Catholicks*, in proving the obedience due to them, prove it is due even to the wicked, and
Ib. c. 1. 2. that grace, be its channel what it will, never ceaſes to diffuſe itſelf on the faithful. For the ſame reaſon they ſhew'd, that ſlandering of Paſtors
Ibid. c. 3. (whence was taken the pretext of diſobedience) was forbidden by the laws of God. Then they attack the liberty, Lay-men gave themſelves, of
Ibid. c. 4. *& ſeq.* preaching without the Paſtors leave, nay in ſpite of their prohibitions, and ſhew, theſe ſeditious preachments tend to the ſubverſion of the weak
Ibid. c. 7. and ignorant. Above all, they prove from the
Ibid. 8. *Scripture*, that women, to whom ſilence is in-
Ibid. 9. join'd, ought not to interfere in teaching. Laſtly, it's remonſtrated to the *Vaudois*, how much they are in the wrong, to reject prayer for the Dead ſo well grounded in *Scripture*, and ſo evidently handed down by *Tradition*: and, whereas theſe *Hereticks* abſented from *Churches* in order to pray apart in their houſes, they are made ſenſible, they ought not to abandon the houſe of prayer, whoſe ſanctity the whole *Scripture* and the *Son* of God himſelf had ſo much recommended.

LXXX. The Euchariſt is not there ſpoken of.

Without examining here which ſide was right or *wrong in this debate, it's plain, what was the ground of it, and which were the points conteſted; and it's more clear* than *day, that in theſe beginnings, far from bringing* the *Real Preſence, Tranſubſtantiation*, or the *Sacraments* into queſtion, they did not as yet ſo much as mention praying to Saints, nor *Relicks*, nor *Images*.

'Twas

'Twas near about this time, that *Alanus* wrote the book above-mention'd; wherein, after carefully distinguishing the *Vaudois* from the other Hereticks of his time, he undertakes to prove, in opposition to their Doctrine, *That none ought to preach without mission; that Prelates should be obey'd, and not only good, but also evil ones; that their bad lives derogate not from their power; that 'tis the sacred order we ought to attribute the power of consecrating to,* and *that of binding and loosing, and not to personal merit: that we ought to confess to Priests, and not to Lay-men; that it is lawful to swear in certain cases, and to execute malefactors.* This is much what he opposes to the errors of the *Vaudois*. Had they err'd in relation to the *Eucharist*, *Alanus* would not have forgotten it, the very thing he was so mindful to reproach the *Albigenses* with, against whom he undertakes to prove both the *Real* Presence and *Transubstantiation*; and after reproving so many things of less importance in the *Vaudois*, he would never have omitted so essential a point.

LXXXI. *Alanus*, who makes a list of the errors of the *Vaudois*, objects nothing concerning the Eucharist. *Alan. lib.* II. *p.* 175. & *seq.* *Lib.* I. *p.* 118. & *seq.*

A little after *Alanus*'s time, and about the year 1209. *Peter de Vaucernay*, a plain down right man, and of unquestionable sincerity, distinguishes the *Vaudois* from the *Albigenses* by their proper characters, when he tells us, *The* Vaudois *were bad, but much less so than these other Hereticks*, who admitted the two principles, and all the consequences of that damnable Doctrine. *Not to mention*, proceeds this author, *their other infidelities; their error chiefly consisted in four heads*: viz. *their wearing sandals in imitation of the Apostles; their saying it was not lawful to swear for whatsoever cause; nor to put to death,* even malefactors; *lastly, in that they said that each one of them,* tho' but meer Lay-men, *provided he wore sandals* (namely, as above seen, the mark of

LXXXII. Nor *Peter de Vaucernay*. *Pet. de Val-Cern. Hist. Albig. c.* 2. *Duch. Hist. Franc. T.* V. *p.* 557.

Apoſtolick Poverty) *might conſecrate the Body of Jeſus Chriſt.* Here are in reality the ſpecifick characters that denote the true ſpirit of the *Vaudois*: the affectation of Poverty in the ſandals which were the badge of it; ſimplicity and apparent meekneſs in rejecting all oaths and capital puniſhments, and, what was more peculiar to this Sect, the belief that the *Laity*, provided they had embraced their pretended Apoſtolick Poverty and bore its badge, that is, provided they were of their Sect, might adminiſter and conſecrate the *Sacraments*, even *the Body of Jeſus Chriſt.* The reſt, as their Doctrine concerning prayer for the Dead, was compriſed in the other infidelities of theſe *Hereticks*, which this author forbears to particulariſe. Yet, had they roſe up againſt the *Real* Preſence, ſince the diſturbance this matter had cauſed in the *Church*, not only this *Religious* would not have forgotten it, but had been far from ſaying, *They conſecrated the Body of Jeſus Chriſt*, thereby making them not to differ from *Catholicks* in this point, except their attributing to *Lay-men* that power, which *Catholicks* acknowledged only in the *Prieſthood.*

LXXXIII. The *Vaudois* come to demand the approbation of *Innocent* III. *Conr. Urſperg. ad An.* 1212.

It appears then manifeſtly that the *Vaudois* in 1209, at the time of *Peter de Vaucernay*'s writing, had not ſo much as thought of denying the *Real* Preſence, but retain'd ſo much, either true or apparent ſubmiſſion to the Church of *Rome*, that even in 1212, they came to *Rome*, in order to obtain *the approbation of their Sect from the Holy See.* 'Twas then that *Conrade* Abbot of *Urſperg* ſaw them there, as he himſelf reports, with their maſter *Bernard.* They may be diſcover'd by the characters given them by this Chronicler: they were *the poor men of* Lions, *thoſe whom* Lucius III, *had put in the liſt of Hereticks*, who made themſelves remarkable by the affectation

affectation *of Apoſtolick Poverty with their ſhoes cut open at top*; who in *their private preachments and clandeſtine aſſemblies revil'd the Church and Prieſthood.* The Pope judged the affectation was very odd which they diſcover'd *in theſe cut ſhoes, and in their Capuches like thoſe of the religious, tho' contrary to their cuſtom, they wore a long head of hair like Lay-men.* And truly, theſe out of the way affectations moſt commonly cover ſomething bad; but eſpecially men took offence at the liberty theſe new Apoſtles gave themſelves, of going promiſcuouſly together, men and women, in imitation, as they ſaid, of the pious women that followed *Jeſus Chriſt* and the *Apoſtles* to miniſter to them: but very different were the times, the perſons, and the circumſtances.

LXXXIV. The *Vaudois* begin to be treated like obſtinate Hereticks.

It was, ſays the Abbot of *Urſperg*, with the deſign of giving to the *Church* men truly *poor*, more diveſted of earthly goods than theſe falſe *poor* of *Lions*, that the *Pope* afterwards approved the inſtitute of the *Brother-Minors* aſſembled under the direction of St. *Francis*, the true pattern of humility, and miracle of the age; whilſt theſe other *poor*, fraught with hatred againſt the *Church* and her Miniſters, notwithſtanding their fallacious humility, were rejected by the *Holy See*; inſomuch that, afterwards, they were treated as contumacious and incorrigible Hereticks. Yet they made a ſhew of ſubmiſſion till the year 1212, which was the fifteenth of *Innocent* III. and fifty years ſince their beginning.

LXXXV. The *Church*'s patience in regard to the *Vaudois*.

Thence a judgment may be form'd of the Church's patience with reſpect to theſe Hereticks uſing no rigour againſt them for fifty years together, but endeavouring to reclaim them by Conferences. Beſides that mention'd by *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontcauld*, we alſo find another in *Peter de Vaucernay*, about the year 1206, where the

Pet. de Val. c. 6. *p.* 561.

Vaudois were confounded: and laſtly in 1212, when on their coming again to *Rome*, the Church proceeded no further againſt them than by rejecting their impoſture. Three years after, *Innocent* III. held the great *Council* of *Lateran*, where, in his condemnation of Hereticks, he particularly takes notice of *Thoſe, who, under pretext of piety, challenge the authority* of preaching without *Miſſion*: whereby he ſeems to have particularly pointed out the *Vaudois*, and diſtinguiſh'd them by the origin of their Schiſm.

Conc. Lat. iv. *Can.* 3. *de Hæret.*

LXXXVI. The Sect of the *Vaudois* a ſpecies of *Donatiſm.*

Here are ſeen evidently the beginnings of this Sect. 'Twas a kind of *Donatiſm*, but different from that impugn'd of old in *Africa*, in that the *African Donatiſts*, making the effect of the *Sacraments* depend on the virtue of the *Miniſters*, reſerved at leaſt the power of conferring them to *holy* Prieſts and Biſhops; whereas theſe new *Donatiſts* attributed it, as above ſeen, to *Lay-men* whoſe life was pure. Nor did they come to this exceſs but by degrees: for at firſt, they allow'd nothing to the Laity but preaching. They not only reproved evil manners, which the Church no leſs condemn'd than they, but alſo many other things ſhe approv'd of, as ceremonies, yet ſo, as not to touch on the *Sacraments*: for *Pylicdorf*, who was very accurate in obſerving both the ancient ſpirit and the whole progreſs of the Sect, takes notice, they diſcarded every thing employ'd by the Church to edify the faithful, *except*, ſays he, *the Sacraments alone*; which ſhews, they left them untouch'd. The ſame author relates moreover, that *it was a long while before they began, being Lay-men, to hear Confeſſions, to injoin Penances, and give Abſolution: and it has been obſerved but a little time ſince*, continues this author, *that one of theſe Hereticks, a meer Lay-man, did conſecrate, according to his notion,*

Pet. Pylicd. cont. Wald. c. 1. *T.* iv. *Bib. PP. 2. part. p.* 780.

Ibid.

notion, our Lord's Body, and communicated himself together with his accomplices, altho' somewhat reprimanded for it by the rest.

LXXXVII. Their presumption increased by little and little. *Ibid.*

See how their presumption increased by degrees. The followers of *Waldo*, scandalized at the lives of several Priests, *believed themselves*, says the same *Pylicdorf*, *better absolved by their own people, seemingly to them more virtuous, than by the Ministers of the Church:* which proceeded from the opinion, wherein principally consisted the error of the *Vaudois*, that personal merit had greater influence in the *Sacraments* than Character and Order.

LXXXVIII The *Vaudois*-Doctrine concerning Church goods. *V. sup. Pet. de Valle-Cern. Refut. error. Ibid. p.* 819.

But the *Vaudois* carried the merit necessary to *Ministers* of the Church so far as to have nothing in property; and this was one of their *Dogmata*, that to consecrate the *Eucharist*, it was requisite to be poor like them: so *that Catholick Priests were not the true and legitimate successors of Jesus Christ's Apostles, because they possess'd goods of their own*; which, they pretended, *Jesus Christ* had forbidden his Apostles.

LXXXIX No error relating to the Sacraments.

Hitherto their whole error, in respect to the *Sacraments*, regarded only the persons impower'd to administer them: all the rest was left intire, as says expresly *Pylicdorf*. So they doubted not either of the *Real* Presence, or *Transubstantiation*; and on the contrary, this author hath but just inform'd us, that the *Lay-man* presuming to give Communion, did only believe *He had consecrated the Body of Jesus Christ*. After all, by the manner we have seen this Heresy begin, it seems as if *Waldo* had a good design at first; that the glory of poverty, which he boasted of, did seduce both him and his followers; that puffed up with the holiness of their lives, they swell'd with a bitter zeal against the *Clergy* and whole *Catholick Church*; that exasperated with their

Guid. Car. de Hæres. in Hærcsi Wald. init.

their being prohibited to preach, they fell into *Schiſm*, and, as *Guy* the *Carmelite* ſpeaks, *from Schiſm, into Hereſy.*

XC. Manifeſt inſincerity of Proteſtant Hiſtorians, and of *Paul Perin* concerning the beginnings of the *Vaudois. Hiſt. des Vaudois. Chap.* 1.

From this faithful account and the inconteſtable proofs with which it is manifeſtly ſupported, it is eaſy to judge, how much *Proteſtant* Hiſtorians have abuſed the publick credit by their relation of the origin of the *Vaudois*. *Paul Perrin*, author of their hiſtory printed at *Geneva*, ſays that in the year 1160, when the penalty of death *was* denounced againſt all who ſhould disbelieve the *Real Preſence*, Peter Waldo *a Citizen of* Lions *was one of the moſt courageous in oppoſing ſuch an invention*. But nothing is more falſe: the article of the *Real Preſence* had been defined a hundred years before, againſt *Berengarius*: nothing had been done anew relating to this article; and ſo far from *Waldo*'s oppoſing it, we have ſeen both him and all his diſciples in the common Faith for fifty years together.

XCI. The Miniſter *de la Roque. Hiſt. de l'Euch.* 2. *part. ch.* 18. *p* 454.

Mr. *de la Roque*, more learned than *Perrin*, is not more ſincere, when he ſays, that *Peter Waldo having found whole nations divided from the Communion of the* Latin *Church, join'd himſelf to them with his followers, in order to make but one and the ſame body, and one and the ſame ſociety by the unity of one and the ſame Doctrine.* But on the contrary we have ſeen, in the firſt place, that all the cotemporary authors (for not one have we omitted) have ſhewn us the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes* as two diſtinct Sects; ſecondly, that all theſe authors diſcover theſe *Albigenſes* to be *Manicheans*; and I defy all the *Proteſtants* in the world, to ſhew me that there was any where in *Europe*, when *Waldo* aroſe, any one Sect ſeparate from *Rome*, which was not either the very Sect, or ſome branch and ſubdiviſion of *Manicheiſm*. Thus, nothing can make *Waldo*'s cauſe more

more evidently defenceleſs, than to grant his abettors what they demand in his behalf, namely, that he *join'd himſelf in unity of Doctrine* with the *Albigenſes*, or with ſuch people as, at that time, were ſeparated from the Communion of *Rome*. In a word, tho' *Waldo* ſhould have united himſelf to guiltleſs Churches, his particular errors would not have allow'd any advantage to be drawn from this union, theſe errors being deteſted, not by *Catholicks* only, but alſo by the *Proteſtants*.

XCII. Whether the *Vaudois* afterwards changed their Doctrine about the *Euchariſt. Conc. Tarrac. T.* xi *Conc. part.* 1. *An.* 1242. *p.* 593.

But let us proceed in the hiſtory of the *Vaudois*, and ſee whether our *Proteſtants* will diſcover in it any thing more favourable from the time theſe Hereticks broke off intirely from the *Church*. The firſt act we meet with againſt the *Vaudois*, ſince the great *Council* of *Lateran*, is a Canon of the *Council* of *Tarragona* deſcribing the *Inſabbatized*, as men, *that forbad to ſwear, and obey Eccleſiaſtick and Secular powers, and moreover to puniſh malefactors, and other ſuch like things*, not the leaſt word appearing in regard of the *Real* Preſence, which not only would have been expreſs'd, but alſo ſet foremoſt, had they denied it.

XCIII. Proof of the contrary from *Renier*.

At the ſame time and towards the year 1250. *Renier* ſo often quoted, who ſo carefully diſtinguiſhes the *Vaudois* or *Leoniſts* and the *poor men* of *Lions* from the *Albigenſes*, ſets down moreover all their errors, reducing them to theſe three heads: againſt the *Church*, againſt the *Sacraments* and *Saints*, and againſt *Church Ceremonies*. But ſo far from any thing appearing in all theſe articles againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*, you there find expreſly, amongſt their errors, that *Tranſubſtantiation ought to be made in the vulgar tongue*; *that a Prieſt could not conſecrate in mortal ſin*; that when a man communicated from the hand

Ren. c. v. *T.* iv. *Bib. PP.* 2. *part. p.* 749. *Ibid.* 759.

of

of an unworthy Prieſt, *the Tranſubſtantiation was not made in his hand that conſecrated unworthily, but in the mouth of him who worthily received the Euchariſt; that one might conſecrate at table*, at common meals, and not in Churches only, conformably to thoſe words of *Malachy*, *in every place there is ſacrificing, and there is offer'd to my name a clean oblation:* which ſhews, they did not deny the ſacrifice nor the oblation of the *Euchariſt*; and that, if they rejected the *Maſs*, 'twas on account of the ceremonies, making it only to conſiſt in *the words of Jeſus Chriſt pronounced in the vulgar tongue.* Thereby it clearly appears, they admitted *Tranſubſtantiation*, and in nothing differ'd from the Church's Doctrine as to the ſubſtance of this *Sacrament*: but ſaid only, it could not be conſecrated by evil Prieſts, and might be by good Lay-men, according to theſe fundamental maxims of their Sect, which *Renier* is always exact in obſerving, *That every good Lay-man is a Prieſt, and the prayer of an evil Prieſt avail'd nothing:* whence alſo they concluded, the *Conſecration* by an evil Prieſt is nothing-worth. It's likewiſe to be ſeen in other authors, that, according to their principles, *A man, without being a Prieſt, might conſecrate and adminiſter the Sacrament of Penance; and every Laick, even Women, ought to preach.*

Malach. i. xi.

Ren. Ibid.

Ibi. p. 751.

Fragm. Pylicd. *Ibid.* 817. *Ren. Ibi. p.* 751.

XCIV. A liſt of the *Vaudois* errors. *Ibid. p.* 750. *Ibid. err.* 820.

We find alſo in the catalogue of their errors, as well in *Renier* as other authors, *That it is not lawful for Clergy-men*, namely, the Miniſters of the Church, *To have goods*; *that neither lands, nor people, ought to be divided*; which aims at the obligation of ſetting all in common, and eſtabliſhing, as neceſſary, this pretended Apoſtolick Poverty, which theſe Hereticks gloried in; *That every oath is a mortal ſin; that all Princes and Judges are damn'd, becauſe they condemn*

Ibi. p. 752.

demn malefactors contrary to these words: Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; *and again*; let both grow together until the harvest. Thus did these hypocrites abuse the *Scripture*, and with their counterfeited lenity subvert the whole foundation of Church and State. *Ind. err. Ibi.* 831, 9. 23. *Rom.* xii. 19. *Matth.* xiii. 30.

XCV. Another list, and no mention of their erring in regard of the *Eucharist*.

We find in *Pylicdorf*, a hundred years after, an ample refutation of the *Vaudois* article by article, without appearance of the least opposition in their Doctrine to the *Real* Presence or *Transubstantiation*. On the contrary, it always appears in this author, as in the rest, that the Lay-men of this Sect *made the Body of Jesus Christ*, altho' with fear and reserve in the country wherein he wrote; nor, in short, does he observe any kind of error in these Hereticks relating to the *Eucharist*, except, that *evil Priests* did not make it, *any more than the other Sacraments*. *Pylicd. cont. Wald. T.* iv. *Bib. PP.* 2. *part.* 778. & *seq.*

Finally, in all the lists we have of their errors, whether in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, or in the Inquisitor *Emerick*, we meet with nothing against the *Real* Presence, altho' the least differences betwixt these Hereticks and us, the minutest articles whereon they are to be interrogated, be there specified; on the contrary, *Emerick* the Inquisitor thus reports their error on the *Eucharist*: *They will have it that the Bread is not transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ, if the Priest be a sinner.* Which clearly evidences two things; first, that they believed *Transubstantiation*; and secondly, believed the Sacraments depended on the *sanctity* of the Ministers. *An.* 1395. *Ibi. c.* 30. *p.* 803. *Ibid. c.* 1. *Ibid. c.* 16. 18.

XCVI. Another list.

You find in the same list all the errors of the *Vaudois* we have already mention'd. The errors of the new *Manicheans*, whom we have shewn were the same with those of the *Albigenses*, are also related apart in the same book. It's plain from thence, that these two Sects are utterly distinct, *Bib. PP. T.* iv. 2. *part. p.* 820. 832. 836. *Director. part.* 2. *q.* 14. *p.* 279. *Ibid. p.* xiii. *p.* 273.

ſtinct, nor is there any thing amongſt the *Vaudois* errors that ſavours of *Manicheiſm*, which the other liſt abounds with.

XCVII. Demonſtration that the *Vaudois* did not in the leaſt err about *Tranſubſtantiation*. *Ren. c.* 4. *Ibid.* 750. *Emeric. Ibid.*

But to return to *Tranſubſtantiation*; whence could it proceed, that the *Catholicks* ſhould have ſpared the *Vaudois* in a point of ſo eſſential a nature, they who were ſo zealous in expoſing even the leaſt of their errors? Was it perchance that theſe matters, and eſpecially that of the *Euchariſt*, were not of ſufficient importance, or not ſufficiently known, after *Berengarius*'s condemnation by ſo many *Councils?* Was it the deſire of keeping the people ignorant that this Myſtery was attack'd? But they were not afraid to report the much greater blaſphemies of the *Albigenſes*, even againſt this Myſtery. Nothing was conceal'd from the people of what the *Vaudois* ſaid, the moſt ſhocking againſt the Church of *Rome*, as that ſhe was *The Harlot mention'd in the* Revelations; *her Pope, the Chief of thoſe that err'd; her Prelates and Religious, Scribes and Phariſees.* Their exceſſes were pitied, but never kept private; and had they rejected the Church's Faith in regard of the *Euchariſt*, they would have been upbraided with it.

XCVIII. Sequel of the ſame demonſtration. Teſtimony of *Claude Seyſſel* in 1517. Groſs evaſion of *D'Aubertin. Adv. error. Wald. part. An.* 1520.

Further, in the laſt age, in 1517. *Claude Seyſſel* famous for his learning and employs under *Lewis* XII. and *Francis* I. and raiſed by his merit to the Archbiſhoprick of *Turin*; in the ſearch he made after theſe Hereticks hidden in the valleys of his *Dioceſe*, in order to unite them to his flock, relates in the minuteſt manner all their errors, like a faithful ſhepherd willing to know the bottom of the diſtemper afflicting his ſheep, that he might heal them; and we read in his account all that the reſt relate of them, neither more nor leſs. With them he chiefly obſerves, as the ſource of their error, that

that *They made the authority of eccleſiaſtical miniſtry to depend on perſonal merit*; thence concluding, that *they ought not to obey the Pope, nor Biſhops, becauſe being wicked, and not imitating the lives of the Apoſtles, they have no authority from God, either to conſecrate, or abſolve*; *and as to themſelves, they alone had this power, becauſe they obſerved the law of Jeſus Chriſt*; *that the Church was no where but amongſt them, and the See of* Rome *was that Harlot of the* Revelations, *and the fountain-head of all errors.* This is what that great *Archbiſhop* ſays of the *Vaudois* in his Dioceſe. The Miniſter *Aubertin* is aſtoniſh'd that in ſo exact an account as he gives of their errors, it is not diſcover'd, they rejected either the *Real* Preſence or *Tranſubſtantiation*; nor any other reply can he make to it, than that this Prelate, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly confuted them in all other points, was, in this, conſcious of his too great weakneſs to reſiſt them: as if ſo learned and eloquent a man could not at leaſt tranſcribe what ſo many other learned *Catholicks* had wrote on this ſubject. Inſtead therefore of ſo miſerable a ſhift, *Aubertin* ought to have acknowledged, that if ſo accurate, ſo knowing a perſon, did not reproach the *Vaudois* with this error, 'twas in reality becauſe he had diſcover'd none ſuch amongſt them: wherein there is nothing particular as to *Seyſſel*, ſince all the other authors have no more accuſed them of it than this Archbiſhop.

f. 1. & *ſeq.* *Ibid. f.* 10. 11.

Lib. III. *de Sacr. Euch. p.* 986. *Col.* 2. *Ibid.* 987.

XCIX. *Aubertin's* vain objection. *Ibid. fol.* 55. 56.

Nevertheleſs, *Aubertin* triumphs at a paſſage of the ſame *Seyſſel*, where he ſays, *He did not think it worth his while to relate what ſome of that Sect, to ſhew themſelves more learned than the reſt, prattled, or rallied rather than diſcourſed, concerning the ſubſtance and truth of the Euchariſtick Sacrament, becauſe, what they vented*

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by way of ſecret, was ſo high, that the moſt expert Divines could ſcarce comprehend it. But ſo far are theſe words of *Seyſſel* from ſhewing, the *Real* Preſence was denied by the *Vaudois*, that I ſhould on the contrary conclude from them, that ſome amongſt them pretended to ſubtilize in expounding it. And ſhould it be allow'd (yet gratuitouſly and without any kind of reaſon, ſince *Seyſſel* ſpeaks not a word of it) that theſe high notions entertain'd by the *Vaudois*, relating to the *Euchariſt*, regarded the *Real abſence*, to wit, a thing the leaſt ſublime of any in the world, and the moſt ſuited to carnal ſenſe; yet then, it is nevertheleſs manifeſt that *Seyſſel* does not report here the *belief* of all, but the babble and idle diſcourſe *of ſome*: ſo that, on all hands, nothing is more certain than what I have advanced; that the *Vaudois* never were reproach'd with rejecting *Tranſubſtantiation*; but, on the contrary, had always been ſuppoſed to believe it.

C. Another proof from *Seyſſel*, that the *Vaudois* believed *Tranſubſtantiation*. *Ibid. f.* 13.

Accordingly the ſame *Seyſſel*, introducing a *Vaudois* ſumming up all his reaſons, put theſe words into his mouth againſt a wicked Prieſt and Biſhop: *How can the Biſhop and Prieſt, enemies to God, render God propitious to others? how can he, that is baniſh'd the Kingdom of Heaven, have the Keys of it? infine, ſince his prayer and other actions have no manner of effect, how ſhall Jeſus Chriſt transform himſelf, at his word, under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine, and ſuffer himſelf to be handled by that perſon, who hath utterly rejected him?* It is then ſtill manifeſt, their error conſiſts in a *Donatiſm*, and nothing but the Prieſt's life hinders the *Bread* and *Wine* from being changed into the *Body* and *Blood* of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

CI. Interrogatory of the

And what leaves no kind of doubt on this head is, what may be ſeen ſtill at this day among the

the manuſcripts of Mr. *de Thou*, collected together in the valuable library of the *Marquis* of *Seignelay*: there, I ſay, may be ſeen the inqueſts, in the original, juridically made againſt the *Vaudois* of *Pragelas* and the other valleys in 1495, collected in two great volumes: wherein you have the examination of one *Thomas Quoti* of *Pragelas*, who being ask'd whether the *Barbes* (their Prieſts) taught them to believe the Sacrament of the Altar, anſwers, *That the* Barbes *both preach and teach that when a Chaplain, who is in orders, utters the words of Conſecration on the Altar, he conſecrates the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and that a true change is wrought of the Bread into the true Body*, and ſays, *moreover, that Prayer made at home, or on the road, is every whit as good as in the Church.* Conformably to this Doctrine, the ſame *Quoti* anſwers at two ſeveral times, *That he received every year, at* Eaſter, *the Body of Jeſus Chriſt; and the* Barbes *taught them, that, in order to receive it, they ought to have been well ſhriev'd, and rather by the* Barbes *than by the Chaplains*, meaning the Prieſts.

Vaudois, in the library of the *Marquis* of *Seignelay*. Two Volumes mark'd 1769. mark'd 1770.

CII. Sequel of the ſame examination.

The reaſon of this preference is derived from the ſo often repeated principles of the *Vaudois*; and it is purſuant to theſe principles the ſame perſon anſwers, *That the gentlemen of the Church-miniſtry led a life too large, but the* Barbes *led a holy and upright life.* And in another anſwer, *That the* Barbes *led the life of St.* Peter, *and had the power of abſolving from ſins, and this was his belief; and if the Pope did not lead a holy life, he had no power of abſolving.* For this reaſon the ſame *Quoti* anſwers again in another place, *That he had given credit, without any doubting, rather to the diſcourſes of the* Barbes *than to thoſe of the Chaplains, becauſe, in thoſe times, no Eccleſiaſtick, no Cardinal, no Biſhop nor Prieſt,*

Prieſt, led the life of the Apoſtles; and therefore it was better believing the Barbes *who were good, than an Eccleſiaſtick that was not ſo.*

CIII. Sequel. It were ſuperfluous to relate the other examinations, the ſame language appearing throughout, as well in reſpect of the *Real* Preſence as of all the reſt; and eſpecially it's repeated there continually, *That the* Barbes *behaved in the world like the imitators of Jeſus Chriſt, and had more power than the Prieſts of the Church of* Rome, *who lived too much at large.*

CIV. Neceſſity of Confeſſion. Nothing is repeated there ſo much as theſe *Dogmata, That you ought to confeſs your ſins; that they confeſſed to the* Barbes, *who had power of abſolving them; that they confeſſed kneeling; that at each Confeſſion they gave a* quart (a certain piece of money;) *that the* Barbes *impoſed Penances on them which generally did not exceed a* Pater *and* Credo, *but the* Ave Mary *was never injoin'd; that they forbad them all oaths whatſoever, and taught them neither to ſue for help from the Saints, nor to pray for the Dead.* Here is enough whereby to diſcover the principal tenets and genius of the Sect; further than this, to expect to meet with order and one conſtant form in ſuch odd opinions, in all times and all places, were to be deceived.

CV. Sequel of the ſame ſubject. *Pylicd. c. 1. T. iv. Bib. PP. 2. part. p. 780. Ind. Err. Ib. p. 832. n. 12. Ren. Ibid. 750.* I don't find they were interrogated concerning Sacraments adminiſtred by the generality of Laymen, whether becauſe the Inquiſitors were not appriſed of this cuſtom, or that the *Vaudois* had at length forſaken it. And indeed we have obſerved, it was not without difficulty and contradiction firſt introduced amongſt them with regard to the Euchariſt. But as for *Confeſſion*, nothing is more eſtabliſh'd in the Sect, than the right good Lay-men have to it: *A good Lay-man* ſaid they, *hath power to abſolve:* they all gloried

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n forgiving ſins by impoſition of hands; they heard Confeſſions; enjoin'd Penances; and leſt ſuch an extraordinary practice ſhould be diſcover'd, they very privately received Confeſſions, and thoſe of women even in cellars, in caverns, and other unfrequented places: they preach'd clandeſtinly in corners of houſes, and often in the night-time.

Pylicd. Ibi: c. 1: p. 780. Ibi. c. 8. p. 782. 820.

But what cannot be too much remark'd is, that altho' they had ſuch an opinion of us as we have ſeen, yet they frequented our aſſemblies: *There they offer*, ſays *Renier*, *there they confeſs, there they communicate, but with diſſimulation.* The reaſon was, in ſhort, whatever they might ſay, becauſe *ſome diſtruſt remain'd in them of the Communion they practiſed among themſelves.* Wherefore, *they came to communicate in the Church when the throng was greateſt, for fear of diſcovery. Many alſo remain'd even four, nay ſix years without communicating, concealing themſelves either in villages, or towns, at* Eaſter *time, leſt notice ſhould be taken of them. They alſo judged it adviſable to communicate in the Church, but at* Eaſter *only, and under this appearance they paſs'd for Chriſtians.* This is what the ancient authors ſpeak of them, and what alſo frequently may be found in the interrogatories above mention'd. *Being asked whether he made his Confeſſion to the Pariſh-Prieſt, and diſcover'd his Sect to him; his anſwer was, that he confeſſed yearly to him, but did not mention his being a* Vaudois, *which the* Barbes *had forbid diſcovering.* They anſwer alſo as above, *that every year they communicated at* Eaſter, *and received the Body of Jeſus Chriſt; and that the* Barbes *warn'd them of the neceſſity, before they received, of having made a good Confeſſion.* Obſerve, there is no mention here made but of the Body alone, and of one only *Species*; as, ſince the *Council* of *Conſtance*, it was then

CVI. The *Vaudois* exteriorly did the duties of *Catholicks.* *Ren. Ibi. c.* v. *p.* 752. *Ibid.* 7. *p.* 765. *Ind. Err. n.* 12. 13. *Ibid.* 832.

Pylicd. c. 25. *Ibid.* 796. *Interrogat.* of *Quoti* and others. *Ibid.*

given over all the Church, the *Barbes* never thinking all this while of condemning it. An old author hath obſerved, *They very rarely received from their teachers either Baptiſm or Chriſt's Body, but as well teachers as ſimple believers went to ſeek them at the Prieſts hands.* Nor indeed do we conceive how they could have acted otherwiſe in regard to *Baptiſm* without diſcovering themſelves, for it would ſoon have been taken notice of, had they not brought their children to *Church*, for which they would have been call'd to an account. Thus, ſeparated in ſentiments from the *Catholick* Church, theſe Hypocrites, as far as they were able, ſhew'd themſelves externally of the ſame Faith with others, and exhibited no act of Religion in publick which did not belye their Doctrine.

Pylicd. Ibi. c. 24. *p.* 796.

CVII. Whether the *Vaudois* had diſcarded any one of the ſeven Sacraments: *Confirmation.*

The *Proteſtants* may perceive by this example what kind of men thoſe hidden faithful before the Reformation were, whom they extol ſo much, and who had not bent a knee to *Baal.* It might be doubted whether the *Vaudois* had diſcarded any of the ſeven Sacraments. And 'tis already manifeſt, they were not accuſed of denying ſo much as one at the beginning; on the contrary, an author has been produced, who upbraiding them with their changes, excepts the Sacraments. Thoſe *Renier* ſpeaks of, might be ſuſpected of varying in this matter, he ſeeming to ſay, they rejected not only *Order*, but alſo *Confirmation* and *Extreme-Unction:* but it's viſible, he means ſuch only as *Catholicks* conferr'd. For as to *Confirmation*, *Renier*, who makes them reject it, adds, *They were aſtoniſh'd we permitted none but Biſhops to confer it.* For this reaſon, becauſe they were for allowing to good Lay-men the power of adminiſtring this as well as the other *Sacraments.* Wherefore theſe ſame Here-

Ibid. c. v. *p.* 750. 751. *Ibid.*

ticks,

icks, mention'd as rejecting *Confirmation*, boaſt little after *of giving the Holy Ghoſt by laying on f hands*; the which is, in other words, the ery ſubſtance of this Sacrament. *Ibid.* 751.

In regard to *Extreme-Unction*, this is what *Renier* ſays of it: *They reject the Sacrament of Unction, as if given to the rich only, and becauſe many Prieſts are neceſſary thereto*: words which ſufficiently evince that its nullity, which they pretended was amongſt us, proceeded from imaginary abuſes, not from the nature of the thing. Beſides, St. *James* having injoin'd to call in the *Prieſts* in the plural number, theſe cavillers were for believing that *Unction*, given by a ſingle perſon, as commonly practiſed amongſt us even ſo long ago, was not ſufficient, and this bad pretext ſerved for their neglecting it. CVIII. Extreme-Unction. *p.* 751. *James* v. 14.

As for *Baptiſm*, notwithſtanding theſe ignorant Hereticks had caſt off its moſt ancient Ceremonies with contempt, there is no doubt but they received it. One might only be ſurpriſed at *Renier*'s words as uttered by the *Vaudois*, *that Ablution given to children is of no advantage to them.* But, whereas this Ablution is in the liſt of thoſe Ceremonies of *Baptiſm*, which were diſapproved by theſe Hereticks, it's plain, he ſpeaks of the wine given to children after their Baptiſm: a cuſtom that may be ſtill ſeen in many ancient *Rituals* near about that time, and which was a remnant of the Communion heretofore adminiſtred to them under the liquid *ſpecies* only. This wine, put into the Chalice to be given theſe children, was call'd *Ablution*, becauſe this action reſembled the *Ablution* taken by the Prieſt at *Maſs*. Again, this word *Ablution* is not to be found in *Renier* as ſignifying *Baptiſm*: and at all events, if men will perſiſt to have it ſignify this *Sacrament*, all they could conclude from it CIX. What was the ablution *Renier* ſpeaks of in Baptiſm. *Ibid.*

would be for the worſt, *viz.* that *Renier's Vaudois* accounted as null whatever *Baptiſm* was given by unworthy Miniſters, ſuch as they believed all our Prieſts were: an error ſo conformable to the principles of the Sect, that the *Vaudois*, whom we have ſeen approve our *Baptiſm*, could not do it without running counter to their own Doctrine.

CX. Confeſſion. Here then already are three *Sacraments* which the *Vaudois* approved in the main, *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation* and *Extreme-Unction*. We have the whole Sacrament of *Penance* in their private Confeſſion, in the Penances impoſed by them, in the abſolution received for the remiſſion of ſins; and if they ſaid, oral Confeſſion was not always neceſſary when Contrition was in the heart; they ſaid true in the main and in certain caſes, altho' frequently, as above inſtanced, they abuſed this maxim by too long deferring their Confeſſion.

CXI. The Euchariſt. There was a Sect call'd the *Siſcidenſes*, *who differ'd little or nothing from the* Vaudois, ſays *Renier*, *but in that they received the Euchariſt*. Not that he meant, the *Vaudois* or *poor men of Lions* did not receive it, he having ſhewn, on the contrary, that they received even *Tranſubſtantiation:* but he means only, they had an extreme repugnance to receive it from the hands of our Prieſts, whereas theſe others made leſs difficulty in it, or perchance, none at all.

CXII. *Marriage.* Whether *Renier* hath calumniated the *Vaudois*. *Ibid.* 751. *Proteſtants* accuſe *Renier* of calumniating the *Vaudois*, by reproaching them *that they condemn'd Marriage*; but theſe authors mutilate his words, which here you have intire: *They condemn the Sacrament of Marriage, by ſaying married people ſin mortally when they uſe Marriage for any other end than to have children*; whereby *Renier* would obſerve only the error of theſe

prou

roud Hereticks, who, to ſhew themſelves above uman infirmity, would not admit the ſecondary nd of Marriage, namely, its ſerving as a re-nedy againſt concupiſcence? 'twas then in this eſpect only that he accuſed theſe Here-icks of condemning Marriage, to wit, of con-demning this neceſſary part, and making that *a mortal ſin*, which the grace of ſo holy a ſtate exempts from crime.

CXIII. Demonſtration that the Catholicks were neither ignorant of, nor diſſembled the Doctrine of the *Vaudois*.

It's now ſeen what was the Doctrine of the *Vaudois* or *poor men* of *Lions*. The *Catholicks* cannot be accuſed, either of not knowing it, ſince they dwelt and converſed amongſt them nd daily received their abjurations; or, of neglecting to inform themſelves, ſince on the contrary, they applied themſelves with ſo much care to report its minuteſt points; or infine, of calumniating them, ſince we have ſeen they were ſo exact, not only in diſtinguiſhing the *Vaudois* from the *Cathari* and the reſt of *Manicheans*, but alſo in acquainting us with all the tempera-ments applied by ſome of them to the extrava-gances of others; and in a word, of relating to us with ſo much ſincerity what was commenda-ble in their manners, that their partiſans even now a-days take advantage from it. For we have ſeen, they did not diſſemble the ſpecious appear-ances at *Waldo*'s firſt ſetting out, nor the firſt ſimplicity of his followers. *Renier*, who ſo much blames them, ſticks not to ſay, *That they lived juſtly before men; that they believed of God what was fitting to believe, and all that was con-tain'd in the Creed:* that they were regular in their deportment, modeſt in their dreſs, juſt in their dealings, chaſte in their Marriages, abſte-mious in their diet, and ſo of the reſt, as it is well known. We ſhall have a word to ſay on this teſtimony of *Renier*; but, in the interim, we

Ibid. c. iv. *p.* 749. *Ibid.* vii. *p.* 765.

ſee he rather flatters, as I may ſay, than calumniates the *Vaudois*; and therefore it cannot be doubted that what he ſays beſides of theſe Hereticks is true. And tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe with the Miniſters, that Catholick authors, egg'd on by the hatred they had conceived againſt them, charged them with calumnies; this is a new proof of what we have but juſt ſaid concerning their Doctrine, becauſe finally, had the *Vaudois* ſtood in oppoſition to *Tranſubſtantiation* and the Adoration of the *Euchariſt* at a time when our adverſaries agree it was ſo well eſtabliſh'd amongſt us, the *Catholicks*, they repreſent ſo inclined to load them with falſe crimes, would never have fail'd reproaching them with what was ſo true.

CXIV. Diviſion of the *Vaudois* Doctrine into three heads.

Now then that we know the whole Doctrine of the *Vaudois*, we may divide it into three ſorts of articles. Some there are which we deteſt together with the *Proteſtants*: ſome that we approve, and *Proteſtants* reject: others that they approve, and we condemn.

CXV. Doctrine which the *Proteſtants* as well as the Catholicks reject in the *Vaudois*. *Heb.* vi. 13. 16. 17. & vii. 21.

The articles we condemn in common are, in the firſt place, that Doctrine ſo injurious to the *Sacraments*, which makes their validity depend on the holineſs of their Miniſters; ſecondly, that of rendering the adminiſtration of the Sacraments common to *Prieſts* and *Laity* without diſtinction; next, that of forbidding oaths in all caſes whatſoever, thereby condemning not only St. *Paul* the Apoſtle, but even God himſelf who has ſwore; laſtly, that of condemning the juſt puniſhments of malefactors, and authorizing all crimes by impunity.

CXVI. Doctrine which the Catholicks approve

The articles which we approve, and the *Proteſtants* reject, are that of the ſeven *Sacraments*, except, perchance, *Order*, and in the manner above ſpoken to, and what is ſtill more important,

that

that of the *Real* Preſence and *Tranſubſtantiation*. So many articles which the *Proteſtants* deteſt either with us, or, contrary to our ſentiments, in the *Vaudois*, paſs under the cover of five or ſix points, wherein theſe ſame *Vaudois* ſpeak to their liking; and notwithſtanding their Hypocriſy and all their errors, theſe Hereticks are made to be their anceſtors.

in the *Vaudois*, and *Proteſtants* condemn.

Such was the ſtate of this Sect till the time of the new *Reformation*. For all the noiſe this made ever ſince the year 1517, the *Vaudois*, whom we have ſeen till that date abiding in all the ſentiments of their anceſtors, ſtill remain'd unalter'd. At length in 1530, after much ſuffering, whether ſollicited to it, or taking it into their heads themſelves, they thought fit to make them their protectors, whom like themſelves they had heard exclaim againſt the Pope ſo many years. Thoſe who had withdrawn for near two hundred years, as remarks *Seyſſel*, into the mountains of *Savoy* and *Dauphiny*, conſulted *Bucer* and the *Swiſs* their neighbours. With much commendation which they received, *Gilles* one of their Hiſtorians acquaints us, they received alſo admoniſhments concerning three defects obſerved amongſt them. The firſt related to *the deciſion of certain points of Doctrine*; the ſecond, to the eſtabliſhment of the order of diſcipline and eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies, to the end they might be held more openly; the third invited them, no longer to permit thoſe that deſired to be accounted members of their Churches, *To be preſent at Maſs, or to adhere, in any kind, to Papal ſuperſtitions, or to acknowledge the Prieſts of the Roman Church for Paſtors, or to make uſe of their miniſtry.*

CXVII. The *Vaudois* have changed their Doctrine ſince *Luther*'s and *Calvin*'s time.

Seyſſ. f. 2.

Hiſt. Eccl. des Egl. Ref. de Pier. Gilles. ch. 5.

There needs no more to confirm every thing we have ſaid, concerning the ſtate of theſe wretched

CXVIII. New articles propoſed to

the *Vaudois* by the *Proteſtants.*

wretched Churches, which concealed their *Faith* and *Worſhip* under a contrary profeſſion. On theſe advertiſements of *Bucer* and *Oecolampadius*, the ſame *Gilles* aſſures us, new articles were propoſed to the *Vaudois*. He owns he does not report them all: but here are five or ſix of ſuch as he ſpecifies, which ſufficiently diſcover the ancient ſpirit of the Sect. For in order to reform the *Vaudois* to the *Proteſtant* mode, it was neceſſary to make them ſay, *That a Chriſtian may ſwear lawfully; that auricular Confeſſion is not commanded of God; that a Chriſtian may lawfully exerciſe the office of Magiſtrate over other Chriſtians; that there is no determined time for faſting; that the Miniſter may poſſeſs ſomething in particular wherewith to maintain his family, without prejudice to Apoſtolick community; that Jeſus Chriſt hath appointed but two Sacraments, Baptiſm and the holy Euchariſt.* Hereby appears a part of what was neceſſarily to be reform'd in the *Vaudois*, in order to make them *Zuinglians* or *Calviniſts*, and, amongſt the reſt, one of the corrections was to admit but two *Sacraments*. It was alſo neceſſary to hint to them a word or two concerning *Predeſtination*, which, ſure enough, they had heard but little of; and they were inform'd as to this new *Dogma*, which was then like the ſoul of the *Reformation*, *that whoſoever owns Free-will, denies Predeſtination.* It appears by theſe ſame articles that, in proceſs of time, the *Vaudois* had fallen into new errors, ſince it was requiſite to teach them, *They were to ceaſe from earthly labours on the Sabbath-day, in order to attend God's ſervice*; and again, *that it is not lawful for a Chriſtian to revenge himſelf on his enemy.* Theſe two articles ſhew the brutiſhneſs and barbarity, which theſe *Vaudois* Churches (the main ſupport, it ſeems, of decayed Chriſtianity)

Ibid.

Gilles. Ibid.

ſtianity) were fallen into, at the time the *Proteſtants* reform'd them: and this confirms what *Seyſſel* ſays of them, that *they were a baſe and beſtial race of men, that hardly could diſtinguiſh, by reaſon, whether they were men or brutes, alive or dead.* Such, by *Gilles*'s account, were the articles of Reformation propoſed to the *Vaudois* towards incorporating them with the *Proteſtants*. If *Gilles* mention'd no more of them, it might either proceed from a fear of manifeſting too great an oppoſition betwixt the *Vaudois* and *Calviniſts*, of whom the deſign then was to make but one Communion, or becauſe this was all the *Vaudois* could be drawn to at that time. Be that as it will, he owns nevertheleſs, they could not come to an agreement, becauſe *Some of the* Barbes were of opinion, that *by aſſenting to all theſe concluſions*, they *ſhould diſhonour the memory of thoſe, who had ſo very proſperouſly conducted thoſe Churches to that time.* Thus, it's manifeſt, the deſign of the *Proteſtants* was, not to follow the *Vaudois*, but to make them change and reform, to their faſhion.

Seyſſ. f. 38.

Gill. Ibid. ch. v.

During this negotiation with the Miniſters of *Strasburg* and *Baſil*, two of the *Vaudois* deputies had a long Conference with *Oecolampadius*, which *Abraham Scultet* a Proteſtant Hiſtorian relates whole and intire in his *Evangelical Annals*, and declares he had tranſcribed it word for word.

CXIX. Conference of the *Vaudois* with *Oecolampadius*. *Ann. Eccl. decad.* 2. *An.* 1530. *a. p.* 294. *ad* 306. *Heidelb.*

One of the deputies opens the converſation, by owning that the Miniſters, of which number he was, *being prodigiouſly ignorant, were uncapable of teaching the people: that they lived by alms and labour, poor ſhepherds or husbandmen, the cauſe of their profound ignorance and incapacity: that they were not married, nor lived always very chaſtly; but when they had been caught tripping, they were expell'd the company of the reſt:*

that

that it was not the Miniſters, but the Prieſts of the Roman Church who adminiſtred the Sacraments to the Vaudois; *but that their Miniſters made them ask pardon of God for receiving the Sacraments from thoſe Prieſts, becauſe forced to it; moreover, admoniſh'd them not to adhere to the Ceremonies of Antichriſt: that they practiſed auricular Confeſſion, and, till then, had always own'd ſeven Sacraments, wherein, they heard ſay, they were very much miſtaken.* They proceed to give an account how they rejected the *Maſs*, *Purgatory*, and the *Invocation* of Saints, and in order to clear up their doubts, they propoſe the following queries: *Whether or no it be lawful for Magiſtrates to put Criminals to death, by reaſon God hath ſaid, I will not the death of the ſinner.* But ask'd at the ſame time, *If it were not allowable in them to kill the falſe brethren who inform'd againſt them to Catholicks, becauſe, they having no juriſdiction among them, there was no other way to keep them in awe: whether the human and civil laws, by which the world was govern'd, were good, the Scripture having ſaid, that the laws of men are vain: whether Churchmen might receive donations and have any thing of their own: whether it were lawful to ſwear: whether the diſtinction they made of original, venial, and mortal ſin, were good: whether all children, of whatſoever nation, be ſaved by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt; and whether the adult, of whatſoever religion, not having Faith, may alſo be ſaved; what be the judiciary and ceremonial precepts of the law of* Moſes: *and whether they have been aboliſh'd by Jeſus Chriſt; and which be the canonical books.* After all theſe queries, which ſo clearly confirm all we have ſaid of the *Vaudois belief* and the brutal ignorance theſe Hereticks were at laſt fallen into, their Deputy ſpeaks in theſe

theſe terms: *Nothing has ſo much diſturb'd us, weak and ſimple as we are, as what I have read in* Luther *concerning Free-will and Predeſtination; for we believe, all men have naturally ſome power and ſtrength, which, excited by God, might do ſomething, conformaby to thoſe words,* behold, I ſtand at the door, and knock; *and whoſoever would not open, ſhould receive according to his works: but if the thing be not ſo, I do not ſee,* as *ſays* Eraſmus, *of what uſe the commandments are. As for Predeſtination, we believe that God hath foreſeen from all eternity thoſe that were to be ſaved or damn'd, and that he had made all men in order to be ſaved, and the reprobate become ſuch thro' their own fault: but ſhould all come to paſs of neceſſity,* as Luther *ſays, and the predeſtinated not have it in their power to turn reprobate, nor contrary wiſe; to what end ſo much preaching and ſo much writing, ſince, every thing happening by neceſſity, matters never will be better or worſe?* Whatever ignorance may appear throughout this diſcourſe, it's plain, theſe ignorant people, with all their ruſticity, ſpoke better than thoſe they had choſen for *Reformers*; and here are the men, forſooth, they preſent us as the remains and refuge of Chriſtianity.

We find nothing here particular relating to the *Euchariſt*; which makes it likely, the whole of the Conference was not related; nor is it difficult to gueſs the reaſon. 'Twas in ſhort, becauſe the *Vaudois* were, as above ſeen, greater *Papiſts* on this head than the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans* deſired. Moreover, this Deputy ſpeaks nothing to *Oecolampadius* of any *Confeſſion* of *Faith* as in uſe amongſt them: and we have already ſeen that even *Beza* reports none but that which the *Vaudois* made in 1541, ſo long after *Luther* and *Calvin*. Which ſhews manifeſtly, *S. l. 2. n.* 4.

the

the *Confeſſions* of *Faith* produced by them, as of the ancient *Vaudois*, can be but very modern, as we ſhall ſoon diſcover.

CXX. The *Vaudois* nowiſe *Calviniſts*, as proved from *Creſpin*.

After all theſe Conferences with thoſe of *Strasburg* and *Baſil* in 1536. *Geneva* was conſulted by her neighbours the *Vaudois*; and then it was their ſociety with the *Calviniſts* commenced, by the inſtructions of *Farel* Miniſter of *Geneva*. But we need only hear the *Calviniſts* themſelves, to be convinced how far remote the *Vaudois* were from their *Reformation*. *Creſpin*, in his hiſtory of Martyrs, ſays, *that* thoſe of *Angrogne*, by a long ſucceſſion, and as from father to ſon, had retain'd ſome purity of Doctrine. But to ſhew how ſmall, even in their eſtimate, was this purity of Doctrine, he ſays in another place, ſpeaking of the *Vaudois* of *Merindol*, that THE VERY LITTLE TRUE LIGHT THEY HAD, *they endeavour'd to increaſe from day to day, by diſpatching people on all ſides, even to a great diſtance off, whereſoever they heard ſome ray of light did diſcover itſelf.* And he agrees moreover in another place, that *their Miniſters, who taught them in private, did not do it with that purity as was requiſite: foraſmuch as, ignorance having overflow'd the whole univerſe, and God having a right to let men go aſtray as he did, like brute beaſts, 'tis no wonder, theſe poor men had not ſo pure a Doctrine as they have ſince enjoy'd, and at this day, more than ever.* Theſe laſt words ſhew the pains the *Calviniſts* were at, ſince the year 1536, to lead the *Vaudois* whither they had a mind; and after all, 'tis but too manifeſt that, from that time, this Sect is not to be look'd on as perſiſting in her ancient Doctrine, but as reform'd by the *Calviniſts*.

Creſp. Hiſt. des Mart. in 1536. *f.* 111.

In 1543. *f.* 133.

In 1561. *f.* 532.

CXXI. Proof from *Beza*.

We learn as much from *Beza*, tho' with a little more precaution, when he owns in his deſcription

deſcription of them, *That the purity of Doctrine was ſomewhat adulterated by the Vaudois.* And in his hiſtory, that *in proceſs of time, they had ſomewhat ſwerv'd from Piety and Doctrine.* Afterwards he ſpeaks more openly, confeſſing that *In a long ſeries of time the purity of Doctrine had been greatly adulterated by their Miniſters,* inſomuch that they became ſenſible, by the miniſtry *of* Oecolampadius, *of* Bucer, *and others, how, by little and little, the purity of Doctrine had not remain'd amongſt them, and gave orders, by ſending to their brethren in* Calabria, *to put all things in a better ſtate.*

Liv. 1. p. 23. 1536.

Ibid. p. 35. 36. 1544.

CXXII. The change of the *Calabrian Vaudois,* and their intire extinction.

These brethren of *Calabria* were, like them, fugitives, who, according to the maxims of the Sect, held their aſſemblies, as *Gilles* reports, *In the moſt ſecret manner it was poſſible,* AND DISSEMBLED MANY THINGS *againſt their will.* What this Miniſter endeavours to hide under theſe words, you muſt underſtand, was, that the *Vaudois* of *Calabria,* after the example of all the reſt of them, perform'd all the external duties of good *Catholicks*; and I leave you to judge whether they could have been exempt from it in that country, conſidering what we have ſeen of their diſſimulation in the valleys of *Pragelas* and *Angrogne.* Accordingly *Gilles* acquaints us, how that theſe *Calabrians,* preſs'd at laſt to withdraw from Church-aſſemblies, yet not able to take the reſolution, tho' adviſed to it by this Miniſter, *of forſaking ſo fine a country,* were ſoon aboliſh'd.

Gilles. ch. 3. & 29.

CXXIII. The preſent *Vaudois* are not the predeceſſors, but followers of the *Calviniſts.*

Thus expired the *Vaudois.* As they had only ſubſiſted by concealing what they were, they fell as ſoon as ever they reſolved to declare themſelves; for thoſe that afterwards remain'd under that name, it's plain, were nothing elſe but *Calviniſts,* whom *Farel* and the other Miniſters of *Geneva*

Geneva had form'd to their mode: ſo that theſe *Vaudois*, whom they make their *Anceſtors* and *Predeceſſors*, to ſpeak the truth, are nothing but their *Succeſſors*, and new diſciples whom they have proſelyted to their Faith.

CXXIV. No advantage to be derived from the *Vaudois* in behalf of the *Calviniſts*.

But after all, what help can theſe *Vaudois*, by whom they ſeek to juſtify themſelves, afford our *Calviniſts*? It's manifeſt by this hiſtory that *Waldo* and his diſciples were all meer Lay-men, who thruſt themſelves in to preach, without orders, without miſſion, and afterwards to adminiſter the Sacraments. They ſeparated from the Church by a manifeſt error, deteſted as much by *Proteſtants* as *Catholicks*, which was that of *Donatiſm*; nay, this *Donatiſm* of the *Vaudois* is beyond compariſon much worſe than the *African Donatiſm* of old, ſo ſtrongly confuted by St. *Auſtin*. Thoſe *Donatiſts* of *Africa* ſaid, indeed, that none but a holy perſon could validly adminiſter the Sacraments: but they did not arrive at the extravagance of the *Vaudois*, to allow the adminiſtration of the Sacraments as well to holy *Laymen* as holy *Prieſts*. If the *African Donatiſts* pretended that the Catholick Biſhops and Prieſts had forfeited their miniſtry by their crimes, they at leaſt accuſed them of crimes, which were actually reproved by the law of God. But our new *Donatiſts* ſeparate themſelves from the whole Catholick Clergy, and would have it, they were degraded from their Orders for not obſerving their pretended Apoſtolick Poverty, which, at moſt, was but a counſel. For this was the origin of the Sect, and what we have ſeen it ſtood to, as long as it perſiſted in its firſt belief. Who therefore does not ſee that ſuch a Sect is nothing at bottom, but hypocriſy boaſting her poverty and other virtues, and making the Sacraments depend, not on the efficacy *Jeſus Chriſt* has given

given them, but on man's merits. And after all, these new Doctors, from whom the *Calvinists* derive their succession, Whence came they themselves, and who sent them? Puzzled at this query no less than the *Protestants*, like them they went in quest of *Predecessors*, and here is the fable trump'd up by them. They were told, that in the time of St. *Sylvester*, when *Constantine* endow'd the Churches with revenues, *One of this Pope's companions would not consent to it, and withdrew from his Communion, abiding together with them that followed him, in the way of poverty; and then it was the Church failed in* Sylvester *and his adherents, and remained with them.* Let not this be call'd a calumny invented by the enemies of the *Vaudois*, for we have seen, that the authors, who unanimously report it, had no design of calumniating them. This fable was still in vogue in *Seyssel*'s time. The vulgar were then told, *This Sect had taken its rise from a certain man call'd* Leo, *a very religious person, in the time of* Constantine *the Great, who detesting the avarice of* Sylvester, *and* Constantine's *excessive liberality, chose rather to follow the poverty and simplicity of Faith*, than, *with* Sylvester, *to defile himself with a fat and rich benefice, to which* Leo *all those join'd themselves, that judged aright in Faith.* These ignorant people had been made believe, 'twas from this counterfeit *Leo*, the Sect of *Leonists* derived their name and birth. *Christians* are all for finding a succession in their *Church* and *Doctrine*. *Protestants* brag of theirs in the *Vaudois*, the *Vaudois* in their pretended companion of St. *Sylvester*; and both are equally fictitious.

Ren. Ibid. c. iv. v. 749. *Pylicd.* c. iv. p. 779. *Fragm. Pylicd.* 815. 816. &c.

Seyss. f. 5.

CXXV. The *Calvinists* have no cotempo-

All the truth to be found in the *Vaudois* origin is, that they took their motive of separation from the endowing of Churches and Church-men contrary,

rary authors to favour their pretenſions to the *Vaudois*. *Hiſt. des Vaudois. ch.* 1.

contrary, as they pretended, to that poverty *Jeſus Chriſt* requires of his Miniſters. But as this origin is abſurd, and beſides, nowiſe ſerves the turn of *Proteſtants*; we have ſeen, what an account *Paul Perrin* hath given of it in his hiſtory of the *Vaudois*. He ſets forth this *Waldo* as a perſon *the moſt courageous in oppoſing the Real* Preſence in the year 1160. But does he produce any author in Confirmation of what he ſays? no, not ſo much as one: neither *Aubertin*, nor *la Roque*, nor *Cappel*, infine no Proteſtant of *Germany* or *France* hath produced, or ever will produce, any one author, either of thoſe times, or of ſucceeding ages for the ſpace of three or four hundred years, who gives the *Vaudois* that origin which this Hiſtorian lays for the foundation of his hiſtory. Have any of the *Catholicks*, who wrote ſo copiouſly, whatever *Berengarius* and the reſt objected againſt the *Real* Preſence, ſo much as named *Waldo* amongſt thoſe that oppoſed it? None ever hath dream't of it: we have ſeen, what they ſaid of *Waldo*, was far different. But why muſt they have ſpared him only? What then, did this man, they make ſo courageous in ſtemming the torrent, ſo conceal his Doctrine that none ever could perceive he impugn'd an article of this importance? or was *Waldo* ſo formidable a perſon, that no Catholick durſt impeach him of this error at the time they impeach'd him of ſo many others? An Hiſtorian that ſets out with a fact of this nature, and lays it for the foundation of his hiſtory, what credit does he deſerve? Nevertheleſs, *Paul Perrin* is heard like an oracle among *Calviniſts*, ſo lightly do they come into whatever favours the prejudices of the Sect.

CXXVI. *Vaudois* books produced by *Perrin*.

But for want of known authors, *Perrin* produces, for his only proof, ſome old books of the

Hiſt. des Vaudois. li. 1. *ch.* vii. *p.* 57.

Hiſt. des Vaud. & Albig. 3. *part. Lib.* III. *ch.* 1. *p.* 253.

e *Vaudois* in manuſcript, which he pretends to ave retrieved; amongſt the reſt, one Volume herein was *A book concerning Antichriſt bearing ate* 1120, *and in this ſame Volume, many ſer- ons of the* Vaudois Barbes. But it's already vidently made out, there neither were *Vaudois* or *Barbes* in 1120, ſince *Waldo*, by *Perrin*'s wn account, did not appear till 1160. The word *Barbe* was not known, nor in uſe among the *Vaudois* to ſignify their Doctors, till many ages fter, and manifeſtly in the latter times. So, theſe diſcourſes cannot all of them be made to paſs as of eleven hundred and twenty years ſtanding. Nay, *Perrin* himſelf is reduced to llow this date only to the diſcourſe concerning *Antichriſt*, which, by this means, he hopes to father on *Peter de Bruis*, who lived about that ime, or on ſome of his diſciples. But the date ſtanding in the front, ſhould ſeemingly extend o all, and conſequently is utterly falſe in re- gard of the firſt, as it evidently is in regard of he reſt. And beſides, this treatiſe about *Anti- chriſt*, which he pretends to be of 1160, is not in a different language from the other pieces of the *Barbes* cited by *Perrin*; and this language is very modern, very little unlike the *Provence*- dialect now in uſe. Not only *Villehardouin*'s language, who wrote a hundred years ſince *Peter de Bruis*, but that alſo of the authors, ſubſequent to *Villehardouin*, is more obſolete and obſcure than that which he would make to paſs for eleven hundred and twenty years old: ſo that there is not a more groſs and palpable impoſition, than to palm on us theſe pieces as of remote antiquity.

CXXVII. Sequel.

Nevertheleſs, on account of this ſole date of 1120, placed, you know not by whom, you know not when, in this *Vaudois-volume* no body knows any thing of, our *Calviniſts* have cited

Aub. p. 962. *La Roq.*

this book about *Antichriſt* as undoubtedly the work of *ſome one of Peter de Bruis*'s diſciples, or as his own. The ſame authors quote with great confidence ſome diſcourſes, which *Perrin* has tack'd to that concerning *Antichriſt*, as if of the ſame date 1120, altho', in one of theſe where *Purgatory* is handled, is cited a book *which St.* Auſtin *intitled, as the original has it*, Milparlemens, that is, of *a thouſand ſayings*, as if St. *Auſtin* had wrote a book with this title; the which can be attributed to nothing but a compilation made in the thirteenth Century, bearing this title, *Milleloquium Sancti Auguſtini*, which the ignorant author of this treatiſe on *Purgatory* took for the work of this Father. Beſides this, we might be able to ſpeak ſomething of the age of theſe *Vaudois-books* and the alterations poſſibly made in them, were we told of ſome known Library where they might be view'd. Till the publick hath received this neceſſary information, we cannot but wonder, ſuch books have been produced to us for authentick as have not been ſeen but by *Perrin* alone; neither *Aubertin*, nor *La Roque* citing them otherwiſe than on his word, without ſo much as telling us, they have ever handled them. This *Perrin*, who alone boaſts of them to us, obſerves none of thoſe marks in them whereby the date of a book may be aſcertain'd, or its antiquity proved; and all he tells us is, they are *Old Vaudois-volumes*: which, in general, may be ſaid of the moſt modern *Gothick* books of no more than a hundred or ſix ſcore years antiquity. There is then all manner of appearance that theſe books, whence they produce what they pleaſe without any ſolid proof of their date, have been compoſed or altered by thoſe *Vaudois*, whom *Farel* and his brethren reformed in their way.

Hiſt. de l'Euchar. p. 451. 459.

Perr. Hiſt. des Vaud. 3. part. liv. III. *ch.* 2. *p.* 305.

Hiſt. des Vaud. liv. I. *ch.* vii. *p.* 56.

As

As to the *Confeſſion* of Faith publiſh'd by *Perrin*, and which all *Proteſtants* quote as an authentick piece of the ancient *Vaudois*, *It is extracted*, ſays he, *from a book intitled, the Spiritual Almanack, and from the memoirs of* George Morel. As for the Spiritual *Almanack*, I know not what to ſay to it, unleſs, that neither *Perrin*, nor even *Leger*, who ſpeaks with ſo great a regard for the books of the *Vaudois*, have men-tion'd any thing of the date of this. They have not even thought it worth their while to acquaint us, whether it may be a manuſcript or in print; and we may hold it for certain, it is very modern, ſince thoſe, who would make the moſt of it, have not ſpecified its antiquity. But what *Perrin* reports, is deciſive, *viz.* that this *Confeſſion* of Faith is extracted from the Memoirs of *George Morel*. Now it is plain from *Perrin* himſelf, that *George Morel* was the man that about the year 1530, (ſo many years after the *Reformation*) went to confer with *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* concerning the means to bring about a union: which makes it clear enough that this *Confeſſion* of Faith is not, any more than the reſt produced by *Perrin*, of the ancient *Vaudois*, but of the *Vaudois* reform'd according to the model of the *Proteſtants*.

CXXVIII. Confeſſion of Faith produced by *Perrin*. That it is poſterior to *Calviniſm*.

Hiſt. des Vaud. liv. 1. *ch.* 12. *p.* 79. *Ibid.*

Lett. of Oecolamp. Perr. Ibid. ch. vi. *p.* 46. vii. *p.* 59.

Accordingly hath it been already remark'd by us, that no mention of a *Vaudois Confeſſion* of Faith was made in the Conference of 1530, betwixt *Oecolampadius* and the ſaid *Vaudois*. We may even boldly aſſert, they never made a *Confeſſion* of Faith till a long while after, ſince that *Beza*, ſo diligent in his reſearches into, and taking advantage from, the acts of theſe Hereticks, ſpeaks nothing, as hath been ſeen, of any ſuch *Confeſſion* of Faith that he knew of, except in 1541. Howſoever that be, never, before *Luther*'s

CXXIX. Demonſtration that the *Vaudois* had no *Confeſſion* of Faith before the pretended *Reformation*.

ther's and *Calvin*'s Reformation had a *Vaudois Confeſſion* of Faith been ſo much as hear'd of. *Seyſſel*, whom paſtoral vigilancy and the duty of his charge engaged in thoſe latter times, namely, in 1516, and 1517, to ſo exact an inquiry into all that concern'd this Sect, ſpeaks not one word of a *Confeſſion* of Faith: and the reaſon was, becauſe he had never heard of any ſuch thing, either from juridical examinations, or from thoſe of his own converts, who, with ſo great tokens of ſincerity, diſcover'd to him with tears and compunction the whole ſecret of the Sect. They had not therefore, at that time, any ſuch *Confeſſion*; their Doctrine was to be learnt, as we have ſeen, by their interrogatories at tribunals: but as for a *Confeſſion* of Faith or any *Vaudois*-writing, we find not a word in thoſe authors that knew them beſt. On the contrary, the brethren of *Bohemia*, a Sect we ſhall ſpeak of ſoon, and which the *Vaudois* have frequently ſtrove to unite themſelves to, both before and ſince *Luther*'s time, aſſure us, they wrote nothing. *They never had*, ſay they, *a Church known in* Bohemia, *nor had our people learnt any thing of their Doctrine, by reaſon they never had publiſh'd any writing we know of.* And in another place: *they would not endure there ſhould be any publick teſtimony of their Doctrine.* But if you'll ſay, they had nevertheleſs, amongſt themſelves, ſome writings, and ſome *Confeſſions* of *Faith*: if ſo, doubtleſs they would have communicated them to the *Brethren* whom they were for uniting with. But the *Brethren* declare, they knew nothing as to that point except from ſome articles of *Merindol*, *which articles*, ſay they, *poſſibly might have been poliſhed ſince our time.* This is what a learned Miniſter of the *Bohemians* writes, a long while after *Luther*'s and

S. n. 4.

Seyſſ. f. 3. & *ſeq.*

Eſrom. Rudig. de fratr. Orth. narrat. Heid. eum Hiſt. Cam. 1605. *p.* 147. 148. *Præf. Conf. fid. frat. Bohem. An.* 1572. *Ibid.* 173.

Rud. Ibid. 147. 148.

and *Calvin*'s Reformation. He would have ſpoken more conſequently, if, inſtead of ſaying, theſe articles were *poliſhed*, he had ſaid, they were coin'd ſince the *Reformation*. But ſo it was that men were willing, in the Party, to give ſome air of antiquity to the *Vaudois-articles*, nor would this Miniſter intirely diſcloſe the ſecret of the Sect. Be that as it will, he ſays enough of it to convince us, what we ought to credit concerning the *Confeſſions* of Faith produced, in his time, under the name of the *Vaudois*; and it's eaſily perceived, they knew nothing of the *Proteſtant* Doctrine before they had been taught it by the *Proteſtants*. Nay, they ſcarce knew what they themſelves believed, and but confuſedly deliver'd their minds concerning it to their beſt friends, ſo far from having *Confeſſions* of Faith already at hand, as *Perrin* would fain perſuade us.

CXXX. The *Vaudois*, in drawing their *Calviniſtical* Confeſſion of Faith, retain'd ſomething of the *Dogmata* that were peculiar to them.

And nevertheleſs we perceive, even in theſe pieces of *Perrin*, ſome footſteps of the ancient genius of the *Vaudois*; a confirmation of what we have already ſaid concerning them. For example, in the book about *Antichriſt*, it is ſaid, *That the Emperors and Kings having got a notion that Antichriſt reſembled the true and holy Mother the Church, they loved him, and endow'd him contrary to God's command*; which comes up to the *Vaudois* tenet, that the Clergy are forbidden to have any goods: an error, as above ſeen, that was the firſt ground-work of their ſeparation. What is advanced in the *Catechiſm*, *viz.* that you may know the Miniſters *by their true ſenſe of the Faith, and by their holy Doctrine and life of good example*, &c. ſuits alſo with that error, which made the *Vaudois* believe, that Miniſters of an evil life were degraded from their Miniſtry, and loſt the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

Ibid. 3. *part. l.* III. *ch.* I. *p.* 292.

Ibid. 3. *part. l.* I. *p.* 157.

Ib. l. III. *p.* 267.

For which reaſon, in the book that treats of *Antichriſt*, it's alſo ſaid, that one of his works is, *To attribute the Reformation of the Holy Ghoſt to Faith exteriorly dead, and to baptize children into this Faith, teaching that, by this Faith, theſe children do receive from him Baptiſm and Regeneration:* words whereby a *living* Faith is required in the Miniſters of *Baptiſm* as a thing neceſſary for the child's regeneration, and the contrary is rank'd among the works of *Antichriſt*. Thus, when they compoſed theſe new *Confeſſions* of Faith agreeable to the *Reformation*, which they had a deſign of entering into, there was no hindering them from ſtill inſinuating ſomething that ſavour'd of the old *Levain*; and without further loſs of time in this inquiry, it is ſufficient you have obſerved, in theſe works of the *Vaudois*, the two errors which were the ground of their ſeparation.

CXXXI. Reflexions on the hiſtory of the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*. Artifice of the Miniſters.

Such is the hiſtory of the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois* as reported by the authors of thoſe times. Our *Reformed*, finding nothing therein favourable to their pretenſions, connived at their being impoſed upon by the moſt groſs of all artifices. Many *Catholick* authors, that wrote in this, or towards the end of the precedent age, have not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd the *Vaudois* from the *Albigenſes*, but given the general name of *Vaudois* alike to both of them. Whatever might have been the cauſe of their error, our *Proteſtants* are more able criticks than to require we ſhould credit either *Mariana*, or *Gretſer*, or even *Thuanus*, and ſome other moderns, to the prejudice of the ancient authors, who all unanimouſly, as we have ſeen, diſtinguiſh'd theſe two Sects. Nevertheleſs, on ſo groſs an error, the *Proteſtants*, after taking it for granted that the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois* were but one and the

ſame

ſame Sect, have concluded, that nought but calumny branded the *Albigenſes* with the imputation of *Manicheiſm*, ſince the *Vaudois*, according to the ancient authors, are exempt from that blemiſh.

They ought to reflect that theſe ancients, who, in accuſing the *Vaudois* of other errors, have diſcharged them from *Manicheiſm*, at the ſame time, have diſtinguiſh'd them from the *Albigenſes* whom we have convicted of it. For example, the Miniſter *de la Roque*, who, as he writ the laſt on this ſubject, hath muſter'd up the ſubtle quirks of all the other authors of the Party, and eſpecially thoſe of *Aubertin*, believes he has juſtified the *Albigenſes* as to their rejecting the *Old Teſtament* like the *Manicheans*, by ſhewing from *Renier*'s teſtimony, that the *Vaudois* received it: he gains nothing, ſince theſe *Vaudois* are, in the ſame *Renier*, thoroughly diſtinguiſh'd from the *Cathari* the ſtem of the *Albigenſian* progeny. The ſame *La Roque* thinks to reap advantage from certain Hereticks, who, according to *Radulphus Ardens*, ſaid, *That the Sacrament was nothing but meer Bread.* It is true, but the ſame *Radulphus* adds, what *La Roque* no leſs than *Aubertin* have diſſembled, that theſe ſame Hereticks *admit two Creators, and reject the Old Teſtament, the truth of the Incarnation, Marriage, and the uſe of Fleſh-meat.* The ſame Miniſter alſo cites certain Hereticks mention'd by *Peter de Vaucernay*, who denied the truth of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Body in the *Euchariſt*. I own it, but at the ſame time this Hiſtorian aſſures us, *they admitted the two Principles*, with all the train of *Manichean* errors. *La Roque* would make us believe, that the ſame *Peter de Vaucernay* diſtinguiſhes the *Arians* and *Manicheans* from the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*. The half of his diſcourſe is

CXXXII. Demonſtration that the Hereticks, who denied the *Reality* in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, were *Manicheans*. Notoriouſly falſe ſuppoſition of the Miniſters. *La Roq.* 459. *Aub. p.* 967. *ex Ren. c.* III. 5. *Ren. c.* vi. *La Roq.* 456. *Aub. p.* 964. *B. Rad. Ard. Serm.* 8. *Poſt. Pentec. La Roq. Auber. Ibid.* 965. *ex Pet. de Valle-Cern. Hiſt. Albig. lib.* II. *cap.* vi.

Hiſt. Albig. cap. 11. is true: it is true that he diſtinguiſhes the *Manicheans* from the *Vaudois*, but he diſtinguiſhes them not from the Hereticks *that were in the country of* Narbonne; and certain it is, theſe are the ſame that were call'd *Albigenſes*, and who unqueſtionably were *Manicheans*. But, continues the ſame *La Roque*, *Renier* owns Hereticks who ſay, *the Body of Jeſus Chriſt is meer Bread*; they were thoſe he calls *Ordibarians* that ſpoke thus, and, at the ſame time, denied the Creation, and vented a thouſand other blaſphemies, which *Manicheiſm* had introduced: ſo that theſe enemies of the *Real* Preſence were at the ſame time no leſs enemies of the Creator and the Deity.

La Roq. p. 457. *Aub.* 965. *Ren. cap.* vi. *Ren. Ibid.*

CXXXIII Sequel: *Manicheiſm* at *Metz*: the *Bogomiliſts*. *Cæſar. Heſterb. lib.* v. *cap.* 2. *in Bibl. Ciſterc. La Roq.* 457. *Aub.* 964. *Ferri Cat. Gen. p.* 85. *p.* 455.

La Roque returns to the attack with *Aubertin*, and believes he finds good *Proteſtants* in the perſons of thoſe Hereticks, who, by the teſtimony of *Ceſarius* of *Heſterback*, *blaſphemed the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt*. But the ſame *Ceſarius* acquaints us, they admitted the two Principles, and all the other *Manichean* blaſphemies; which he avers he is very well aſſured of, not from hear-ſay, but *from his frequent converſation with them in the Dioceſe of* Metz. A famous Miniſter of *Metz*, whom I was well acquainted with, made the *Calviniſts* of that country believe, theſe *Albigenſes* of *Ceſarius* were their anceſtors; and then they were plainly ſhewn that theſe anceſtors, he had given them, were abominable *Manicheans*. *La Roque*, in his hiſtory of the *Euchariſt*, would fain have us believe, the *Bogomiliſts* were the ſame with thoſe call'd, in divers places, *Vaudois*, *poor men of* Lions, Bulgarians, Inſabbattized, Gazares, Poplicans, *and* Turlupins. I agree that the *Vaudois*, the *Inſabbatized*, and the *poor men* of *Lions* are the ſame Sect: but that they were call'd *Gazares or Cathari*, *Poplicans*, *Bulgarians*

Bulgarians or Bogomiliſts, is what never willbe ſhewn from any author of thoſe times. Nevertheleſs, Mr. *de la Roque* muſt needs have theſe *Bogomiliſts* to be their friends: ſurely for this reaſon, becauſe *they accounted the Body and Blood, which we conſecrate, unworthy of all eſteem.* But he ought to have learnt from *Anna Comnena*, who has given us a right notion of theſe Hereticks, that they *reduced to a fantom the Incarnation of Jeſus; that they taught ſuch impurities as the modeſty of her ſex forbad this Princeſs to repeat; and inſine, that they had been convicted by the Emperor* Alexius *her Father of introducing a* Dogma *mix'd with two the moſt infamous of all Hereſies, that of the* Manicheans, *and that of the* Maſſalians. *An. Comn. Alex. lib. xv. p. 486. & ſeq.*

CXXXIV Sequel of the ſuppoſitions of the Miniſters.

The ſame *La Roque* counts alſo amongſt his friends *Peter Moran*, who, preſs'd to declare his Faith before all the people, confeſſed, *He did not believe the conſecrated Bread was the Body of our Lord*; and he forgets that this *Peter Moran*, by the report of the author whoſe teſtimony he cites, was of the number of thoſe Hereticks convicted of *Manicheiſm*, which were call'd *Arians* for the reaſon abovemention'd. *Ibid.* 458. *Rog. de Hoved. Ann. Angl. Baron. ad An.* 1178.

CXXXV. Another falſity.

This author reckons alſo amongſt his friends thoſe Hereticks, concerning whom it is ſaid in the Council of *Toulouſe* under *Calixtus* II. *that they rejected the Sacrament of Jeſus Chriſt's Body and Blood*; and he mutilates the very *Canon* he has taken theſe words from, in the ſequel whereof is to be ſeen, that theſe Hereticks, together with the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, *rejected alſo Infant-Baptiſm and lawful Wedlock.* *Ibid.* 451. *Conc. Toloſ. An.* 1119. *Can.* 3. v. 8.

CXXXVI Another paſſage mutilated.

With the like hardineſs he corrupts a paſſage of *Emerick* the Inquiſitor, concerning the *Vaudois*. *Emerick*, ſays he, *attributes to them, as a Hereſy, their ſaying that the Bread is not tranſubſtantiated* *P.* 457.

Direct. part. 2. q. 14.

ſubſtantiated into the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt, nor the Wine into Blood. Who would not believe the *Vaudois* convicted by this teſtimony of denying *Tranſubſtantiation?* but we have given the whole paſſage, where you'll read: *The ninth error of the* Vaudois *is, that the Bread is not tranſubſtantiated into the Body of Jeſus Chriſt,* IF THE PRIEST, WHO CONSECRATES IT, BE A SINNER. Mr. *La Roque* cuts off theſe laſt words, and, by this falſification alone, takes from the *Vaudois* two important points of their Doctrine; one, which is the abhorrence of all *Proteſtants*, to wit, *Tranſubſtantiation*; the other, which is the abhorrence of all *Chriſtians*, namely, their ſaying, that the Sacraments loſe their virtue in the hands of unworthy Miniſters. Thus do our adverſaries prove what they liſt, by manifeſt falſifications, nor dread giving themſelves predeceſſors even at this rate.

CXXXVII Recapitulation.

Theſe are a part of *Aubertin*'s and *La Roque*'s illuſions with regard to the *Albigenſes*, and *Vaudois* or *poor men* of *Lions*. In a word, they perfectly vindicate theſe laſt from *Manicheiſm*, but, at the ſame time, bring no kind of proof to ſhew, they denied *Tranſubſtantiation*; on the contrary, do corrupt the paſſages which prove, they admitted it. And as for thoſe who denied it in thoſe days, they produce none but ſuch as are convicted of *Manicheiſm*, by the teſtimony of the ſame authors that accuſe them of denying the change of ſubſtances in the *Euchariſt*: ſo that their anceſtors either, with us, defend *Tranſubſtantiation* as the *Vaudois*, or, are convicted of *Manicheiſm* with the *Albigenſes*.

CXXXVIII Two other objections of the Miniſters.

But here is what theſe Miniſters have advanced with greater ſubtilty. Over power'd by the number of authors, who, treating of theſe *Touloufian* and *Albigenſian* Hereticks, make them perfect

perfect *Manicheans*, they cannot deny there were *Aub.* 968. *a. La Roq.* 460. *ex.*
ich, and even in thoſe countries; and they were thoſe, ſay they, who were call'd *Cathari* or *Puritans*. But they add, they were very few in number, ſince *Renier*, who knew them ſo well, *Ren. c.* vi.
aſſures us, they had but *ſixteen Churches in the whole world*; nay, that the number of theſe *Ren. c.* vi.
Cathari did not exceed *four thouſand* in all parts of the earth: *Whereas*, ſays *Renier*, *the believers are not to be number'd*. Theſe Miniſters would give to underſtand from this paſſage, that theſe ſixteen Churches, and four thouſand men ſpread in all parts of the univerſe, could not have cauſed in it all that noiſe and all thoſe wars the *Albigenſes* were authors of: it muſt therefore have happen'd that the name of *Cathari* or *Manicheans* was extended to ſome other Sect more numerous, and that the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes* had the name of *Manicheans* given them, either by miſtake, or calumny.

CXXXIX. Sixteen Churches of the *Manicheans* that comprehended the whole Sect. *Ren. c.* vi.

Whoſoever has a mind to ſee what length prejudice or illuſion will go, needs but to hear, after what the Miniſters have ſaid, the truth I am going to relate, or rather, call to mind what has already been related. And in the firſt place, as to theſe ſixteen Churches, you have ſeen that the word *Church* was taken in this place by *Renier*, not for particular Churches which were in certain Towns, but often, for whole Provinces: thus you find amongſt theſe Churches, *the Church of* Sclavonia, *the Church of* Marc-Ancona *in* Italy, *the Church of* France, *the Church of* Bulgaria, the Mother of all the reſt. All *Lombardy* was contain'd under the title of two Churches: thoſe of *Toulouſe* and *Alby*, which in *France* formerly were the moſt numerous, comprehended all *Languedoc*, and ſo forth: ſo that, under the denomination of ſixteen Churches, the whole

Sect

Sect was expreſs'd as divided into ſixteen Cantons, all which had their relation to *Bulgaria*, as above ſeen.

CXL. The *Cathari*, in number four thouſand. How this to be underſtood.

We have alſo obſerved, in regard of thoſe four thouſand *Cathari*, that none were underſtood by that name but the *perfect* of the Sect, call'd *Elect* in St. *Auſtin*'s time; but withal that *Renier* aſſures us, in his time, to wit, in the midſt of the thirteenth Century, when the Sect was weaken'd, tho' there were but four thouſand perfect *Cathari*, yet that the multitude of the reſt of the Sect, namely, of ſimple *Believers*, was then infinite.

CXLI. Whether the word *Believers*, in the ancient authors, ſignified the *Vaudois*. *Aubertin*'s fallacy. *Aub.* 968. *a. La Roq.* 460. *c.* 1. 14. 18. *p.* 780. &c. *C.* 1. *p.* 747.

La Roque, after *Aubertin*, pretends, the word *Believers* ſignified the *Vaudois*, by reaſon that *Pylicdorf*, and *Renier* himſelf calls them ſo. But here is again too palpable a fallacy. The word *Believers* was common to all the Sects: each Sect had *its Believers* or Followers. The *Vaudois* had their Believers, *Credentes ipſorum*, whom *Pylicdorf* has ſpoken of in divers places. Not that the word *Believers* was appropriated to the *Vaudois*: but the thing meant was, that they had theirs like the reſt. The place cited from *Renier*, by the Miniſters, ſays, the Hereticks *had their Believers*, Credentes ſuos, *to whom they allow'd all kind of crimes*. 'Tis not the *Vaudois* he ſpeaks of, ſince he commends their good deportment. The ſame *Renier* relates the Myſteries of the *Cathari*, or the breaking of their Bread, and ſays, *They admitted to this table not only the* Cathari, men and women, *but alſo their Believers*, namely, thoſe who were not as yet arrived to the perfection of the *Cathari*: the which ſhews manifeſtly theſe two ſo known claſſes among the *Manicheans*; and what he further remarks, that the ſimple Believers were admitted to this kind of Myſtery, makes it plain, there

Ibid. c. vi. *p.* 756.

were

were other Myſteries which they were not deem'd worthy of. Theſe Believers of the *Cathari* were therefore the *innumerable* above mention'd; and theſe, guided by the reſt of an inferior number, raiſed all the commotions which diſturb'd the world.

CXLII. Concluſion: that the *Vaudois* concur not in ſentiment with the *Calviniſts*.

Here have you then the ſubtilties, not to ſay artifices, the Miniſters are reduced to, in order to find themſelves Predeceſſors. They have none of an apparent and continued ſucceſſion: of ſuch they go in ſearch the beſt way they are able, amongſt obſcure Sects whom they ſtrive to unite, and make of them good *Calviniſts*, tho' there be nothing they all agree in, but their hatred againſt the *Pope* and *Church*.

CXLIII. What is to be believed concerning the lives of the *Vaudois*.

It will be ask'd me, perhaps, what is my opinion concerning the manners of the *Vaudois* ſo much extoll'd by *Renier*. I can eaſily credit all he ſays, nay, if they pleaſe, more than *Renier* ſaid of them; for the Devil matters not by what ſort of bands he links men to him. Thoſe *Touloufian* Hereticks, confeſſedly *Manicheans*, had not leſs of this ſhewiſh piety than the *Vaudois*. 'Twas of them St. *Bernard* ſaid: *Their manners are irreproachable; they oppreſs none; they injure no man; their countenances are mortified and wan with faſting; they eat not their Bread like ſluggards, but labour to gain a livelyhood.* What can be more plauſible than theſe Hereticks mention'd by St. *Bernard?* But after all, they were *Manicheans*, and their piety but diſguiſe. Inſpect the foundation: 'twas pride, 'twas hatred againſt the Clergy, 'twas rancour againſt the *Church*; this made them drink in the whole poiſon of an abominable Hereſy. An ignorant people may be led whither you pleaſe, when, after kindling a violent paſſion in their breaſts, eſpecially hatred againſt their guides, you uſe it as a chain to drag

Serm. 65. *in Cant.*

drag them by. But what ſhall we ſay of the *Vaudois*, who kept themſelves ſo clear of the *Manichean* errors? The Devil had accompliſh'd his work in them, when he inſpired them with the ſame pride; the ſame oſtentation of their pretended Apoſtolick Poverty; the ſame preſumption to boaſt their virtues; the ſame hatred againſt the Clergy, even to deſpiſe the Sacraments in their hands; the ſame bitterneſs againſt their brethren, even to a rupture from them and open Schiſm. With this hatred in their breaſts, were they externally ſtill more juſt than has been reported, St. *John* aſſures me, they are murderers. Were they as chaſte as Angels, their lot would be no better than that of the *fooliſh Virgins*, whoſe lamps were void of oyl, and hearts void of that ſweetneſs which alone can nouriſh Charity.

1 *John* iii. 15.

Mat. xxv. 3.

CXLIV. Sowerneſs is the character of this Sect. Abuſe of the Scripture. *Ch.* v. *p.* 749.

Renier has therefore juſtly pointed out the character of theſe Hereticks, when he reſolves the cauſe of their error into hatred, bitterneſs and rancour: *Sic proceſſit Doctrina ipſorum, & rancor.* Theſe Hereticks, ſays he, whoſe exterior was ſo taking, read much, *and pray'd little. They went to ſermons, but in order to lay ſnares for the Preacher, as the* Jews *did for the Son of God*; as much as to ſay, there was amongſt them much of the ſpirit of contention, but little of the ſpirit of compunction. All of them in general, *Manicheans* and *Vaudois*, never ceaſed inveighing againſt human inventions, and citing the holy Scripture, whence they always had a text at hand upon all occaſions. When examin'd concerning Faith, they eluded the queſtion by equivocating; if reproved for this, 'twas *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, ſaid they, that taught them this practice when he ſaid to the *Jews*: *Deſtroy this Temple, and in three days I will raiſe it up*; meaning

Ren. Ibid.

John ii. 19.

meaning of the Temple of his body what the *Jews* underſtood of that of *Solomon*. This text, to thoſe that knew no better, ſeem'd expreſly made for their purpoſe. The *Vaudois* had a hundred others of this ſort, which they were expert in wreſting to their own purpoſes; and to thoſe not thoroughly verſed in Scripture, it was no eaſy matter to eſcape their ſnares. Another author remarks a very ſingular character in theſe falſe profeſſors of poverty. They did not proceed like a St. *Bernard*, like a St. *Francis*, like other Apoſtolick Preachers, and attack in the midſt of the world the diſſolute livers, the uſurers, the gameſters, the blaſphemers, and the like publick ſinners in order to convert them: on the contrary, whomſoever they found, in Towns or Villages that were peaceable and retired, 'twas into their houſes they inſinuated themſelves under the covert of their exterior ſimplicity. Scarce durſt they raiſe their voice, their meekneſs was ſo great: yet the topick of wicked Prieſts and wicked Monks was ſtraight introduced: a keen and mercileſs ſatyr put on the diſguiſe of zeal; well-meaning people, that liſtened to them, were enſnared; and tranſported with this bitter zeal imagin'd even, they turn'd better men, by turning Hereticks: thus an univerſal contagion diffuſed itſelf. Some were drawn into vice by the great ſcandals that appear'd in the world on every ſide: the Devil took in the ſimple after another manner; and, by a falſe horror of the wicked, alienated them from the Church, wherein the number of ſuch was daily ſeen to increaſe.

Pylicd. cap. x. *p.* 283.

CXLV. Eminent ſanctity in the Catholick Church.

Nothing could be more unjuſt; ſince the *Church*, far from approving the diſorders which gave a handle to the revolt of Hereticks, by all her decrees deteſted them, and nouriſh'd at the ſame time in her boſom men of ſo eminent a holineſs,

holineſs, that, in compariſon to it, all the virtue of theſe hypocrites appear'd as nothing. St. *Bernard* alone, whom God raiſed in thoſe days with all the graces of the *Prophets* and *Apoſtles* to combate theſe new Hereticks, when they were making their greateſt efforts to ſpread themſelves in *France*, was alone ſufficient to confound them. In him might they behold a ſpirit truly apoſtolical, a ſanctity of ſuch a luſtre, that even thoſe, whoſe errors he impugn'd, were in admiration of it, inſomuch that there were ſome of them, who, whilſt they wickedly anathematiz'd the holy Doctors, excepted St. *Bernard* from that ſentence, and thought themſelves obliged to publiſh, that at laſt he had come over to their Party: ſo much did they bluſh to have againſt them ſo great a witneſs. Amongſt his other virtues, was ſeen to ſhine in him, and his brethren the holy Monks of *Ciſteaux* and *Clairvaux*, to mention nothing of the reſt, that Apoſtolick Poverty theſe Hereticks boaſted ſo much of: but St. *Bernard* and his Diſciples, for all their carrying this Poverty and Chriſtian mortification to its utmoſt height, did not glory that they alone had preſerved the *Sacraments*, nor were they the leſs obedient to Superiors however wicked, diſtinguiſhing, with *Jeſus Chriſt*, abuſes from the *Chair* and *Doctrine*.

St. *Bernard.*

Apud. Ren. ch. vi. *p.* 755.

CXLVI. Bitterneſs and preſumption of Hereticks.

At the ſame time, great Saints might be numberd, not only among the Biſhops, among the Prieſts, among the Monks, but alſo among the common people, and even amongſt Princes in the midſt of this worldly pomp: but Hereticks cared to look on nothing but vice, that they might ſay more boldly with the *Phariſee*; *We are not as other men are*; we are ſpotleſs, we are the *Poor* beloved of God: come to us if you'll receive the *Sacraments*.

Luke xviii. 11.

One

One ought not therefore to be surpised at the apparent regularity of their manners, this being a part of that seduction we have been fore-arm'd against by so many informations of the Gospel. To finish the external piety of these Hereticks, this last stroke is added; that they suffer'd with a surprising patience. It is true, and 'tis what compleats the illusion. For the Hereticks of those times, and even the *Manicheans*, whose infamies we have beheld, after shifting and dissembling as long as ever they were able to escape punishment, when convicted, and condemn'd by the laws, ran to death with joy. Their false constancy amazed the world: *Enervin*, their accuser was nevertheless astonish'd, and inquired of St. *Bernard* with concern the meaning of such a prodigy. But the Saint, too well versed in the deep wiles of *Satan* to be ignorant of his being able to make those he held captives mimick even Martyrdom itself, answer'd, that by a just judgment of God, the evil one might have power, *Not only over the bodies of men, but also over their hearts*; and if he was able to prevail with *Judas* to destroy himself, he might well work on these Hereticks to suffer death from the hands of others. Let us not therefore wonder, if we see *Martyrs* of all Religions, even of the most monstrous ones, but learn, from this example, to hold none for true *Martyrs* but those who die in *Unity*.

CXLVII. Whether their false constancy ought to surprise us. St. *Bernard*'s memorable answer.

Analect. lib. III. *p.* 454.

Serm. 66. *in Cant. sub. fin.*

But what ought to put *Protestants* for ever out of conceit with all these impious Sects, is the detestable custom they had of denying their Religion, and partaking outwardly of our worship whilst they rejected it in their hearts. It is certain the *Vaudois*, like the *Manicheans*, lived in this practice ever since the Sect's beginning, till towards the midst of the last Century. *Seyssel*

CXLVIII Inevitable condemnation of these Hereticks in that they denied their Religion.

F. 47.

could not ſufficiently wonder at the falſe piety of their *Barbes*, who condemning even the minuteſt lies, as ſo many grievous ſins, yet dreaded not, in preſence of the Judges, to lye in point of Faith with an obſtinacy ſo ſupriſing, that the Confeſſion of it ſcarce could be torn from them by the accuteſt tortures. They forbad ſwearing tho' even to bear witneſs to truth in courts of Judicature; and at the ſame time, ſtuck at no oath to conceal their Sect and Faith: a tradition they had received from the *Manicheans*, as they had alſo inherited from them their preſumption and rancour. Men inure themſelves to any thing, when once their guides have gain'd the aſcendant over their minds; but eſpecially, when engaged in a cabal under the pretext of piety.

A Hiſtory of the BOHEMIAN *Brethren, vulgarly and falſly call'd* VAUDOIS.

CXLIX. The Sect of the *Bohemian* Brethren.

WE are now to ſpeak of thoſe, who were falſly call'd *Vaudois* and *Picards*, and who call'd themſelves the Brethren of *Bohemia*, or the *Orthodox Brethren*, or barely *Brethren*. They make a particular Sect diſtinct from the *Albigenſes* and the *poor men* of *Lions*. When *Luther* roſe up, he found ſome Churches in *Bohemia*, and eſpecially in *Moravia*, whom he long deteſted. He approved afterwards of their *Confeſſion* of Faith corrected, as we ſhall ſee. *Bucer* and *Muſculus* have alſo beſtow'd great praiſes on them. The learned *Camerarius*, whom we have ſo much ſpoken of, that intimate friend of *Melanchthon*, judged their hiſtory worthy to be written by his fine pen. His ſon-in-law *Rudiger*, tho' call'd by the *Proteſtant* Churches of the *Palatinate*, preferr'd to them thoſe of *Moravia* and choſe to be their Miniſter; and of all the Sects ſeparated from

De Eccl. Frat. in Boh. & Mor. narr. Hiſt. Heid. 1605.

from *Rome* before *Luther*, this is the moſt commended by Proteſtants: but its birth and Doctrine will ſoon evince, nothing could be drawn from it to their advantage.

CL. They diſown thoſe who call them *Vaudois* and why.

As for its birth, many led into a miſtake by the name, and ſome conformity of Doctrine, make theſe *Bohemians* deſcend from the ancient *Vaudois*: but for their part, they renounce this origin, as appears clearly in the preface they prefixt to their *Confeſſion* of Faith in 1572. There they ſet forth their origin in an ample manner, and ſay amongſt other things, that the *Vaudois* are more ancient than they; that theſe had, indeed, ſome Churches diſperſed in *Bohemia* when their own began firſt to appear, but they had no acquaintance with them; that nevertheleſs theſe *Vaudois*, in proceſs of time, made themſelves known to them, yet refuſed, ſay they, to make any deep reſearch into their Doctrine. *Our annals*, continue they, *inform us they were never united to our Churches for two reaſons: firſt, becauſe they gave no teſtimony of their Faith and Doctrine; ſecondly, becauſe, in order to keep peace, they made no difficulty of aſſiſting at Maſſes celebrated by thoſe of the Church of* Rome. Whence they concluded not only *that they never had enter'd into any union with the* Vaudois, *but alſo, that they had always believed, they could not enter into any ſuch with a ſafe conſcience.* So remote are theſe people from acknowledging a *Vaudois-extraction*, that, what is ambition'd by the *Calviniſts*, is rejected by them with ſcorn.

De orig. Eccl. Boh. & confeſs. ab iis editis Heid. An. 1605. *cum Hiſt. Joach. Camer. p.* 173.

CLI. The ſentiments of *Camerarius* and *Rudiger*.

Camerarius writes the ſame thing in his hiſtory of the *Bohemian* Brethren: but *Rudiger*, one of their Paſtors in *Moravia*, ſays, ſtill more clearly, that theſe Churches are far different from thoſe of the *Vaudois*; *that the* Vaudois *were in being ever*

Hiſt. p. 105. &c.

Rudig. de Eccl. Frat. in Bohem. & Mor. nar. p. 147.

ever ſince the year 1160, *whereas the Brethren did not begin to appear till the fifteenth Century*; and finally, *that it's written in the annals of the Brethren how they always with conſtancy refuſed to make any union with the* Vaudois, *by reaſon they did not give a full Confeſſion of their Faith, and went to Maſs.*

CLII. The *Vaudois* diſown'd by the *Brethren* as well as the *Picards*.

In Syn. Sendom. Synt. Gen. 2. part. p. 219. *Rudig. Ibid. p.* 148.

Accordingly, we ſee the Brethren, in all their Synods and all their acts, ſtile themſelves the Brethren of *Bohemia*, *falſly call'd* Vaudois. The name of *Picards* is ſtill more deteſted by them: *It is very likely*, ſays *Rudiger*, *thoſe, who firſt gave it our anceſtors, took it from a certain* Picard, *who, renewing the ancient Hereſy of the* Adamites, *introduced nudities and ſhameful actions*; *and as this Hereſy penetrated into* Bohemia *about the time our Churches were eſtabliſh'd, they were diſcredited by ſo infamous a title, as if we had been nothing but the miſerable remains of that impure* Picard. You ſee thereby how theſe two pedigrees, from the *Vaudois* and this *Picard*, are rejected by the *Brethren*: *they account it even an affront to be call'd* Picards *and* Vaudois; and if the firſt origin diſpleaſes them, the ſecond, our *Proteſtants* glory in, ſeems to them but little leſs ſhameful; but now we are going to ſee, that which they give themſelves, is not much more reputable.

Apo. 1532. *ap. Lyd. T.* 11. *p.* 137.

The Hiſtory of JOHN WICKLIFF *an* ENGLISHMAN.

CLIII. *Wickliff*'s impious Doctrine in his *Trialogue*.

THEY boaſt of being the diſciples of *John Huſs*: but to judge of their pretenſion, we muſt aſcend higher ſtill, ſince *John Huſs* himſelf gloried in having *Wickliff* for his maſter. What judgment we then ought to paſs on *Wickliff* ſhall be

be ſhew'd in few words, without producing any other records than his own works, and the teſtimony of all candid *Proteſtants*.

The chief of all his works, is the *Trialogue*, that famous book which ſet all *Bohemia* in a flame, and raiſed ſuch troubles in *England*. This was the *Theology* contain'd in it: "That all happens by neceſſity; that he, a long while, "ſpurn'd at this Doctrine, becauſe it was contrary "to the liberty of God; but at laſt, was obliged "to yield and acknowledge at the ſame time, "that all the ſins committed in the world, are "neceſſary and inevitable; that God could not "prevent the ſin of the firſt man, nor forgive "it without Jeſus Chriſt's ſatisfaction, but then, "it was impoſſible the Son of God ſhould not "become incarnate, ſhould not ſatisfy, ſhould "not die; that God indeed might have done "otherwiſe, had he will'd it, but he could not "will otherwiſe; that he could not but forgive "man; that the ſins of man proceeded from "ſeduction and ignorance, and ſo it was requiſite, of neceſſity, that the divine wiſdom "ſhould put on Fleſh to repair them; that Jeſus "Chriſt could not ſave the Devils; that their ſin "was a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt; that to "ſave them, it would have been neceſſary, the "Holy Ghoſt ſhould have become incarnate, "which was abſolutely impoſſible; therefore, "that no poſſible means were left of ſaving "the Devils in general; that nothing was poſſible to God but what actually came to paſs; "that the power admitted for things, which did "not happen, was an illuſion; that God can "produce nothing within himſelf, which he does "not neceſſarily produce, nor out of himſelf, "which he does not likewiſe neceſſarily produce "in its time; that when *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid, he

Lib. III. *c.* vii. viii. xxiii. *p.* 56. 82. *Edit.* 1525.

Ibid. c. xxiv. xxv. *p.* 85. &c.

Ibid. c. xxvii. *li.* I. *c.* x. *p.* 15. *Ib.* xi. 18.

" could ask of his father more than twelve legi-
" ons of Angels, you muſt underſtand, he
" could if he would, but muſt acknowledge at
Ibid. c. 11. " the ſame time, he could not will it; that the
" power of God is limited in the main, and is
Ibid. iv. " no otherwiſe infinite than becauſe there is no
Ibid. x. *p.* 16. " greater power; in a word, that the world and
" all which exiſts, is of abſolute neceſſity, and
" were there any thing poſſible that God ſhould
" refuſe a being to, he would be either impo-
Ibid. iv. " tent or envious; and as he could not refuſe
Ibid. x. " being to any thing capable thereof, ſo can he
Lib. III. *c.* ix. " annihilate nothing; that we ought not to ask
" why God does not hinder ſin, the reaſon is,
" becauſe he can't; nor, in general, why he
" does or does not ſuch a thing; becauſe he
Lib. I. x. " does neceſſarily all he can do; yet is he never-
" theleſs free, but in like manner as he is free
Ibid. xi. " to produce his Son whom nevertheleſs he pro-
Ibid. x. " duces neceſſarily; that the liberty, ſo call'd,
" of contradiction, whereby you may do a
" thing or not do it, is an erroneous term in-
" troduced by the Doctors, and the imagination
" we have of our being free, is a perpetual illu-
" ſion like to that of a child who thinks he
Ibid. x. " walks alone whilſt led; yet we deliberate, we
" conſult about our affairs, we damn our ſouls,
" but all this is inevitable no leſs than all that
Ibid. lib. III. *c.* ix. " is done or omitted in the world either by the
" creature, or by God himſelf; that God has
Lib. II. *c.* xiv. " determin'd every thing, and neceſſitates, as
" well the predeſtinated as the reprobate to all
Lib. III. *c.* iv. " they do, as alſo each particular creature to its
" ſeveral actions; and thence it happens that
" there are Elect and Reprobate; and thus, it is
Ibid. viii. " not in God's power to ſave one ſingle repro-
" bate; that he laughs at what is ſaid in ſchools
" *De ſenſu compoſito & diviſo*, ſeeing that God

" can

" can ſave none but ſuch as are ſaved actually; *Ibid.* iv.
" that there is a neceſſary conſequence for ſinning
" if certain things fall out; that God wills theſe
" things to happen, and that this conſequence
" be good, becauſe otherwiſe, it would not be
" neceſſary; ſo he wills you ſhould ſin, and
" wills ſin on account of the good he draws
" from it; and altho' it does not pleaſe God
" that *Peter* ſhould ſin, yet the ſin of *Peter* *Ibid.* iv.
" pleaſes him; that God approves ſinning; that viii.
" he neceſſitates to ſin; that man can do no *Ibid.* iv.
" better than he does; that ſinners and the
" damn'd are nevertheleſs beholden to God, who
" ſhews mercy to the damn'd in giving them
" exiſtence which is more advantageous to, and
" to be wiſh'd for by them, than non-exiſtence;
" that indeed, he dares not wholly aſcertain this
" opinion, nor puſh men on to ſin by teaching
" that it is agreeable to God they ſhould thus
" ſin, and that God allows it them as a recom-
" penſe; he being aware that the wicked might *Ibid.* viii.
" take occaſion from this Doctrine, to commit
" grievous crimes, which if they may, they
" will commit: but if no better reaſons are given
" him than what are commonly alledged, he ſhall
" abide confirm'd in his ſentiment without ut-
" tering a word. "

You ſee thereby, he feels a ſecret horror of the blaſphemies he vents: but he is hurried into them by the ſpirit of pride and ſingularity to which he had abandon'd himſelf, nor knows how to reſtrain the tranſports of his pen. This is a faithful extract of his blaſphemies: they are reduced to two heads, to make a God over-rul'd by neceſſity, and, what is a conſequence from thence, a God Author and Approver of all crimes; namely, a God whom the *Atheiſts* would have

reaſon to deny; ſo that, the Religion of ſo great a *Reformer* is worſe than *Atheiſm*.

At the ſame time may be ſeen, how many of his *Dogmata* were follow'd by *Luther*. As for *Calvin* and the *Calviniſts*, we ſhall ſee them hereafter; nor, in this ſenſe, is it in vain, they have reckon'd this impious wretch among their predeceſſors.

CLIV. He imitates the falſe piety of the *Vaudois*. *Lib.* iv. *c.* x. xiv. xxiii. xxv. xxxii.

In the midſt of all theſe blaſphemies, he was for imitating the falſe piety of the *Vaudois*, by attributing the effect of the *Sacraments* to *perſonal* merit: ſaying, "*The keys did not operate* "except in the hands of the holy perſons; and "thoſe who do not imitate Jeſus Chriſt cannot "have the power of them; that, nevertheleſs, this "power is not loſt in the Church: that it ſubſiſts "in the humble and unknown; that Lay-men "may conſecrate and adminiſter the Sacraments; "that 'tis a great crime in Church-men to poſ- *Ibid. c.* xvii. xviii. xix. xxiv. "ſeſs temporal goods, a great crime in Princes "to have beſtow'd ſuch on them, and not to "employ their authority to take them from the "Clergy." Here you have, in an *Engliſhman*, (if I may be allow'd to ſay it) the firſt pattern of the *Engliſh* Reformation, and Church-plundering. Some will ſay, 'tis ſelf-intereſt we here combat for; no: we do but diſcover the miſchievouſneſs of extravagant minds, which, as we ſee, are capable of every exceſs.

CLV. *Wickliff*'s Doctrine not calumniated at the Council of *Conſtance*. *Hiſt. de l'Euch. Conc. Conſt. Seſſ.* viii, *pro.* 6.

Mr. *La Roque* pretends, *Wickliff* was calumniated at the Council of *Conſtance*, and that propoſitions, which he did not believe, were laid to his charge, this amongſt the reſt: *God is obliged to obey the Devil*. But if we find ſo many blaſphemies in one only work that remains of *Wickliff*, we may eaſily believe there were many others in his books, ſo very numerous at that time; and particularly as for this, 'tis a manifeſt

conſequence

onſequence from the above Doctrine, foraſmuch s God, in all things acting by neceſſity, is rawn by the will of the Devil to do certain hings, when obliged of neceſſity to concur to them.

CLVI. *Wickliff*'s pernicious Doctrine concerning Kings. *Ibid. prop.* 15. *Diſput. cum Rokys. apud. Caniſ. ant. lect. T.* III. 2. *part. p.* 474.

Neither do we find, in the *Trialogue*, that roposition imputed to *Wickliff*, *That a King eaſed to be a King by the commiſſion of a mortal in.* There were other books enough of *Wickliff* whence this might be taken. In fact, we have a Conference betwixt the *Catholicks* of *Bohemia* nd the *Calixtins* in preſence of King *George Pogiebrac*, wherein *Hilary* Dean of *Prague* main- ains to *Roqueſane* Chief of the *Calixtins*, that *Wickliff* had writ in expreſs terms, *That an old woman might be King and Pope, were ſhe better and more virtuous than the Pope and King: and in ſuch caſe, ſhe might ſay to the King,* RISE UP, I AM MORE WORTHY *than thou to ſit on the throne.* Upon *Roqueſane*'s anſwering, this was not *Wickliff*'s meaning, the ſame *Hilary* offer'd to ſhew theſe propoſitions to the whole aſſembly, and this beſides: *That whoſoever is, by his virtue, the moſt praiſe-worthy, is alſo the moſt worthy in dignity, and the moſt holy old woman ought to be placed in the moſt holy employment.* *Ibid.* 500. *Roqueſane* ſtood mute, and the fact paſs'd or inconteſtable.

CLVII. Such of *Wickliff*'s articles as were conformable to our Doctrine. *Lib.* III. *c.* 30. *Lib.* II. 14. *Lib.* III. 5. iv. 6. 7. 40. 41. *Lib.* iv. 1. 6. *Lib.* iv. *c.* 1.

The ſame *Wickliff* conſented to the *Invocation* of Saints, honour'd their *Images*, acknowledged their *merits*, and believed *Purgatory*.

As for the *Euchariſt*, what he moſt contended againſt, was *Tranſubſtantiation*, which he ſaid, was the moſt deteſtable Hereſy that ever had been broach'd. Wherefore, 'tis his great article that Bread is in this Sacrament. In regard of the *Real Preſence*, he has ſomethings for, and ſome againſt it. He ſays, *The Body is hidden in each morſel and crumb of Bread.* In another place, after ſaying according to his curſed maxim, that the ſanctity

ſanctity of the Miniſter is neceſſary to a valid conſecration, he adds, you muſt preſume for the ſanctity of Prieſts: but, ſays he, *On account that we have but a bare probability of it, I adore conditionally the hoſt which I ſee, and adore abſolutely Jeſus Chriſt who is in heaven.* He does not therefore doubt of the *Preſence*, but inaſmuch as he is not certain of the holineſs of the Miniſter, which he believes abſolutely neceſſary thereto. Other ſuch like paſſages may be found in him, but it's little to our purpoſe to know more.

CLVIII. *Wickliff*'s Confeſſion of Faith produced by Mr. *de la Roque* ſon of the Miniſter. *Nouv. acc. Cont. M. Varrill. p.* 73.

A fact of greater importance is advanced by Mr. *La Roque* junior. He produces a *Confeſſion* of Faith, wherein the *Real Preſence* is clearly own'd, and *Tranſubſtantiation* no leſs clearly rejected: but moſt material of all is what he affirms, that this *Confeſſion* of Faith was propoſed to *Wickliff* in the Council of *London*, where happen'd that great Earth-quake, call'd, for that reaſon, *Concilium terræ motus:* ſome ſaying, the earth had a horror of the *Biſhop*'s deciſion, and others, of *Wickliff*'s Hereſy.

CLIX. Proved falſe from *Wickliff* himſelf. *Lib.* iv. *c.* 36. 37. 38.

But without farther examination of this *Confeſſion* of Faith, of which we ſhall ſpeak with more certainty when we ſee it intire, I may venture to ſay before-hand, that it could not have been propoſed to *Wickliff* by the Council. I prove it from *Wickliff* himſelf, who repeats four times, that *in the Council of* London *where the earth trembled*, *In ſuo Concilio terræ motus*; it was defined in expreſs terms, *That the Subſtance of Bread and Wine did not remain after Conſecration*; wherefore, it is more clear than the day, that the *Confeſſion* of Faith, wherein is rejected this change of *Subſtance*, can never be of this *Council.*

CLX. *Wickliff* renounces

I take Mr. *La Roque* for a man of too great ſincerity not to yield to ſo clear a proof. Mean while,

while, we are obliged to him for ſparing us the trouble of proving here the faint-heartedneſs of *Wickliff*: his recantation in preſence of the Council: that *Of his diſciples, who at firſt had no more reſolution than he: the ſhame he conceived at his daſtardly comportment in departing from the notions then received*, which made him break off all commerce with men; ſo that, ſince his retractation, you hear no more mention of him; and finally his dying in his *Cure* and in the exerciſe of his function: the which evidences, as alſo does his burial in hallowed ground, that he died externally in the Communion of the Church.

his Doctrine, and dies in the external Communion of the Church. *La Roque, Ibid.* 70. *Ibid. p.* 81. 85. 88. 89. 90.

I have therefore no more to do but conclude with this author, that *Proteſtants* can reap nothing but ſhame from *Wickliff*'s conduct, *who either was an hypocritical prevaricator, or a Roman Catholick; who died in the Church even whilſt he aſſiſted at the Sacrifice accounted the mark of diſtinction betwixt both parties.*

La Roq. Ibid.

Thoſe who have a mind to know *Melanchthon*'s opinion of *Wickliff*, will find it in the Preface to his common places, where he ſays, *You may judge of* Wickliff*'s ſpirit by the errors he abounds with. He underſtood nothing*, ſays he, *of the juſtice of Faith: he makes a jumble of Goſpel and politicks: he maintains it unlawful for Prieſts to have any thing of their own: he ſpeaks of the civil power after a ſeditious manner, and full of ſophiſtry: with the ſame ſophiſtry he cavils about the univerſally received opinion touching our Lord's Supper.* This is what *Melanchthon* ſaid, after reading *Wickliff*. He would have ſaid more, and not ſpared this author as well deciding againſt *Free-will*, as making God the *author* of ſin, had he not fear'd, in reproving him for theſe exceſſes, he

CLXI. *Melanchthon*'s ſentiment concerning *Wickliff*. *Præf. ad Mycon. Hoſp.* 2. *p. ad An.* 1350. *f.* 115.

he ſhould defame his maſter *Luther* under *Wickliff*'s name.

The Hiſtory of JOHN HUSS *and his Diſciples.*

CLXII. *John Huſs* imitates *Wickliff* in his hatred of the *Pope*.

WHAT raiſed *Wickliff* to ſo high a ſtation, among the Predeceſſors of our *Reformed*, was his teaching that the Pope was *Antichriſt*, and that ever ſince the year of our Lord one thouſand, when *Satan* was to be let looſe, according to St. *John*'s prophecy, the Church of *Rome* was become the Whore of *Babylon*. *John Huſs*, the Diſciple of *Wickliff*, hath merited the ſame honours, in having ſo cloſely follow'd his maſter in this Doctrine.

Wic. lib. iv. *c.* 1. &c.

CLXIII. *John Huſs* ſays Maſs, and has no other ſentiments in reſpect of the *Euchariſt* than thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. 2. *part. ch.* 19. *p.* 484.

In other points he forſook him. Heretofore there was a diſpute concerning his ſentiments on the *Euchariſt*. But the thing is adjudged by our adverſaries conſent; Mr. *La Roque* having ſhewn, in his hiſtory of the *Euchariſt*, from the authors of thoſe times, from the teſtimony of *Huſs*'s firſt Diſciples, from his own writings ſtill extant, that he believed *Tranſubſtantiation* and all the other articles of the *Roman* Faith, not one excepted, unleſs Communion under both kinds; and that he perſiſted in theſe ſentiments even unto death. The ſame Miniſter demonſtrates the ſame thing in relation to *Jerom* of *Prague* the Diſciple of *John Huſs*, and the fact admits no doubt.

CLXIV. Why *Huſs*'s Doctrine came to be doubted of.

What gave occaſion to doubt of *John Huſs*, were ſome words he had utter'd inconſiderately, and which were wrong underſtood, or retracted by him. But what more than all the reſt cauſed him to be ſuſpected in this matter was, the exceſſive praiſes he gave *Wickliff* the enemy of *Tranſub-*

Tranſubſtantiation. *Wickliff*, in reality, was the great Doctor of *John Huſs* and all the *Huſſite* Party: but certain it is, they did not follow his Doctrine, crude as it was, but ſtrove to explain it, as did *John Huſs*, whom *Rudiger* praiſes for *having explain'd artfully, and courageouſly defended the ſentiments of* Wickliff. It was therefore agreed on in the Party, that *Wickliff*, who, to ſpeak the truth, was the Head thereof, had carried matters much too far, and ſtood greatly in need of explanation. But however that may be, it is very certain, *John Huſs* gloried in his Prieſthood to the very laſt, and never intermitted ſaying *Maſs* when able.

Rudig. Narr. p. 153.

CLXV. *John Huſs* a Catholick in all the controverted points, except Communion under both kinds, and the Pope's authority.

Mr. *La Roque*, junior, upholds ſtrenuouſly his father's ſentiments; and is even ſincere enough to own, that *they are diſpleaſing to ſeveral of the party, and eſpecially to the famous* Mr..... *who generally did not reliſh truths which had eſcap'd his notice*. Every body knows, 'twas Mr. *Claude*, whoſe name he ſuppreſs'd. But this young author carries his reſearches much farther than any *Proteſtant* had done before. None can any longer doubt, after the proofs which he alledges, that *John Huſs* pray'd to *Saints*, honour'd their *Images*, acknowledged the *merit* of works, the *ſeven* Sacraments, ſacramental *Confeſſion*, and *Purgatory*. The diſpute chiefly turn'd on Communion under both kinds; and, what was of the moſt importance, on that damnable Doctrine of *Wickliff*, that *Authority*, and eſpecially Eccleſiaſtical *Authority*, was loſt by ſin; for *John Huſs* maintain'd, on this head, things as extravagant as thoſe advanced by *Wickliff*, and thence it was he drew his pernicious conſequences.

Nouv. acc. cont. Varr. p. 148. & 150. *Ibid. Ibi. p* 158. & *ſeq. Conc. Conſt. Seſſ.* xv. *prop.* 11. 12. 13. &c.

CLXVI. All goes down with Proteſtants provided

If, with ſuch a Doctrine, and ſaying *Maſs* beſides, every day to the end of his life, a man may not only be a true *Believer*, but alſo a Saint and

you inveigh againſt the Pope.

and *Martyr* (as all *Proteſtants* proclaim *John Huſs* no leſs than *Jerom* of *Prague* his Diſciple) there's no need of more diſputing about fundamental articles: the only fundamental article is, to cry out amain againſt the *Pope* and Church of *Rome*; but if with *Wickliff* and *John Huſs* you ſtretch ſo far as to call that Church, the Church of *Antichriſt*, this Doctrine is the remiſſion of whatever ſins, and covers all kind of errors.

CLXVII. The *Taborites.*

Let us return to the Brethren of *Bohemia*, and ſee how they are the Diſciples of *John Huſs*. Immediately after his condemnation and execution, two Sects were ſeen to ariſe under his name, the Sect of *Calixtins* and the Sect of *Taborites*: the *Calixtins* under *Roqueſane*, who by the joint conſent of all, as well *Catholick* as *Proteſtant* authors, was, under the pretext of *Reformation*, the moſt ambitious of all mankind: the *Taborites* under *Ziſca*, whoſe ſanguinary actions are not leſs known than his valour and ſucceſs. Without inquiring into the Doctrine of the *Taborites*, their Rebellions and Cruelty have made them odious to the greateſt part of *Proteſtants*. Men that carried fire and ſword into the bowels of their country for twenty years together, and whoſe marches may be traced by the blood and aſhes they left behind, are not over-qualified to be held for the principal Defenders of the Truth, nor to give an origin to Chriſtian Churches. *Rudiger*, who alone of the Sect, for want of better knowledge, would have the *Bohemian* Brethren deſcended from the *Taborites*, acknowledges, that *Ziſca, puſh'd on by his particular enmities, carried the hatred he had againſt the Monks and Prieſts ſo far, that he not only ſet fire to Churches and Monaſteries*, wherein they ſerved God, *but alſo, in order to leave them no dwelling-place on earth, cauſed all the inhabitants*

De frat. Narrat. p. 158.

Ibid. 155.

of

of thoſe places they poſſeſſed, to be put to the ſword. This ſays *Rudiger* an unſuſpected author; to which he adds, that the *Brethren*, whom he makes to deſcend from theſe barbarous *Taborites*, *were aſhamed of this parentage.* Accordingly, they renounce it expreſly in all their *Confeſſions* of Faith and *Apologies*, and ſhew even it is impoſſible they ſhould have ſprung from the *Taborites*, becauſe, at the time they began to appear, this Sect, in a manner cruſh'd by the death of its Generals and the univerſal pacification of the *Catholicks* and *Calixtins* (who united the whole powers of the ſtate in order to demoliſh them) *held but in a lingering ſtate till* Pogiebrac *and* Roqueſane *intirely brought their miſerable remains to deſtruction*; *inſomuch*, ſay they, *that no more* Taborites *were left on earth:* which is confirm'd by *Camerarius* in his hiſtory. *Ibid.* *Præf. Confeſſ. 1572. ſeu. de orig. Eccl. Boh. &c. poſt. Hiſt. Camer. init. Præf. p. 176.*

CXLVIII. The *Calixtins.*

The other Sect, that prided itſelf in the name of *John Huſs*, was that of the *Calixtins*, ſo call'd, becauſe they believed, the *Chalice* was abſolutely neceſſary for the people. And 'tis undoubtedly from this Sect that the *Brethren* proceeded in 1457, as they themſelves declare in the Preface to their *Confeſſion* of Faith of 1558, and again, in that of 1572, ſo frequently cited by us, where they ſpeak in theſe terms: *Thoſe who founded our Churches, ſeparated themſelves, at that time, from the* Calixtins *by a new ſeparation*; their meaning was, as by them explain'd in their *Apology* of 1532, that as the *Calixtins* had ſeparated themſelves from *Rome*, ſo the *Brethren* ſeparated from the *Calixtins:* ſo that, this was a Schiſm and Diviſion, in another Diviſion and Schiſm. But what were the cauſes for this ſeparation? there is no comprehending them aright without knowing both the belief and condition the *Calixtins* were in at that time. *Ib. p. 267. Præf. Boh. Conf. 1558. Synt. Gen. p. 164. Apol. frat. 1. part. ap. Lyd. T. 2. p. 129.*

Their

CLXIX. The *Compactatum*, or articles agreed to by the Council of *Basil*.

Their Doctrine at first consisted in four articles. The first concern'd the *Cup*; the other three regarded the correction of publick and particular sins, which they carried to some excess; the free preaching of the word of God, which, they would have, none could be precluded from; and Church-revenues. Herein was a smack of the *Vaudois-errors*. These four articles were regulated in the Council of *Basil* after such a manner as the *Calixtins* were contented with, and the *Cup* granted them on certain terms which they agreed to. This agreement was call'd *Compactatum*, a name famous in the history of *Bohemia*. But one part of the *Hussites*, not resting contented with these articles, began, under the name of *Taborites*, those bloody wars just mention'd; and the *Calixtins*, the other part of the *Hussites* which had accepted the agreement, stood not to it; for instead of declaring, as they had agreed at *Basil*, that the *Cup* was neither necessary nor commanded by *Jesus Christ*, they press'd the necessity thereof, even in regard to new-baptiz'd children. This point excepted, 'tis allow'd, the *Calixtins* agreed in all *Dogmata* with the Church of *Rome*, and their disputes with the *Taborites* evidence as much. *Lydius* a Minister of *Dort* has collected the acts thereof, which are not call'd in question by *Protestants*.

Lyd. Wald. T. 1. *Rotero.* 1616.

CLXX. The *Calixtins* disposed to own the *Pope*.

In them therefore may be seen, that the *Calixtins*, not only allow *Transubstantiation*, but also with relation to the *Eucharist*, all and every part of the doctrine and usages received in the Church of *Rome*, Communion only under both kinds excepted; and should that be granted by the *Pope*, were ready to acknowledge his authority.

Syn. Prag. An. 1431. *ap. Lyd. p.* 304. & *An.* 1434. *Ibid. p.* 332. 354.

Here the query might be put, their sentiments being such, how they could retain so great a respect for *Wickliff* as to call him by Excellence, as the

the *Taborites* did, the *Evangelick Doctor?* the reaſon in ſhort was, becauſe we find nothing regular in theſe ſeparated Sects. Altho' *Wickliff* had inveigh'd with all the paſſion imaginable againſt the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and in particular againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*; the *Calixtins* excuſed him, by anſwering, what he had ſaid againſt this *Dogma*, was not ſpoken deciſively but *ſcholaſtically*, by way of diſpute; whereby we may judge how eaſy a matter they found it to juſtify, ſay what you would, an author they were infatuated with.

CLXXI. Wherefore then did they ſo much reſpect the memory of *Wickliff*. *Ibid. p.* 472.

For all that, they were not the leſs diſpoſed to ſubmit to the *Pope*'s authority, and *Roqueſane*'s intereſts alone prevented their re-union. This Doctor himſelf had been contriving the reconciliation, in hopes, after ſo great a ſervice, that the *Pope* would be eaſily inclined to confer on him the Archbiſhoprick of *Prague*, which he much ambition'd. But the *Pope*, unwilling to truſt the care of Souls and Depoſitum of Faith to ſo factious a perſon, inveſted *Budovix* with this Prelacy, as much *Roqueſane*'s ſuperior in merit as in birth. This ruin'd all. *Bohemia* ſaw herſelf re-involved in more bloody wars than ever: *Roqueſane*, ſpite of the *Pope*, ſet himſelf up for Archbiſhop of *Prague*, or rather for *Pope* in *Bohemia*; nor could *Pogiebrac*, by his intrigues raiſed to the throne, refuſe him any thing.

CLXXII. The ambition of *Roqueſane* and the *Calixtins*, hinders their re-union with the Church. *Cam. Hiſt. Narr. Apol. frat. p.* 115. &c.

During theſe diſturbances, the tradeſmen who had begun to grumble in the precedent reign, fell more than ever to confer among themſelves concerning the *Reformation* of the Church. The *Maſs*, *Tranſubſtantiation*, prayer for the Dead, the veneration of *Saints*, but eſpecially the power of the *Pope*, were offenſive to them. Inſine, they complain'd the *Calixtins romaniz'd*

CLXXIII. Origin of the *Bohemian* Brethren, who ſeparate from *Roqueſane* and the *Calixtins*.

Apo. 1532. 1. *part.* *in every thing except the Cup.* They undertook to correct them. *Roqueſane* incenſed againſt the *Holy See* ſeem'd to them a proper inſtrument to manage this affair. Shock'd with his haughty anſwers, which ſavour'd of nothing but love of this world, they reproach'd him with his ambition; that he was a meer worldling, who would ſooner abandon them than his honours. At the ſame time they placed at their head one *Keleſiski* a maſter-ſhoemaker, who made them a body of Doctrine call'd *the Forms of Keleſiski.* Afterwards they choſe themſelves a Paſtor named *Mathias Convalde*, a lay and ignorant perſon; and in 1467, divided openly from the *Calixtins*, as the *Calixtins* had done from *Rome.* Such was the birth of the *Bohemian* Brethren, and this is what *Camerarius* and they themſelves, as well in their Annals as in their Apologies and Prefaces to their *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, relate of their origin, except that they date their ſeparation from the year 1457; and it ſeems to me more proper to fix it ten years after in 1467, at the time they themſelves date the creation of their new Paſtors.

Camer. de Eccl. frat. p. 64. 84. &c.

Apol. frat. 1532. 1. *part.*

CLXXIV Weak beginnings of this Sect.

I find here ſome little contradiction betwixt what they relate of their hiſtory in their Apology of 1532, and what they ſay in the Preface of 1572. For they ſay in this Preface that in 1457, at the time they ſeparated from the *Calixtins*, they were a people collected from all manner of degrees: and in their *Apology* of 1532, wherein they were ſomewhat leſs aſſuming; they own frankly, they were made up *of the meaner ſort, and of ſome* Bohemian *Prieſts in ſmall number, all put together, but a handful of men, a ſmall remnant, and the deſpicable refuſe*, or, tranſlate it as you pleaſe, *Miſerabiles quiſquiliæ, left in the world by* John Huſs. Thus did they ſeparate from

De orig. Eccl. Bohe. poſt. Hiſt. Camer. p. 267. 1. *part.*

Apol. Lyd. T. 2. 221. *&.* 222. 232. &c.

from the *Calixtins*, that is, from the only *Huſſites* then in being. See how they are the diſciples of *John Huſs*; a Piece broken from a Piece; a Schiſm cut off from a Schiſm; *Huſſites* divided from *Huſſites* and retaining ſcarce any thing of them but their diſobedience and rupture from the Church of *Rome*.

CLXXV. They only took the name of *John Huſs*, and follow'd not his Doctrine. *Apo.* 1532. 1. *part. ap. Lyd. T.* 11. *p.* 116. 117. 118. &c. *Rud. Narr. poſt. Camer. Hiſt. p.* 151.

Should it be ask'd, how they could own *John Huſs*, as they every where do, for an Evangelical Doctor, for a *Holy Martyr*, for *their Maſter*, and *the Apoſtle of the* Bohemians, and at the ſame time reject, as ſacrilegious, the *Maſs* which their Apoſtle conſtantly ſaid to the laſt, *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the other *Dogmata* he had always ſtuck ſo cloſely to: their anſwer is, *That* John Huſs *had but begun the re-eſtabliſhment of the Goſpel*, and they believed, *had time been given him, he would have changed a great deal more.* In the interim, he was nevertheleſs a *Martyr* and *Apoſtle*, tho' he perſever'd, according to them, in ſuch damnable practices, and the Brethren celebrated his *Martyrdom* in their Churches the eighth of *July*, as we are inform'd by *Rudiger*.

CLXXVI Their extreme ignorance, and their preſumption in pretending to re-baptize the whole World. *Cam. Hiſt. Narr. p.* 102. *Præf. Apol.* 1538. *apud. Lyd. T.* 11. *p.* 165.

Camerarius acknowledges their extreme ignorance, but ſays what he can in excuſe thereof. This we may hold for certain, that God wrought no miracles to enlighten them. So many ages after the queſtion of re-baptizing Hereticks had been determin'd by the unanimous conſent of the whole Church, they were ſo ignorant as to re-baptize *All thoſe that came to them from other Churches*. They perſiſted in this error for the ſpace of a hundred years, as they own in all their writings, and confeſs in the Preface of 1558, that it was but a little while, ſince they were undeceived. This error ought not to be deem'd of the middling ſort, ſince it amounted to this, that *Baptiſm* was loſt in the univerſal Church,

Ibid. Apol. part. 4. *p.* 274. *Conf. fid.* 1558. *Art.* xii. *Synt. Gen. p.* 195. *Ibid. p.* 170.

and remain'd only amongſt them. Thus preſumptuous in their notions were two or three thouſand men, more or leſs, equally revolted againſt the *Calixtins* amongſt whom they had lived, and againſt the Church of *Rome*, which both of them had divided from thirty or forty years before. So ſmall a parcel of another parcel, diſmember'd ſo few years ago from the *Catholick Church*, dared to re-baptize the whole reſt of the univerſe, and reduce the inheritance of *Jeſus Chriſt* to a corner of *Bohemia!* they believed themſelves therefore the only Chriſtians, ſince they believed, they only were baptized; and whatever they might alledge in their own vindication, their re-baptization condemn'd them. All they had to anſwer was, if they re-baptized the *Catholicks*, the Catholicks alſo re-baptized them. But it's well enough known, the Church of *Rome* never re-baptized any that had been baptized by whomſoever, In the name of the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghoſt*; and ſuppoſing there had been, in *Bohemia*, ſuch very ignorant *Catholicks* as not to know ſo notorious a thing, ought not they, who call'd themſelves their *Reformers*, to know better? After all, how came it to paſs that theſe new re-baptizers did not cauſe themſelves to be re-baptized? If, at their coming into the World, *Baptiſm* had ceaſed throughout all *Chriſtendom*, that which they had received was no better worth than that of their neighbours, and by invalidating the *Baptiſm* of thoſe by whom they were baptized, what became of their own? They were then obliged no leſs to cauſe themſelves to be re-baptized, than to re-baptize the reſt of the univerſe: and in this, there was but one inconveniency; namely that, according to their principles, there was not a man on earth that could do them this good turn, *Baptiſm* being equally

equally null whatever ſide it came from. Thus it is when a *Shoe-maker* commences *Reformer*, one, as themſelves acknowledge in a Preface to their *Confeſſion* of Faith, that knew not a word of *Latin*, and was no leſs preſumptuous than ignorant. Theſe are the men whom *Proteſtants* admire. Does the queſtion turn on condemning the Church of *Rome?* they never ceaſe to upbraid her with the ignorance of her *Prieſts* and *Monks*. Is it concerning the ignorant pretenders to *reform* the Church in theſe latter ages? They are *Fiſhermen* turn'd *Apoſtles:* altho' their ignorance ſtand eternally on record, from the firſt ſtep they took. No matter; if we believe the *Lutherans* in the Preface they placed before the *Brethren's* Apology, and printed at *Wittemberg* in *Luther's* time: if, I ſay, we believe them, 'twas in this ignorant ſociety, in this handful of men, that *The Church of God was preſerved when ſhe was thought intirely loſt.*

Conf. fid. 1558. *Synt. Gen. 2. part. p.* 164.

Joan. Euſleb. in ora. præfixâ. Apol. frat. ſub hoc titulo: Oeconomia &c. ap. Lyd. T. 11. *p.* 95.

Nevertheleſs, theſe remains of the *Church*, theſe depoſitaries of the ancient Chriſtianity, were themſelves aſhamed that they could not diſcover in the whole univerſe a Church of their Belief. *Camerarius* informs us, that a thought came into their heads at the beginning of their ſeparation, to make inquiry if they could find, in ſome place of the earth, and chiefly in *Greece* or *Armenia*, or ſome other part of the *Eaſt*, that Chriſtianity, of which the *Weſt* was utterly bereft, in their ſentiment. At that time, many *Grecian* Prieſts who had fled to *Bohemia* from the ſaccage of *Conſtantinople*, and to whom *Roqueſane* gave reception in his own houſe, had leave to celebrate the holy Myſteries according to the rites of their Church. Therein the *Brethren* beheld their own condemnation, and beheld it ſtill more in converſing with thoſe Prieſts. But albeit

CLXXVII. Their fruitleſs ſearch over all the univerſe after a Church of their Belief. *De Eccl. frat. p.* 91.

theſe *Grecians* aſſured them 'twas in vain for them to travel into *Greece* in queſt of Chriſtians form'd to their mode, whom they never would find; yet they appointed three deputations of able and diſcreet perſons, whereof ſome traverſed all the *Eaſt*, others went northwards into *Moſcovy*, and others turn'd their courſe towards *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*: whence all meeting at *Conſtantinople*, according to the project concerted by them, they return'd at laſt to *Bohemia*, and all the anſwer they brought to their Brethren was, that they might depend upon it, there were none of their profeſſion in the whole Univerſe.

CLXXVIII How they ſought orders in the Catholick Church.

Their ſolitude, thus deſtitute of all *Succeſſion* and lawful *Ordination*, raiſed ſuch a horror in them, that, even in *Luther*'s time, they ſent ſome of their people, who ſurreptitiouſly ſtole *Ordination* from the *Church* of *Rome*: we learn this from one of *Luther*'s treatiſes which is quoted in another place. A poor Church indeed, which void of the principle of fecundity left by *Jeſus Chriſt* to the Apoſtles and their legitimate Succeſſors, were forced to intrude themſelves amongſt us to beg, or rather, to purloin ſacred Orders.

CLXXIX Reproaches made them by *Luther*. *Luth. coll. p.* 286. *Edit. of Franc. An.* 1676.

Beſides, they were upbraided by *Luther*, that they knew nothing, no more than *John Huſs*, of *Juſtification*, the very principal point of the Goſpel: for they *placed it*, proceeds he, *in Faith and works together, as many Fathers had done*; *and* John Huſs *was wedded to this opinion.* He was in the right, for neither the *Fathers*, nor *John Huſs*, nor his maſter *Wickliff*, neither *Orthodox*, nor *Hereticks*, nor *Albigenſes*, nor *Vaudois*, had ever, before him, dreamt of his *imputed juſtice.* Wherefore he deſpiſed the Brethren of *Bohemia*, *as men ſerious, rigid, of an auſtere countenance, that martyr'd themſelves with the law and works, and never enjoy'd a chearful conſcience.*

Ibid.

conſcience. Thus did *Luther* treat the moſt regular, in exterior, of all the ſchiſmatick *Reformers*, and, as was ſaid, the ſole remnant of the true Church. But he had ſoon reaſon to be ſatisfied with them: the Brethren carried *Lutheran* Juſtification ſo far, as to run blindly into the exceſs of *Calviniſts*, and even into ſuch as the *Calviniſts*, now-a-days, ſtrive to clear themſelves from. The *Lutherans* would have us juſtified without our co-operation, and without our having part therein. The *Brethren* added, it was even *without our knowing and feeling it, as an embryo is quicken'd in its mother's womb.* After our Regeneration God begins to make himſelf felt; and if *Luther* would have us know with certainty our Juſtification, the *Brethren*, over and above, would have us *intirely and indubitably* aſſured of our perſeverance and ſalvation. They went ſo far with the imputation of juſtice as to ſay, that *Sins, how enormous ſo ever, were but venial*, provided you committed them *with repugnance*, and that 'twas of theſe ſins St. *Paul* ſaid, *There is now no condemnation to them which are in Chriſt Jeſus.*

Apol. part. 4. *ap. Lyd. T.* 11. *p.* 244. 248. *Ibi.* 2. *part.* 172. 173. 4. *part. p.* 282. *Ibi. part.* 2. *p.* 168. *Rom.* viii. 1.

CLXXX. Their Doctrine concerning the ſeven Sacraments.

The Brethren had like us, *ſeven Sacraments* in the *Confeſſion* of 1504, which was preſented to King *Ladiſlaus*. They proved them from the Scriptures, and acknowledged them *Eſtabliſh'd for the accompliſhment of the promiſes God had made to the faithful*. They muſt have preſerved this Doctrine of the ſeven Sacraments even in *Luther*'s days, ſince he blamed them for it. The *Confeſſion* of Faith was therefore reform'd, and the *Sacraments* reduced to two; *Baptiſm* and the *Supper*, as *Luther* had ordain'd. *Abſolution* was own'd, but not in quality of a Sacrament. In 1504, they ſpoke of the *Confeſſion* of ſins as a thing of *Obligation*. This *Obligation* does no longer

Conf. fid. apud. Lyd. T. 11. *p.* 8. *& ſeq. citat. in Apol.* 1531. *ap. eund. Lyd.* 296. *T.* 11. *Ihen. Germ. liv.*

de l'ador. p. 229. 230. *Ibid. Art.* xi. xii. xiii. *Ib. Art.* v. xiv. *Prof. fid. ad. Lad. c. de pæni-tent. laps. ap. Lyd. T.* 11. *p.* 15.

longer appear ſo expreſs in the reform'd *Confeſſion* where it's ſaid only, *You ought to demand of the Prieſt abſolution of your ſins by the keys of the Church, and obtain the forgiveneſs of them by this miniſtry ordain'd for that end by Jeſus Chriſt.*

CLXXXI Concerning the *Real Preſence.* *Apol.* 1532. 4. *part. ap. Lyd.* 295.

As for the *Real Preſence*, the Defenders of the *literal* and the *figurative* ſenſe have equally ſtrove to turn to their advantage the *Bohemian* Confeſſions of Faith. For my part, the thing being indifferent to me, I ſhall only report their words, and here is what at firſt they wrote to *Roqueſane*, as they themſelves ſet forth in their Apology: *We believe that we receive the Body and Blood of our Lord under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine.* And a little further on: *we are none of thoſe who ill-underſtanding the words of our Lord, ſay, he hath given us conſecrated Bread as a memorial of his Body which he pointed at with his finger, ſaying,* This is my Body. *Others ſay, this Bread is the Body of our Lord who is in heaven, but ſignificatively. All theſe expoſitions appear to us far remote from Jeſus Chriſt's intention, and are much diſpleaſing to us.*

CLXXXII Sequel. *Prof. fid. ad Lad. c. de Euch. ap. Lyd. T.* 11. *p.* 10. *citat. Apol.* 4. *part. Ibid.* 296. *Ibid. p.* 12.

In their *Confeſſion* of Faith of the year 1504, they ſpeak thus: As often *as a worthy Prieſt, with a faithful people, pronounces theſe words,* this is my Body, this is my Blood, *the Bread preſent is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt which was offer'd for us to death, and the Wine, his Blood ſhed for us, and this Body and this Blood are preſent under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine in memory of his death.* And to ſhew the firmneſs of their Faith, they add, they would believe as much of a ſtone, had *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid it was his Body.

CLXXXIII. They make the Sacrament depend on

Hitherto we ſee the ſame language as is uſed by *Catholicks*: we ſee the Body and Blood *under the ſpecies* immediately after the words; and we

ſee

ſee them there, not *in figure*, but in *truth*. What they have peculiar to them, is their requiring theſe words ſhould be pronounced by a worthy Prieſt. This is what they add to the Catholick Doctrine. To accompliſh the work of God in the Euchariſtick Bread, *Jeſus Chriſt*'s words did not ſuffice, but the Miniſter's merit was alſo neceſſary: 'tis what they had learnt from *John Wickliff* and *John Huſs*.

the merit of the Miniſter.

They repeat the ſame thing in another place: *When*, ſay they, *a worthy Prieſt prays with his faithful people, and ſays*, this is my Body, this is my Blood, *immediately the Bread preſent is the ſame Body which was given up to death, and the Wine preſent, is his Blood which was ſhed for our Redemption*. It's therefore plain, they change nothing in the Catholick Doctrine as to the *Real Preſence*: on the contrary, they ſeem to make choice of the ſtrongeſt terms to confirm it, by ſaying, that *Immediately after the words, the Bread is the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſame that was born of the Virgin and was to be given up to crucifixion; and the Wine, his true natural Blood, the ſame which was to be ſhed for our ſins*, and all this *without delay, at the very inſtant, with a Preſence moſt Real and true, præſentiſſimè*, as they ſpeak. And the *figurative* ſenſe appear'd to them, ſay they, *So odious in one of their Synods, that a certain perſon call'd* John Czizco, *one of theirs* who had dared to maintain it, was expell'd *out of their Communion*. They add that divers writings have been publiſh'd by them againſt this Preſence in ſign, and thoſe that defend it hold them for their adverſaries, call them *Papiſts*, *Antichriſts*, and *Idolaters*.

CLXXXIV. Strong expreſſion in favour of the *Reality*. *Apol. ad Lad. Ibid.* 42. *Prof. fid. ad Ladiſl. Ibi. p.* 27. *Apol.* 66. &c. *Ibid. Apol.* 1532. 4. *part.* 290. *Ib. p.* 298. *Ibid.* *Ib. p.* 291. 299.

Another proof of their ſentiment is a ſaying of theirs, that *Jeſus Chriſt is preſent in the Bread and Wine by his Body and Blood*: otherwiſe, proceed

CLXXXV. The ſame thing confirm'd. *Ibid.* 309.

ceed they, *neither thoſe that are worthy would receive any thing but Bread and Wine, nor thoſe that are unworthy, would be guilty of the Body and Blood, it being impoſſible they ſhould be guilty of what is not there.* Whence it follows that they are there, not only for the *worthy*, but alſo for the *unworthy*.

CLXXXVI The manner of their refuſing *Adoration* confirms their belief of the *Reality*, even out of the reception. *Ap. ad Ladis. p.* 67. & *alibi paſſim. Ibi. p.* 301. 306. 307. 309. 311. &c. *Ap. ad Lad. Ibid. p.* 67. *Prof. fid. ad Ladis. p.* 29. *Apol. ad. eund. p.* 68.

True it is, they are againſt our adoring *Jeſus Chriſt* in the *Euchariſt* for two reaſons: firſt, becauſe he has not commanded it; ſecondly, becauſe there are two Preſences of *Jeſus Chriſt*, his perſonal, corporeal, and ſenſible Preſence, which alone ought to attract our adoration; and his ſpiritual or ſacramental Preſence, which ought not to attract it. But for all this, they nevertheleſs acknowledge *The ſubſtance of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt* in the Sacrament: *we are not commanded*, ſay they, *to honour this ſubſtance of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt conſecrated, but the ſubſtance of Jeſus Chriſt which is at the right hand of the Father.* Here then have you in the Sacrament, and in heaven, the ſubſtance of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Body, but adorable in heaven and not ſo in the Sacrament. And leſt you ſhould wonder at this, they add, that *Jeſus Chriſt would not even oblige men to adore him on earth when he was there preſent, becauſe he waited the time of his glory:* which ſhews, their intention was not to exclude the *Subſtantial* Preſence, when they exclude adoration; on the contrary, they ſuppoſed it, ſince, had they not believed it, they would have had no manner of occaſion to excuſe themſelves for not adoring in the Sacrament what, in reality, was not there.

Let us not inquire of them now, whence they learnt this rare Doctrine; that, to adore *Jeſus Chriſt*, it is not ſufficient we know him preſent, and that it was not his intention we ſhould adore him

him on earth, but only in his glory: I am ſatisfied with relating what they ſpeak of the *Real Preſence*, nay of the *Real Preſence* not after the manner of the *Melanchthoniſts*, in the ſole uſe, but immediately after the Conſecration.

CLXXXVII. Their uncertainty and affected ambiguities.

With theſe expreſſions apparently ſo diſtinct and ſo deciſive for the *Real Preſence*, in other places they confound themſelves after ſo ſtrange a manner, that it ſeems as if they fear'd nothing ſo much as leaving a clear and certain teſtimony of their Faith: for they repeat continually that *Jeſus Chriſt* is not in the Euchariſt *in perſon*. It's true, they call his being there *in perſon*, being there *ſenſibly and corporally*: expreſſions which they always link together, and oppoſe to a ſpiritual manner of being, acknowledged by them. But what caſts them into a new confuſion, is that they ſeem to ſay, *Jeſus Chriſt* is preſent in the *Euchariſt* with this ſpiritual Preſence, as he is in *Baptiſm* and in preaching the word, as he was eaten by the ancient *Hebrews* in the deſert, as St. *John Baptiſt* was *Elias*. Nor do I comprehend what they mean by this odd expreſſion: *Jeſus Chriſt* is not here *with his natural Body after an exiſting and corporeal manner, exiſtenter & corporaliter*, but is here *ſpiritually, powerfully, by way of benediction, and in virtue*; *ſpiritualiter potenter, benedictè, in virtue*. What they add, is not intelligible, that *Jeſus Chriſt is here in the abode of benediction*, to wit, according to their language, he is in the Euchariſt, *As he is at the right-hand of God, but not as he is in the heavens*. If he be there as he is at the right-hand of God, he is there in perſon. Thus naturally ſhould one conclude: but how ſhall we diſtinguiſh the heavens from the right-hand of God? there we are at a loſs. The *Brethren* ſpoke diſtinctly when they ſaid: *There is but one Lord Jeſus*

Apol. ad Ladis. *Ibid. p.* 68. 69. &c. 71. 73. *Ibi. p.* 301. 306. 307. 309. 311. &c. *Ibid. p.* 302. 304. 307. 308. *Ibid.* 74. *Ibid.* *Ibid. p.* 71.

Jeſus Chriſt, who is the ſame in the Sacrament with his natural Body, but who is after another manner at the right-hand of his Father: for it is one thing to ſay, there is Jeſus Chriſt, this is my Body; and another to ſay, he is there after ſuch a manner. But no ſooner had they deliver'd their minds in plain terms, than they bewilder themſelves in ſtrange ſubtilized notions, into which they are plunged by the confuſion and uncertainty of their minds and thoughts, together with a vain deſire of contenting both parties of the *Reformation*.

CLXXXVIII. The *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* both ſtrive to draw them to their ſide. They incline to the firſt. *P.* 162.

The forwarder they advanced, they became ſtill more important and myſterious; and as the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* ſtrove each to gain them; ſo they alſo, on their ſide, ſeem'd inclined to content both Parties. At length, this is what they ſaid in 1558, and what they appear'd reſolved to ſtand by. They complain at firſt, they were accuſed *of not believing that the Preſence of the true Body and true Blood was preſent.* What odd expreſſions, *Preſence* to be *preſent!* thus they ſpeak in the Preface: but teach in the Body of the *Confeſſion*, *that it ought to be acknowledged that the Bread is the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Cup, his true Blood, without adding any thing of your own to his words.* But whilſt they forbid adding any thing to the words of *Jeſus Chriſt*, they themſelves add to them the word *true*, which is not there; and whereas *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid, *this is my Body*, they ſuppoſe he ſaid, *This Bread is my Body*; a very different thing, as elſewhere you may have ſeen. Now if it were allowable in them to add what they judged neceſſary to denote a *true* Preſence, it was no leſs allowable in others to add alſo, what was requiſite to remove all ambiguity; and to reject theſe expreſſions after diſputes riſen, was oppoſing light,

light, and leaving the queſtions undecided. 'Twas for this reaſon *Calvin* wrote to them, that he could not approve *of their obſcure and captious brevity*, and required them to explain *how the Bread is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt*; which ſhould they fail to do, he maintain'd, *their Confeſſion of Faith could not be ſubſcribed without peril, and would occaſion great diſputes.* But *Luther* was ſatisfied with them, by reaſon they drew near to his expreſſions, and were more inclined towards the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*. For they even continued to complain of thoſe, *Who denied that the Bread and Wine were the true Body and true Blood of Jeſus Chriſt*, and who call'd them *Papiſts, Idolaters, and Antichriſts*, on account of their acknowledging the *true Preſence*. Finally, to ſhew how far they were leaning to the ſide of the *Real Preſence*, they injoin their Miniſters, in diſtributing this Sacrament, and *in reciting the words of our Lord, to exhort the people* to believe *that the Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt is preſent*; and in this view, they injoin likewiſe, altho' in other reſpects little inclined to adoration, *That the Sacrament be received kneeling.*

Calv. Ep. ad Wald. p. 312. & *ſeq.*

Ibid. 195.

Ibid. 396.

By thus expounding and thus palliating as already ſeen, they ſo contented *Luther*, that he prefixt his approbation to a *Confeſſion* of Faith publiſh'd by them, declaring however, *That for this bout they not only appear'd more adorn'd, more free, and more poliſh'd, but alſo more conſiderable, and better*; which ſufficiently intimates, he approved their *Confeſſion* only inaſmuch as it had been reform'd agreeably to his maxims.

CLXXXIX. *Luther* gives them his approbation and how. *Ibi. p.* 211.

It does not appear, that any uneaſineſs was given them in regard of the ſtated *Faſts* preſerved amongſt them, nor in regard of the *Feſtivals* they celebrated, forbidding all labour: not only in honour of our *Lord*, but alſo of the *Bleſſed Virgin*

CXC. Their Feſtivals, their Churches, their Faſts, the celibacy of their Prieſts.

Art. xv. xvii. *Act. Syn. Torin.* 1595. *Syn.* 2. *part. p.* 240. 242. *Art.* ix. *Æn. Silv. Hist. Boh. ap. Lyd. p.* 395. 405.

Virgin and the *Saints*. They were not upbraided that this was observing *days* contrary to the precept of the Apostle, nor that these holy days in honour of the Saints, were so many acts of *Idolatry*. Neither were they accused of raising Churches to Saints, under pretext they continued, as we do, to name the Church of the Virgin, *in Templo divæ Virginis*, of St. *Peter*, of St. *Paul*, Churches consecrated to God in memory of them. They are likewise suffer'd to injoin their *Priests* Celibacy and degrade them from Priesthood upon marrying, for this unquestionably was their practice no less than that of the *Taborites*. All this is harmless in the *Brethren*; in us only every thing is rank poison.

CXCI. The perpetual Virginity of *Mary* Mother of God.

Orat. Enc. ap. Lyd. p. 30. *Art.* xvii. *p.* 201.

I would also have them ask'd, where they find in *Scripture* what they say of the *Blessed Virgin*: *That she was a Virgin before and after her delivery*. It's true, this was the belief of the holy Fathers, and the contrary rejected by them for no less than an execrable blasphemy: yet does it nevertheless evince that many things may be accounted blasphemies, the contrary to which is no where in holy Writ; so that, when they boast of speaking nothing but from *Scripture*, seriously they mean no more by it than that it serves their turn to talk in this strain: nor is this apparent respect for the *Scripture* any thing in them but a blind to the ignorant and simple.

CXCII. They fly for shelter into *Poland*.

Syntag. Gen. 2. *part. p.* 212.

It's averr'd that these *Bohemian* Brethren (whose words were so meek and respectful in regard of higher powers) the more they engaged in the *Lutheran* sentiments, so likewise the more did they enter into their intrigues and wars. *Ferdinand* found them mingled in the *Elector* of *Saxony*'s rebellion against *Charles* the Vth, and drove them from *Bohemia*. They took sanctuary in *Poland*, and it appears from a letter of *Musculus*

to

to the Proteſtants of *Poland* in 1556, that it was but a few years ſince *theſe Fugitives from* Bohemia were received *into that Kingdom.*

CXCIII. There they unite with the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* in the aſſembly of *Sendomir.* MDLXX. *Syntag. Gen. 2. part. p.* 218. *Ibi. p.* 219.

Some time after this, was brought about the union of the three *Proteſtant* Sects of *Poland*, namely, of the *Lutherans*, the *Bohemians*, and the *Zuinglians*. The act of union paſt in 1570, at the *Synod* of *Sendomir*, and bears this title: *The union and mutual agreement made betwixt the Churches of* Poland; *to-wit, betwixt thoſe of the* Ausburg-*Confeſſion, thoſe of the Confeſſion of the* Bohemian *Brethren, and thoſe of the Confeſſion of the* Helvetick *Churches*, or *Zuinglians*. In this act the *Bohemians* ſtyle themſelves, *the Brethren of* Bohemia *whom the ignorant call* Vaudois. It appears then manifeſtly that the queſtion here was about thoſe *Vaudois* who, by miſtake, were named ſo, as we have ſhewn, and who accordingly diſclaim this origin. For in regard of the ancient *Vaudois*, we learn from an old author that there were ſcarce any of them *in the kingdom of* Cracovia, namely in that of *Poland, no more than in* England, *in the Low-countries, in* Denmark, *in* Sweden, *in* Norway, and in *Pruſſia*; and ſince this author's time, this little number is ſo dwindled away to nothing, that in all theſe countries we hear no more mention of them.

Pylic. cont. Wald. c. 15. *T.* IV. *Bib. PP. 2. part. p.* 785.

CXCIV. Terms of the *Sendomir*-agreement.

The agreement was made in theſe terms. In order to explain therein the point concerning the *Supper*, the whole article of the *Saxonick Confeſſion*, where this matter is handled, was there tranſcribed. We have ſeen that *Melancthon* drew up this *Confeſſion* in 1551, in order to have it preſented at *Trent*. In it was ſaid, that *Jeſus Chriſt is truly and ſubſtantially preſent in the Communion, and is given truly to thoſe who receive the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.* To which

V. ſup. l. viii. *n.* 18. *Syn. Conf.* 1. *part. p.* 166. 2. *part. p.* 72.

Ibi. p. 146.

which they add in a ſtrange manner of expreſſion, *That the ſubſtantial Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt is not only ſignified, but truly render'd preſent, diſtributed, and given to thoſe who eat; the ſigns not being naked, but join'd to the thing itſelf, agreeably to the nature of the Sacraments.*

CXCV. In this agreement, the *Zuinglians* more than all the reſt recede from their particular tenets.

The Subſtantial Preſence, it ſeems, was very much at heart, when in order to inculcate it the more forcibly, they ſaid, it was not only ſignified *but truly preſent:* but I always diſtruſt theſe ſtrong expreſſions of the *Reformation*, which the more ſhe diminiſhes the *truth* of the Body and Blood in the *Euchariſt*, is always the more rich in words; as if ſhe could repair by them the loſs ſhe ſuſtains in things. Now when you come to the point, altho' this declaration abounds with equivocal expreſſions, and leaves ſubterfuges to each Party whereby to preſerve their particular Doctrine; 'tis nevertheleſs the *Zuinglians* that take the greateſt ſtep, ſince whereas they ſaid in their *Confeſſion* that the Body of our Lord being in heaven *abſent from us*, becomes preſent to us only *by its virtue*, the terms of the agreement import, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is *ſubſtantially preſent* to us; and notwithſtanding all the rules of human language, a *Preſence in Virtue*, becomes immediately, *a Preſence in Subſtance.*

CXCVI. Wherein the *Lutherans* recede, yet may ſtill come off. *Ibid. p.* 164.

There are terms in the agreement which it were difficult for the *Lutherans* to reconcile to their Doctrine, did not men inure themſeves, in the new *Reformation*, to expound every thing to their own ſenſe. For inſtance, they ſeem much to depart from the belief they are in, that the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is taken by the mouth even by the *unworthy* when they ſay in this agreement, *The ſigns of the Supper give by Faith to the Believers what they ſignify.* But beſides that they may ſay, they ſpoke in this manner, by reaſon the

the *Real Preſence* is not known but by Faith; they may alſo add that, in fact, there are bleſſings in the *Supper* which are given to the *Believers* only, as life eternal and the nouriſhment of the ſoul, and 'tis thoſe they mean when they ſay, *The ſigns give by Faith what they ſignify.*

CXCVII. Diſpoſition of the *Bohemian* Brethren.

I do not wonder the *Bohemians* ſign'd this agreement without difficulty. Separated about forty or fifty years before from the *Catholick* Church, and reduced to allow *Chriſtianity* in no part of the world except a corner of *Bohemia*, which they inhabited; upon ſeeing the *Proteſtants* appear, all they thought of was, to ſupport themſelves with their protection. They knew how to gain *Luther* by their ſubmiſſion: by equivocating, they had all could be deſired from *Bucer*: the *Zuinglians* ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſooth'd by the general expreſſions of the *Brethren* who ſaid, yet without practiſing it, that nothing ought to be added to the words our *Saviour* uſed. The hardeſt to be pleaſed was *Calvin*. We have ſeen in the letter he wrote to the *Bohemian Brethren*, who had taken refuge in *Poland*, how he blamed the ambiguity of their *Confeſſion* of Faith, and declared there was no ſubſcribing it without opening an inlet to diſſention or error.

Ep. ad Wal. p. 317.

CXCVIII. Reflexions on this union.

Contrary to his judgment all was ſubſcribed, the *Helvetick* Confeſſion, the *Bohemian*, and the *Saxonick*, the *Preſence* of *Subſtance* together with that of *Virtue* only; namely, the two contrary Doctrines with their equivocations favouring them both. All whatever they pleaſed was added to our *Lord*'s words, even at the time they ratified the *Confeſſion* of Faith wherein was laid down for a maxim, that nothing ought to be added to them: all paſs'd, and a peace was concluded by this means. You ſee how all the Sects, di-

vided from *Catholick* unity, ſeparate and unite among themſelves: ſeparating from the *Chair* of St. *Peter*, they ſeparate from one another, and bear the juſt puniſhment of deſpiſing the band of their unity. When they re-unite in appearance, they are never the more united in the main, and their union, cemented only by political intereſts, ſerves but to evidence by a new proof, that they have not ſo much as the idea of *Chriſtian unity*; ſince they never do unite *in one accord, in one mind*, as St. *Paul* ordains.

Philipp. ii. 2.

CXCIX. General reflexions on the hiſtory of all theſe Sects.

May it be allow'd us at preſent to make a few reflections on this hiſtory of the *Vaudois*, the *Albigenſes*, and the *Bohemians*. You ſee whether the *Proteſtants* had reaſon to reckon them among their anceſtors; whether this extraction be to their credit; and in particular, whether they ought to have look'd on *Bohemia*, ſince the time of *John Huſs*, as *the Mother of the reformed Churches*. It's more viſible than the Sun, on one ſide, that they only bring in theſe Sects from the neceſſity of finding witneſſes in the foregoing ages for what they believe to be the truth; and on the other, that nothing is more deſpicable than to alledge ſuch witneſſes as are all convicted of falſhood in capital points; and in the main, neither agree with *Proteſtants*, nor with us, nor with themſelves. This is the firſt reflexion *Proteſtants* ſhould make.

Jur. Avis. aux. Protes. de l'Europe. at the beginning of his *Prejug. legit. p.* 9.

CC. Another reflexion, that theſe ſo contrary Sects all ground themſelves on the evidence of Scripture.

The ſecond is of no leſs importance. They ought to conſider that all theſe Sects ſo different from one another, and withal, ſo oppoſite as well to *us* as to *Proteſtants*, agree with them in the common principle of guiding themſelves by the Scriptures; not indeed as the *Church* in all times hath and does underſtand them, for this is a moſt certain rule, but as every man of himſelf is capable of underſtanding them. This is what hath

hath produced all thoſe errors and all thoſe contrarieties which we have obſerved. Under the pretext of *Scripture*, every man has follow'd his own notions; and the *Scripture* taken in this way, ſo far from uniting minds, hath divided them, and made every one worſhip the deluſions of his own brain under the name of eternal verities.

CCI. Laſt and moſt important reflexion concerning the accompliſhment of St. *Paul*'s prediction. 1 *Tim.* iv. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

But there ſtill remains the laſt, and by much the moſt important reflexion to be made on all theſe things we have juſt ſeen in this contracted hiſtory of the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*. There we diſcover the reaſon of the *Holy Ghoſt*'s inſpiring St. *Paul*, with this prophecy: *The ſpirit ſpeaketh expreſly, that in the latter times, ſome ſhall depart from the Faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and doctrines of devils; ſpeaking lyes in hypocriſy, having their conſcience ſear'd with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thankſgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be received with thankſgiving: for it is ſanctified by the word of God, and prayer.* All the holy Fathers are agreed that this is meant of the impious Sect of *Marcionites* and *Manicheans*, who taught two Principles, and attributed to the *evil* one the Creation of the univerſe; which made them deteſt the propagation of mankind, and the uſe of many kinds of food which they believed unclean and bad in their nature, as being produced by a Creator who himſelf was bad and impure. St. *Paul* points therefore at theſe accurſed Sects by theſe two their ſo noted tenets; and without previouſly mentioning the principle, whence they drew theſe two evil conſequences, he ſets himſelf to expreſs the two ſenſible characters whereby we have ſeen theſe infamous Sects were known in all times.

CCII. The Doctrine of two Principles pointed at by St. *Paul:* why this Doctrine is call'd the Doctrine of Devils. 1 *Tim.* iv. 4. *ibid.* 1.

But altho' St. *Paul* does not immediately express the deep cause, why these deceivers forbad the use of two things so natural; he denotes it sufficiently further on, when he says in opposition to these errors, that *every creature of God is good*, overthrowing by this principle the detestable sentiment of those that descried impurity in the works of God, and making us withal sensible that the root of this evil lay in not knowing the Creation, and in blaspheming the Creator. Accordingly, 'tis what St. *Paul* calls, in particular, more than all other Doctrines, *the Doctrines of Devils*, there being nothing more suitable to the jealousy against God and against men of these seducing spirits, than to attack the Creation, condemn God's works, blaspheme against the author of the law and the law itself, and defile human nature with all manner of impurities and illusions. For this is what *Manicheism* consisted in, and what truly is the very Doctrine of Devils; especially if you add those inchantments and impostures, which all authors testify were so frequently made use of in this Sect. To wrest now the so plain and so natural sense of St. *Paul* against those, who, acknowledging both Marriage and all sort of meats for the work and institution of God, yet abstain voluntarily from them to mortify the senses and purify the mind, is a too manifest delusion, and which we have seen long ago exploded by the Fathers. It is then very perceptible whom St. *Paul* aim'd at, nor is it possible to mistake those he has so accurately described by their proper characters.

CCIII. Query: why the Holy Ghost, of all Heresies, has

Why the *Holy Ghost*, amongst so many Heresies, would only mark this so expressly, was the admiration of the *Fathers*, and what they endeavour'd to account for, the best they were able, in their age. But time, the faithful interpreter

preter of prophecies, has discover'd to us the deep cause; nor shall we wonder any more that the *Holy Ghost* was so particularly careful to forewarn us against this Sect, after having seen, 'twas this that infected Christianity, the longest, and the most dangerously: the longest, thro' so many ages as we have seen the world infected by it: and the most dangerously, not making a glaring breach from the Church like the rest, but lurking, as much as was possible, within her precincts, and insinuating herself under the appearances of the same Faith, the same Worship, and even an astonishing shew of piety. For this reason St. *Paul* the Apostle so expresly points out its *Hypocrisy*. Never has the spirit of *lying*, remark'd by this Apostle, been so justly charged on any Sect, since besides its teaching, like the rest, a false Doctrine, it exceeded all others in dissembling its belief. We have observed, that these wretches allow'd every thing you pleased: they made nothing of lying in the most material points; they stuck not at perjury to conceal their tenets; their readiness in betraying their consciences shew'd in them a certain insensibility, which St. *Paul* admirably well expresses by the *cauſtick* which renders the flesh insensible by mortifying it, as the learned *Theodoret* hath observed on this place: nor do I think, ever prophecy could have been verified by more sensible characters than this has been.

only in particular foretold *Manicheism.* Character of this Heresy. Hypocrisy. Spirit of lying. Conscience cauteriz'd.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Comm. in hunc locum.

No longer are we to wonder why the *Holy Ghost* would have the prediction of this Heresy to be so particular and distinct. 'Twas more than all other Heresies the error *of the latter times*, as it's call'd by St. *Paul*, whether we understand by the latter times, according to the Scripture-style, all the times of the new law; or understand by them that period of ages when

CCIV. Sequel of the reasons why the Holy Ghost has pointed out this Heresy more than the rest.

Ibid. *Satan* was *to be looſed* anew. So long ſince as
1 *Tim.* iv. *Rev.* xx. 3. 7. the ſecond and third Century, the Church be-
held the riſe of *Cerdon*, of *Marcion*, of *Manes*,
Epip. hær. xlvi. thoſe enemies to the Creator. The ſeeds of this
Doctrine are every where to be met with: you
Theod. 1. *hær. fab.* 20. find them in *Tatian*, who condemn'd *Wine* and
Marriage, and, in his *Concordance* of the bible,
Ibid. *Ib.* 5. *c.* 24. had eraſed all the texts that expreſs'd *Jeſus Chriſt*'s
genealogy from the Blood of *David*. A hun-
dred other infamous Sects had attack'd the God
of the *Jews* even before *Manes* and *Marcion*;
and we learn from *Theodoret*, that this laſt did
but give another turn to the impieties of *Simon*
the *Magician*. Thus did this Hereſy commence
from the very beginning of Chriſtianity: 'twas
2 *Theſſ.* ii. 7. the true *Myſtery of iniquity*, which fell *to work* in
St. *Paul*'s time: but the Holy Ghoſt, who fore-
ſaw this peſtilence was one day to rage in a more
glaring manner, made it be foretold by this
Apoſtle with an aſtoniſhing evidence and di-
ſtinctneſs. *Marcion* and *Manes* have ſet this
Myſtery of iniquity in a more manifeſt light:
the abominable Sect hath held on its peſtilent
ſucceſſion ever ſince that time. This we have
ſeen, and never did Hereſy diſturb the Church
for a longer date, nor ſpread its branches to a
greater diſtance. But after that, by the eminent
Doctrine of St. *Auſtin*, by St. *Leo*'s and St. *Gela-
ſius*'s great care and diligence, it was extinguiſh'd
every where in the *Weſt*, and even in *Rome*,
where it had ſtrove to eſtabliſh itſelf; then was
ſeen to arrive the fatal term *of Satan*'s being looſed
Rev. xx. 2. 3. 7. *out of his priſon*. *A thouſand years* after that *this
ſtrong arm'd had been bound by Jeſus Chriſt* at his
Mat. xii. 29. coming into the world, the ſpirit of error grew
Luke xi. 21. 22. up more than ever; the remains of *Manicheiſm*
too well ſhelter'd in the *Eaſt*, broke in upon the
Latin Church. What hinders our looking on
thoſe

thoſe miſerable times as one of the periods of *Satan's* being looſed, without prejudice to the other more hidden meanings? If *Gog* and *Magog* only be wanting to fulfil this prophecy, we ſhall find in *Armenia*, near *Samoſata*, the Province named *Gogarene* where the *Paulicians* dwelt, and *Magog* amongſt the *Scythians* from whence the *Bulgarians* took their riſe. Thence came thoſe numberleſs enemies of *the beloved City* who firſt aſſaulted *Italy*. The contagion flew, in an inſtant, to the extremity of the *North*: a ſpark raiſes a great combuſtion; the flame almoſt ſpreads over the whole face of the univerſe. In all parts of it is diſcover'd this lurking poiſon; together with *Manicheiſm*, *Arianiſm* with all kind of Hereſies ſhoot up again under unheard of and uncouth names. Scarce could it be compaſs'd to quench this fire in the ſpace of three or four hundred years, and even ſome of its remains might be ſeen in the fifteenth Century.

Rev. xx. 7. 8. *Boch. Phal. lib.* III. 13. *Rev. Ibid.*

CCV. How the *Vaudois* came from the *Albigenſian Manicheans.*

Nor did the evil ceaſe, when nothing ſeem'd left of it but its aſhes. *Satan* had ſupplied the impious Sect wherewith to renew the conflagration, in a manner more dangerous than ever. Church-diſcipline was relax'd over all the earth; the diſorders and abuſes, carried even to the foot of the Altar, made the good to ſigh, humbled them, urg'd them on to improve ſtill more in their virtuous courſes: but wrought a far different effect on the ſower and proud-minded. The *Roman Church*, the Mother and Bond of Churches, became the object of hatred to all indocil tempers: invenom'd ſatires ſpirit up the world againſt the Clergy; the *Manichean* hypocrite trumpets them over the whole univerſe, and gives the name of *Antichriſt* to the *Church* of *Rome*, for then was that notion broach'd, in the ſink of *Manicheiſm*, and amidſt the precurſors of *Anti-*

chriſt himſelf. Theſe impious men imagine, they appear more holy, when they ſay, holineſs is eſſentially requiſite to the adminiſtration of the Sacraments. The ignorant *Vaudois* ſwallow down this poiſon. No longer will they receive the Sacraments from odious and defam'd Miniſters: *Luke* v. 6. *the net is broken* on all ſides, and Schiſms multiply. *Satan* no longer ſtands in need of *Manicheiſm:* hatred againſt the *Church* is wide-diffuſed: the viperous Sect hath left a brood like to itſelf, and a too fruitful principle of Schiſm. No matter, tho' theſe Hereticks have not the ſame Doctrine, they are ſway'd by hatred and bitterneſs, and banded againſt the *Church*; this is enough. The *Vaudois* believe not like the *Albigenſes*; but, like the *Albigenſes*, they hate the *Church*, and proclaim themſelves the only Saints, the only Miniſters of the *Sacraments*. *Wickliff* believes not like the *Vaudois*; but *Wickliff* proclaims, like the *Vaudois*, that the *Pope* and his whole *Clergy* have forfeited all authority by their looſe behaviour. *John Huſs* does not believe like *Wickliff*, tho' he admires him: what he admires in him chiefly, and almoſt only follows in him is, that crimes annul authority. Theſe deſpicable *Bohemians*, as we have ſeen, ſucceeded to this ſpirit, which they particularly made appear, when amounting to no more than a handful of illiterate men, they preſum'd to rebaptize the whole world.

CCVI. How *Luther* and *Calvin* ſprung from the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*.

But a ſtill greater *Apoſtacy* was hatching by means of theſe Sects. The world teeming with animoſity, brings forth *Luther* and *Calvin*, who canton *Chriſtendom:* the ſuperſtructure is different, but the foundation is the ſame; 'tis ſtill hatred againſt the Clergy and the Church of *Rome*, and no man of ſincerity can deny, that this was the viſible cauſe of their ſurpriſing progreſs.

greſs. A *Reformation* was neceſſary: who denies it? but it was ſtill more neceſſary, to refrain from Schiſm. Were thoſe, that promoted this Schiſm by their preachments, any better than their neighbours? they made as if they were; this was enough to delude and *ſpread like a canker*, according to St. *Paul*'s expreſſion. The world was ſet on condemning and rejecting their leaders; this is call'd *Reformation*. A ſpecious name dazzles the people, and to ſtir up hatred, calumny is not ſpared; thus is our Doctrine blacken'd; men hate it before they know it. 2 *Tim.* ii. 17.

CCVII. The *Proteſtant Churches* ſeek in vain a ſucceſſion of perſons in the preceding Sects.

With new Doctrines, new bodies of Churches are erected. The *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* make the two greateſt: but they cannot find in the whole earth ſo much as one *Church* that believes like them, nor whence they can derive an ordinary and lawful miſſion. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, alledged by ſome, are not to their purpoſe. We have but juſt ſhewn them to be meer Lay-men, as much puzzled to make out their own miſſion and title, as thoſe that ſeek their aid. We know, the *Toulouſian* Hereticks were never able to delude ſo much as one Prieſt. The Preachers of the *Vaudois* were trading or mechanick men, nay women. The *Bohemians* had no better an original, as already proved; and when *Proteſtants* name us all theſe Sects, they name not their Fathers, but Accomplices.

CCVIII. Much leſs do they find in them a ſucceſſion of Doctrine.

But perchance, tho' they don't meet, in theſe Sects, with a ſucceſſion of *perſons*, they will meet in them, with a ſucceſſion of *Doctrine*. Much leſs: in certain reſpects like to the *Huſſites*; in others, like the *Vaudois*; in ſome like the *Albigenſes* and the other Sectaries; in other articles, they are quite contrary to them: in this manner, without lighting upon any thing that is uniform,

and

and laying hold here and there of what ſeems to ſuit them; without ſucceſſion, without unity, without true predeceſſors, they climb to what height they can. They are not the firſt to reject the honour due to *Saints*, nor the *Oblations* for the Dead: they find before their days, bodies of Churches of this ſame belief in theſe two points. The *Bohemians* embraced them: but we have ſeen theſe *Bohemians* ſeek in vain for aſſociates thro' the whole earth. Howſoever, here is a *Church* at leaſt before *Luther*: this is ſomething to ſuch as have nothing. But after all, this *Church* before *Luther* is but fifty years before him: they muſt ſtrive to advance higher: they'll find the *Vaudois*, and a little more diſtant, the *Manicheans* of *Toulouſe*. They'll find, in the fourth age, the *Manicheans* of *Africa* oppoſite to the worſhip of Saints. One only *Vigilantius* follows them in this particular point: but higher than this no certain author can be found, yet thereon depends the ſtreſs of the queſtion. They may go a little further as to *Oblations* for the Dead. The Prieſt *Aërius* will appear, but alone, and without followers; an *Arian* into the bargain: this is all can be found that's poſitive; whatever is built beſides this, will be built manifeſtly in the air. But let us ſee what they will diſcover as to the *Real Preſence*, and remember, the queſtion is concerning poſitive and certain facts. *Carloſtadius* is not the firſt who maintain'd that the *Bread* was not made the *Body*: *Berengarius* had ſaid as much four hundred years before him, in the eleventh Century. Yet neither was *Berengarius* the firſt: theſe *Manicheans* of *Orleans* had juſt ſaid the ſame; and the world was ſtill full of the rumour of their evil Doctrine, when this ſcantling of it was pick'd up by

by *Berengarius*. Beyond this, I find many pretenſions and actions lodged againſt us concerning this ſubject, but no averr'd and poſitive facts.

CCIX. What is the ſucceſſion of *Hereticks.*

Now the *Socinians* have a more manifeſt ſucceſſion: catching up a word here and another there, they will name declared enemies of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s divinity in all Ages, and at the top of them will find *Cerinthus* next to the Apoſtles. For all their diſcovering ſomething concordant among ſo many, in other reſpects diſcording witneſſes, they will be never the better founded, ſince, when all is ſaid, *Succeſſion* and *Uniformity* are wanting to them. To take the thing thus, namely, ſhould each of them, in patching up their ſeveral Churches, collect here and there without band of union, all that could be found conformable to their ſentiments; there is no difficulty, as might have been obſerved, to trace the extraction of every Sect ſeen at this day, or ever to be ſeen, even up to *Simon* the Magician, and to that *Myſtery of iniquity* which began in the time of St. *Paul*. 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 7.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XII.

From the Year 1571, *to* 1579, *and from* 1603, *till the Year* 1615.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The reformed Churches diſturb'd about the word Subſtance *even in* France. *It's maintain'd as grounded on the word of God in one* Synod, *and in another brought to nothing in favour of the* Swiſs *who were angry with the deciſion. One Faith for* France, *and another for* Switzerland. *Aſſembly of* Franckfort, *and a project of a new* Confeſſion *of Faith for the whole ſecond party of* Proteſtants; *what was to be ſuppreſs'd there in favour of the* Lutherans. *Deteſtation of the* Real Preſence *eſtabliſh'd, and ſuppreſs'd at the ſame time.* Piſcator's *affair, and the doctrinal deciſion of four national* Synods *reduced to nothing. Principles of the* Calviniſts, *and demonſtrations drawn from them in our behalf.* Du Moulin's *propoſitions received at the* Synod *of* Ay. *Nothing ſolid or ſerious in the* Reformation.

THE

THE union of *Sendomir* had not its effect except in *Poland*. In *Switzerland*, the *Zuinglians* continued ſteady to reject equivocations. The *French* began already to join in their ſentiments. Many maintain'd openly, it was requiſite to diſcard the word *Subſtance*, and change the thirty ſixth article of the *Confeſſion* of Faith preſented to *Charles* the ninth, wherein the *Supper* was explain'd. It was not particular men that made this dangerous propoſal, but whole *Churches*, even the chief *Churches*, thoſe of the *Iſle* of *France* and *Brie*, that of *Paris*, that of *Meaux*, where the exerciſe of *Calviniſm* commenced, and others neighbouring to them. Theſe *Churches* were for changing ſo conſiderable an article of their *Confeſſion* of Faith, which they had publiſh'd but ten years before as containing nothing but the pure word of God: this muſt have too much diſcredited the new Party. The *Synod* of *Rochelle*, wherein *Beza* preſided, reſolved to condemn theſe *Reformers* of the *Reformation* in 1571.

I. Many pretended-reform'd Churches of *France* are for changing the article of the *Supper* in their Confeſſion of Faith.

MDLXXI.

The caſe required a clear and diſtinct ſentence. The Conteſt being on foot, and the Parties preſent, there needed no more than to decide in few words: but brevity is the fruit of clear conceptions only. Behold therefore word for word what was concluded; and I ask only to be allow'd to divide the decree into three parts, and to recite them ſeverally.

II. The national *Synod* condemns them. This *Synod*'s deciſion full of perplexities.

They begin by rejecting what is evil, and their condemnations fall juſtly enough. To fix upon any thing, will be the grand difficulty; but let us read. *Concerning the thirty ſixth article of the Confeſſion of Faith, the Deputies of the Iſle of* France *repreſented, that it would be requiſite to explain this article, inaſmuch as it ſpeaks of the participation*

participation of the Subſtance of Jeſus Chriſt. After a conference of ſome length, the Synod approving the thirty ſixth article REJECTS THE OPINION *of thoſe who refuſe to receive the word Subſtance, by which word is not underſtood any confuſion, commixtion or conjunction whatever after a carnal manner, or otherwiſe natural, but a true conjunction, very intimate, and in a ſpiritual way, whereby Jeſus Chriſt himſelf is ſo made ours and we his, that there is no conjunction of Body, whether natural or artificial, ſo cloſe; the which nevertheleſs does not tend to this end, that of his Subſtance and Perſon join'd to our ſubſtances and perſons, there ſhould be compounded ſome third perſon, and ſubſtance, but only to this,* THAT HIS VIRTUE *and all in him requiſite to our ſalvation, be by this means, the more ſtrictly given and communicated to us, diſſenting from thoſe who ſay, we join ourſelves to* ALL HIS MERITS AND GIFTS AND WITH HIS HOLY SPIRIT *only, without he himſelf being ours.* Here are abundance of words and nothing ſaid. 'Tis no commixtion either carnal or natural: who knows not that? it has nothing in common with the vulgar mixtures: its end is divine; the manner of it is intirely celeſtial, and in this ſenſe, ſpiritual: who queſtions it? but has any man ever dreamt, that of the Subſtance of *Jeſus Chriſt* united to ours a third perſon was made, a third Subſtance? ſo much time ought not to be loſt in rejecting ſuch chimera's as never enter'd into any man's head.

III. Vain efforts of the *Synod* to find the Subſtance of the Body and Blood in the Doc-

It is ſomething to reject thoſe who pretend we partake in nothing but the merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in his gifts, and in his ſpirit, without his giving himſelf to us: it was only requiſite they ſhould add, that he gives himſelf to us in the proper and natural *Subſtance* of his Fleſh and Blood, for this was the point in hand, and the thing

thing to be explain'd. *Catholicks* do this very clearly, for they ſay, *Jeſus Chriſt* in pronouncing *This is my Body*, the ſame *that was given for you*; *This is my Blood*, the ſame *that was ſhed for you*, deſigns, not the *Figure* of it, but the *Subſtance*, the which, in ſaying, *Take*, he renders wholly ours, there being nothing more ours than that which is given us in this manner. This ſpeaks; this is intelligible. Inſtead of delivering themſelves thus clearly and diſtinctly, we ſhall ſee our Miniſters loſe themſelves in rambling from the point, heap texts on texts without concluding any thing. Let us return to where we left off; here is what preſents itſelf: *Not conſenting*, proceed they, *with thoſe who ſay, we join ourſelves to his merits and his gifts and his ſpirit only, yea rather marvelling with the Apoſtle* Epheſ. 5. *at this ſecret, ſupernatural and incomprehenſible to our reaſon, we believe that we are made partakers of the Body given for us and the Blood ſhed for us*; *that we be* Fleſh of his Fleſh and Bone of his Bones, *and receive him together with all his gifts with him by Faith engender'd in us by the incomprehenſible influence and power of his holy ſpirit*; *thus underſtanding that which is ſaid*, whoſo eateth the Fleſh and drinketh the Blood hath life everlaſting. *Item*, Chriſt is the vine and we the branches, and *that he maketh us* abide in him to the end we may bring forth fruit, and *that we be* members of his Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bones. They are certainly afraid of being underſtood, or rather do not underſtand themſelves; thus clogging their meaning with ſo many uſeleſs words, ſo many intricate phraſes, ſuch a confuſed jumble of crowded texts. For after all, what they have to ſhew is, how much thoſe are in the wrong who, refuſing to acknowledge, in the *Euchariſt*, any other commu-

trine of the pretended-reform'd-Churches. *Mat.* xxvi. 26. 28. *Luke* xxii. 19. 20. 1 *Cor.* xi. 24.

communication than that of the *merits* and *ſpirit* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, diſcard from this myſtery *The proper Subſtance of his Body and Blood*. Now this is what no wiſe appears in any of theſe numerous texts. Theſe texts conclude, only that we receive ſomething flowing from *Jeſus Chriſt* in order to enliven us, as members receive from the *Head* the ſpirit which animates them; but don't at all conclude for our receiving the *proper Subſtance* of his Body and Blood. None of theſe texts, except one only, namely that of St. *John* vi. relate at all to the *Euchariſt*; neither does that of St. *John* vi. if we believe the *Calviniſts*, relate to it. And if this text, well underſtood, ſhews indeed in the *Euchariſt* the proper *Subſtance* of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Fleſh and Blood, yet it does not ſhew it, in the manner it's here employ'd by the Miniſters, ſince the upſhot of their diſcourſe concludes at length in this, that *We receive Jeſus Chriſt together with all his gifts with him by Faith engender'd in us.* Now *Jeſus Chriſt by Faith engender'd in us*, is nothing leſs than *Jeſus Chriſt* united to us in the proper and true *Subſtance* of his Fleſh and Blood; the firſt of theſe being no more than moral, wrought by pious affections of the mind; and the ſecond, being phyſical, is real and immediate of Body to Body, and of Subſtance to Subſtance: thus does this great *Synod* expound nothing leſs than what it propoſes to expound.

IV. Error of the Synod which ſeeks the Myſtery of the *Euchariſt* without producing the *Inſtitution*.

I obſerve in this decree, that the *Calviniſts* having undertaken to explain the Myſtery of the *Euchariſt*, and in this Myſtery the proper *Subſtance* of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Body and Blood, which it is grounded on, alledge to us far different things from the words of the *inſtitution*, *This is my Body*, *This is my Blood*; for they are very ſenſible, ſhould they ſay, theſe words import the proper *Subſtance* of the Body and Blood, this would be making

making clearly appear, our Lord's design was to express the Body and Blood not in *figure*, nor even in *virtue*, but in *effect*, in *truth*, and in *Substance*. Thus this *Substance* must have been, not only by Faith, in the minds and thoughts of the faithful, but in effect, and in truth, under the sacramental *species* where *Jesus Christ* denotes it, and thereby, even in our bodies, whereinto we are order'd to receive it, to the end that we might, all kinds of ways, enjoy our *Saviour* and participate of our victim.

V. The Synod's reason for establishing the *Substance*. They conclude the other opinion to be contrary to God's word.

Now, whereas the decree had not cited any one text that concluded for the *proper Substance*, the thing in question, but rather had excluded it by shewing *Jesus Christ* united *by Faith* only; they come back at length to the *Substance* by the following words: *And in fact, as we derive our death from the first* Adam, *inasmuch as we partake of his substance; so is it requisite, we should partake truly of the second* Adam *Christ Jesus, that we may derive our life from him. Wherefore all Pastors, and in general, all the faithful shall be exhorted to give no way, in any kind, to opinions contrary to the above Doctrine, which is grounded* EXPRESLY ON THE WORD OF GOD.

VI. The Synod says more than it design'd.

The *Holy Fathers* made use of this comparison of *Adam* to shew, that *Jesus Christ* ought to be in us otherwise than by Faith and affection, or morally: for 'tis not by affection and thought only, that *Adam* and parents are in their children; 'tis by the communication of the same Blood, and the same Substance: and therefore the union we have with our parents, and by their means with *Adam*, from whom we are all descended, is not only moral, but physical and substantial. The Fathers have thence concluded, that the new *Adam* ought to be in us after a manner equally physical and substantial, to the end that

we might derive immortality from him, as from our firſt parent we derive mortality. Accordingly, 'tis what they have found, and much more abundantly, in the *Euchariſt* than in ordinary generation, for that 'tis not a portion of the Blood and Subſtance, but the whole Subſtance and the whole Blood of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* which is therein communicated to us. To ſay now with the Miniſters, that this communication is wrought barely by *Faith*, is not only to weaken the compariſon, but alſo to annihilate the Myſtery, and deprive it of its Subſtance; and whereas it is more abundantly in *Jeſus Chriſt* than in *Adam*, 'tis making it to be much leſs in him, or rather not at all.

VII. A point of Doctrine was in queſtion among them.

Thus do our Doctors confound themſelves, and the more pains they take to ſpeak their minds, the more do they obſcure the ſubject. Nevertheleſs, through all theſe miſts you diſcern plainly, that among the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe, there was in reality an opinion which admitted nothing in the *Euchariſt* but the gifts and merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or at moſt, nothing but his Spirit, not the proper *Subſtance* of his Fleſh and Blood; but that this opinion was expreſly contrary to the word of God, and not to have any admittance amongſt the faithful.

VIII. The *Swiſs* believe themſelves condemn'd by this deciſion.

'Tis no hard matter to gueſs, who were the defenders of this opinion: 'twas the *Swiſs* the diſciples of *Zuinglius*; and ſuch of the *French* as approving their ſentiment would fain reform this article. And this was the reaſon that the *Swiſs* were preſently heard to complain, thinking they beheld their own condemnation in the *Synod* of *Rochelle*, and the fraternity broken; ſince that, notwithſtanding the ſoft turn given to the decree, their Doctrine was condemn'd in the main as contrary to the word of God, with expreſs

preſs exhortation to allow it no ſhelter among the Paſtors or the faithful.

IX. The Synod anſwers them by *Beza*, that this Doctrine only regards *France*. The *Lutherans* as well as *Catholicks* deteſted as defenders of a monſtrous opinion. *Coloſ.* iii. 11. *Hoſp.* 1571. *f.* 344.

Under this perſuaſion they wrote to *Beza*, and the anſwer return'd them was ſurpriſing. *Beza* was order'd to acquaint them, that the decree of the Synod of *Rochelle* did not regard them, but only certain *French-men*; ſo that there was a *Confeſſion* of Faith for *France*, and another for *Switzerland*, as if Faith varied according to the climate, and it were not equally true, that in *Chriſt Jeſus*, there is neither *Swiſs* nor *French-man*, as it is true, according to St. *Paul*, that there is *neither* Scythian, *nor* Greek. To this *Beza* added, in order to calm the *Swiſs*, that *the Churches of* France *deteſted the ſubſtantial and carnal Preſence*, together with the monſters of *Tranſubſtantiation* and *Conſubſtantiation*. Here then, by the by, we have the *Lutherans* as ill-handled as the *Catholicks*, and their Doctrine accounted no leſs monſtrous; but this only in writing to the *Swiſs*: we have ſeen how far they are able to ſoften matters when they write to the *Lutherans*, and how tender they are then of *Conſubſtantiation*.

X. The *Swiſs* not ſatisfied with *Beza*'s anſwer, ſtill hold themſelves for condemn'd. *Hoſp. Ibid.*

The *Swiſs* would not be gull'd with theſe ſubtilties of the *Synod* of *Rochelle*, but were very ſenſible, they themſelves were attack'd under the name of theſe *French-men*. *Bullinger*, Miniſter of *Zurick*, who was order'd to anſwer *Beza*, made no difficulty of telling him, they were in fact the people condemn'd: *You condemn*, anſwer'd he, *thoſe who reject the word Proper Subſtance; and who is ignorant that we are of this number?* What *Beza* had added, againſt the *carnal* and *ſubſtantial* Preſence, did not remove the difficulty; *Bullinger* knew full well, that the *Catholicks* no leſs than the *Lutherans* complain'd, that a *carnal* Preſence was laid to their charge, which they

did not dream of; and beſides, could not comprehend the meaning of receiving in *Subſtance*, what was not *ſubſtantially* preſent: thus unable to conceive the refinements of *Beza*, or a *Subſtance* united without being *preſent*, he anſwer'd him, that *they ought to ſpeak plainly in matters of Faith, leſt they ſhould reduce the ſimple to ſuch ſtreights as no longer to know what to believe*; whence he concluded, *It was neceſſary to mitigate the decree*, and this was the only means he propoſed for a reconcilement.

XI. They were at laſt forced to change the decree, and reduce the Subſtance to nothing at all.

They were forced to ſtoop to theſe terms, and the year following, in the *Synod* of *Niſmes*, *Subſtance* was brought to ſo ſmall a matter, that they might as well have quite ſuppreſs'd it. Whereas, at the Synod of *Rochelle*, the debate was about putting a ſtop *to an opinion contrary to that which was grounded expreſly on the word of God*, they endeavour now to inſinuate that the queſtion was only about a Word. They raze out of the decree of *Rochelle* theſe words which contain'd its main force and purpoſe: *viz. The Synod rejects the opinion of thoſe who refuſe to receive the word Subſtance.* They declare they'll do no prejudice to ſtrangers; and ſuch is their complaiſance for them, that theſe great words, the *proper Subſtance* of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Body and Blood, ſo much affected by *Calvin*, ſo ſtrenuouſly maintain'd by his diſciples, ſo carefully retain'd at the *Synod* of *Rochelle*, and at laſt brought to nothing by our *Reformed*, no longer appear in their *Confeſſion* of Faith, but as a monument of the impreſſion of the Reality and Subſtance, which the words of *Jeſus Chriſt* had naturally made in the minds of their fore-fathers, and even of *Calvin* himſelf.

M D LXXII.

XII. Reflexion on this

And yet if they will but reflect on theſe relaxations of their firſt Doctrine, they may obſerve

ſerve therein, after what a manner the ſpirit of ſeduction has deluded them. Their fathers would not eaſily have depriv'd themſelves of the *Subſtance* of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Body and Blood. Accuſtom'd in the *Church* to this ſweet *Preſence* of the Body and Blood of their Saviour, the pledge of an immenſe love, they would not willingly have been brought down to ſhadows and figures, nor to a ſimple virtue flowing from this Body and Blood. *Calvin* had promiſed them ſomething more. They had ſuffer'd themſelves to be attracted by a notion of *Reality* and *Subſtance* continually inculcated in his Books, in his Sermons, in his Commentaries, in his *Confeſſions* of Faith, in his *Catechiſms:* a falſe notion, I confeſs, they being there in words only, and not in fact; but yet they were charm'd with this fine idea, and believing they loſt nothing of what was poſſeſſed by them in the *Church*, they did not fear to leave it. Now that *Zuinglius* has gain'd the aſcendent by the conſent of their *Synods*, and *Calvin*'s big words ſtand evidently void of force and deſtitute of all ſenſe, why don't they return from their error, and ſeek, in the *Church*, that *real* poſſeſſion with which they had been flatter'd?

weakening of the firſt Doctrine.

The *Swiſs Zuinglians* were appeaſed by the explanation of the Synod of *Niſmes*; but the ground of diviſion ſtill ſubſiſted. So many *Confeſſions* of Faith were a too convincing token of it to be diſſembled. Mean while the *French*, the *Swiſs*, the *Engliſh*, and the *Poles* had their ſeparate ones, which all of them kept to, without borrowing from their neighbours, and their union ſeem'd nearer allied to policy than true concord.

XIII. The different *Confeſſions* of Faith, a mark of the diſunion of the Party.

They had often ſought remedies for this inconvenience, but in vain. In 1577, an aſſembly

XIV. The aſſembly of *Franck-*

fort, where endeavours are uſed to bring the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe to agree in one common *Confeſſion*.

M D LXXII.

bly was held at *Franckfort*, where the Embaſſadors of *Queen Elizabeth* aſſembled with the Deputies of *France*, of *Poland*, of *Hungary*, and of the *Low-countries*. The Count *Palatine John Caſimir*, who the year before had brought into *France* ſo great a ſuccour to our *Reformed*, procured this aſſembly. The whole Party that defended the *figurative* ſenſe, whereof this Prince was one, was there aſſembled, except the *Swiſs* and *Bohemians*. But theſe laſt had ſent their declaration, ſubmitting themſelves thereby to what ſhould be reſolved: and as for the *Swiſs*, the *Palatine* made it be declared by his Embaſſador that he held himſelf aſſured of them. The intent of this convention, as appears by the *Palatine*-deputy's harangue at his opening of it, was to draw up, by the unanimous conſent of all the other Deputies, one common *Confeſſion* of Faith for theſe *Churches*; and the reaſon that induced the *Palatine* to make this propoſal was, becauſe the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, after making that famous book of *Concord* ſo often mention'd, were to hold an aſſembly at *Magdeburg*, there to pronounce with one accord the approbation of this book, and at the ſame time the condemnation of all thoſe, who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe it; ſo as, being declared Hereticks, they might be excluded from the toleration granted by the *Empire* in matters of Religion. By this means, all the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe were to be baniſh'd, and the monſter of *Ubiquity*, maintain'd in this book, to be eſtabliſh'd. 'Twas the intereſt of theſe *Churches*, which were to be condemn'd, to appear at that time numerous, powerful, and united. They were cried down as having each one their particular *Confeſſion* of Faith, and the *Lutherans*, united under the

Act. auth. Blon. p. 59.
*Ibid. p.*59.
*Ibid p.*60.

common

common name of the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*, eaſily reſolved on the proſcription of a Party, which its diſunion made contemptible.

XV. A deſign of comprehending the *Lutherans* in this common *Confeſſion* of Faith.

This their great grievance was colour'd over nevertheleſs, the beſt manner it was poſſible, with ſpecious words, and the *Palatine*-Deputy declared that all theſe *Confeſſions* of Faith, *conformable in Doctrine, differ'd in method only, and the way of ſpeaking*. But he well knew the contrary, nor were the differences but too real for theſe *Churches*. Be that as it will, 'twas their intereſt, in order to put a ſtop to the proceedings of the *Lutherans*, to ſhew them their union by a *Confeſſion* of Faith as well received among them all, as was that of *Ausburg* among the *Lutherans*. But they had yet a more general deſign: for in making this new *Confeſſion* of Faith common to the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe, their intent was to pitch on ſuch expreſſions as the *Lutherans*, defenders of the *literal* ſenſe, might agree to, and ſo by this means, make one body of the whole Party call'd *Reform'd*. The deputies had no better a method than this of preventing the condemnation threaten'd them from the *Lutheran* Party. Wherefore, the decree they made concerning this *common Confeſſion of Faith*, had this turn given it: *That it ought to be made, and made clear, full, and ſolid, with a clear and brief refutation of all the Hereſies of theſe times; yet, with ſuch a temper of ſtyle, as rather to attract than alienate thoſe that adhere purely to the Confeſſion of* Ausburg, *as much as truth could allow.*

Ibid. p. 62.

XVI. Qualities of this new Confeſſion of Faith. Deputies named to draw it up.

To make this *Confeſſion* of Faith clear, to make it full, to make it ſolid, with a clear and brief confutation of all the Hereſies of thoſe times, was a grand undertaking; fine words, but the thing exceeding difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, amongſt people of ſuch different perſuaſions:

ſuaſions: above all, not to exaſperate any further the *Lutherans*, thoſe zealous defenders of the *literal* ſenſe, it was neceſſary to paſs lightly over the *Real* Preſence, and the other articles ſo often mention'd. *Divines* were named, *who had a thorough knowledge of the Church's grievances*, to wit, of the diviſions in the *Reformation*, and of her *Confeſſions* of Faith which kept them aſunder. *Rodulph Gaultier*, and *Theodore Beza* Miniſters, one of *Zurick* and the other of *Geneva*, *were to put the finiſhing ſtroke to the work* which was afterwards to be diſpatch'd *to all the Churches in order to be read, examin'd, corrected, and augmented as judged proper.*

XVII. Letter written to the *Lutherans* by the aſſembly of *Franckfort*. *Ibid.* 65.

To prepare a work of ſo great a nicety, and hinder the condemnation which the *Lutherans* were hatching, 'twas concluded to write, in the name of the whole aſſembly, a letter capable of mollifying them. Wherefore they were acquainted, that *this aſſembly was call'd together from ſundry parts of the Chriſtian world, to oppoſe the Pope's attempts, after informations received* that he was uniting the moſt *potent Princes of* Chriſtendom againſt them, namely, the *Emperor*, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*; *but what had moſt afflicted them was, that certain Princes of* Germany, *who ſay they invoke the ſame God with us*, as if the Catholicks had another, *and deteſt with us the tyranny of the Roman Antichriſt, were preparing to condemn the Doctrine of their Churches; and ſo, amidſt the misfortunes that diſtreſs'd them, they ſaw themſelves attack'd by thoſe, in whoſe virtue and wiſdom they had repoſed their chiefeſt truſt.*

XVIII. The aſſembly minces the difficulty of the *Euchariſt*.

Then they repreſented to thoſe of the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*, that the Pope, whilſt he ruin'd the reſt of the Churches, would not ſpare them. *For how*, proceed they, *ſhould he hate thoſe leſs who firſt gave him the mortal ſtab*, namely, the *Lutherans*,

Lutherans, whom, by this means, they place at the head of the whole Party? They propoſe a free *Council* in order to unite amongſt themſelves, and oppoſe the common enemy. Laſtly, after complaining they were going to be condemn'd without a hearing, they ſay, the controverſy that divides them moſt from thoſe of the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*, *viz.* that of the *Supper* and *Real* Preſence, hath not ſo much difficulty as imagin'd, and 'tis an injury done them to accuſe them of rejecting the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*. But they add, it ſtood in need of explanation in ſome places, and even that *Luther* and *Melanchthon* had made ſome corrections in it; by which they evidently mean thoſe different editions, wherein were made the above-ſeen changes in the life-time of *Luther* and *Melanchthon*.

XIX. The conſent of the Synod of *Sainte-Foy* to the new *Confeſſion* of Faith. M D LXXVIII.

The year following, the *Calviniſts* of *France* held their national *Synod* at *Sainte-Foy*, where they gave power to change the *Confeſſion* of Faith, which they had ſo ſolemny preſented to our *Kings*, and which they boaſted to maintain to the laſt drop of their blood. The decree of this *Synod* is worth our notice: it imports, that *after ſeeing the inſtructions of the aſſembly held at* Franckfort *by the means of Duke* John Caſimir, they enter into the deſign *of uniting* in one *holy band of pure Doctrine all the* REFORM'D *Churches of* CHRISTENDOM, *whereof certain Proteſtant Divines were for condemning the ſoundeſt and the greateſt part*; *and approve the project of making and drawing up a formulary of a Confeſſion of Faith common to all the Churches*, *as alſo the invitation expreſly made to the Churches of this kingdom*, *to ſend to the place appointed men well approved and authoriz'd with ample procuration*, *in order to treat*, *agree*, *decide on all the points of Doctrine and other things relating to the union*, *repoſe and conſervation*

conſervation of the Church, and God's pure ſervice. For the execution of this project, they name four Deputies to pen this common *Confeſſion* of Faith, but with much more ample powers than had been demanded for them in the aſſembly of *Franckfort*. For, whereas this aſſembly, unable to believe the Churches could agree in one *Confeſſion* of Faith without ſeeing it, had order'd, that after its being ſeen by certain Miniſters and poliſh'd by others, it ſhould be ſent to all the Churches for their examination and correction: this *Synod*, condeſcending beyond all that could be imagin'd, not only *expreſly charges* theſe four Deputies *to be preſent at the place and time appointed, with ample procurations as well from the Miniſters, as in particular from the* Viſcount *of* Turrene; but alſo adds thereto, *that in caſe even there were no means of examining this Confeſſion of Faith throughout all the Provinces, it was left to their prudence and ſound judgment to agree and conclude all the points that ſhall come under deliberation, whether in regard of Doctrine, or any other thing concerning the welfare, union, and repoſe of all the Churches.*

Hiſt. de l'aſ. de Franc. Act. auth. Blon. p. 63. *Syn. de Sainte-Foy. Ibi. p.* 5. 6.

XX. Faith truſted in the hands of four Miniſters and of the Viſcount *Turenne.*

Here have you then manifeſtly, by the authority of a whole national *Synod*, the *Faith* of our pretended Churches of *France* left to the diſpoſal of four Miniſters and of the *Viſcount Turenne*, with power to determine therein as they pleaſed, and thoſe who will not allow, that we may refer to the judgment of the *whole Church* the leaſt points of Faith, refer the whole of theirs to that of their Deputies.

XXI. Why Mr. *de Turenne* was put in this deputation concerning Doctrine.

One may wonder perchance to ſee Mr. *de Turenne* named amongſt theſe Doctors: but you muſt underſtand, that this *welfare, union and repoſe of all the Churches*, for the ſake of which this deputation was made, meant much more than

than appear'd at firſt ſight. Foraſmuch as the Duke *John Caſimir*, and *Henry de la Tour* Viſcount of *Turenne*, joint Deputies with theſe Miniſters, had thoughts of ſettling this repoſe by other means than by arguments and *Confeſſions* of Faith; which, however, neceſſarily made part of the negociation, experience having ſhewn, that theſe new *Reform'd* Churches could not be united in a league as they ought, without agreeing before in point of Doctrine. All *France* was flaming with civil-wars, and the Viſcount *de Turenne* then but young, yet full of wit and valour, whom the diſaſter of the times had drawn into the Party but two or three years before, had immediately raiſed to himſelf in it ſo great an authority (not ſo much by his illuſtrious blood which allied him to the greateſt families of the kingdom, as by his great capacity and courage) that he was already *Lord Lieutenant* to the King of *Navarre*, afterwards *Henry* the IVth. A man of this genius enter'd eaſily into the deſign of reuniting all the *Proteſtants:* but God did not ſuffer him to accompliſh it. The *Lutherans* were found untractable, and the *Confeſſions* of Faith, notwithſtanding the reſolution unanimouſly taken of changing them all, ſubſiſted as containing the pure word of God, which it is neither lawful to add to, or take from.

XXII. Letter wherein the *Calviniſts* own *Luther* and *Melancthon* for their Fathers.

We ſee that in the year following, namely 1579, a union was ſtill hoped for, ſince the *Calviniſts* of the *Low-countries* wrote conjointly to the *Lutherans*, authors of the book of *Concord*, to *Kemnitius*, *Chythræus*, *James Andrew*, and the reſt of the violent defenders of *Ubiquity*, whom they failed not to call, not only their Brethren, but their own Fleſh (ſo intimate was their union notwithſtanding their ſo conſiderable diviſions) inviting them *to take moderate counſels, to enter*

M D LXXIX.

enter into methods of union, in order whereto the Synod of France (that of *Sainte-Foy*) *had named deputies, and this, ſay they, after the example of our holy Fathers, Luther, Zuinglius, Capito, Bucer, Melanƈthon, Bullinger, Calvin,* whoſe unanimity was ſuch as you have ſeen. Theſe then are the common Fathers of the *Sacramentarians* and *Lutherans*; theſe are the men whoſe harmony and moderate counſels the *Calviniſts* glory in.

XXIII. The project of a common Confeſſion coutinued to our days, and always to no purpoſe. *Act. auth. Blon. p.* 72.

All theſe endeavours towards a union proved abortive, and the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe were ſo far from being able to agree with the *Lutherans*, defenders of the *literal* ſenſe, in one common *Confeſſion* of Faith, that they could not even agree among themſelves. The propoſal was frequently renew'd, and even near to our days in 1614, at the Synod of *Tonins*, which in 1615, was back'd by the expedients propoſed by the famous *Peter du Moulin*. But though for this he received the thanks of the Synod of the *Iſle* of *France* held the ſame year at the borough of *Ay* in *Champagne*; and notwithſtanding the known credit he had, not only in *France* among his own Brethren, but alſo in *England* and over the whole Party, all proved to no purpoſe. The *Churches*, which defend the *figurative* ſenſe, confeſs'd the mighty evil of their diſunion, but withal confeſs'd, it was beyond remedy; and this common *Confeſſion* of Faith, ſo earneſtly deſired and endeavour'd at, is become a *Platonick* idea.

XXIV. Vain ſhifts of the Miniſters.

This hiſtory would require, I ſhould relate the anſwers return'd by the Miniſters with regard to this decree of *Sainte-Foy*, after it became publick and was urged againſt them by the *Catholicks*. But all of them, by the above account of the fact, fall of themſelves. Some ſaid, a mutual toleration was the only thing in queſtion: but it's

it's plain enough, a common *Confeſſion* of Faith was not neceſſary for that end, ſince the effect of this toleration is, not to make one common Faith, but to bear mutually with one another's Faith. Others, in excuſe for the great power of deciding on Doctrine lodged in the hands of four Deputies, anſwer'd, this was becauſe it was known, *near the matter*, what they could agree in: this, *near the matter*, is admirable. Doubtleſs, men are not over nice in queſtions of Faith, when ſatisfied with knowing, *near the matter*, what they are to ſay; and little alſo do they know what to ſtick to, when, for want of ſuch knowledge, they give their Deputies ſo unlimitted a power of concluding whatſoever they ſhall think fitting. The Miniſter *Claude* anſwer'd, they knew preciſely what they were to ſay; and ſhould the Deputies have gone beyond it, they would have juſtly been diſown'd as men that had gone beyond their commiſſion. But this anſwer, allowing it ſo, does not ſatisfy the chief difficulty conſiſting in this, that, to pleaſe the *Lutherans*, they muſt have given up to them all that tended to exclude, as well the *Real Preſence*, as the other points conteſted with them; that is to ſay, they muſt evidently have changed, in ſuch conſiderable articles, a *Confeſſion* of Faith expreſly affirm'd by them to be contain'd in the word of God.

Anon. z. rep. p. 365.

Mr. *Claude dans la Nog. Conf. rep. a l'Expoſ. p.* 149.

XXV. Difference betwixt what was deſign'd to be done in favour of the *Lutherans* at *Franckfort* and *Sainte-Foy*, and

Care ought to be taken not to confound what then was to be done with what was done ſince, when the *Lutherans* were received into Communion at the *Synod* of *Charenton* in 1631. This laſt action ſhews only, that the *Calviniſts* can bear with the *Lutheran* Doctrine, as a Doctrine not at all prejudicial to Faith's *fundamentals*. But 'tis certainly a quite different thing to tolerate in the *Lutherans* Confeſſion of Faith, what you

what was ſince done at *Charenton.*

you believe erroneous in it, and to ſuppreſs in your own, what you believe to be a truth reveal'd of God and expreſly declared by his word. This is what they had reſolved to do in the aſſembly of *Franckfort* and at the *Synod* of *Sainte-Foy*; this is what they would have executed, had it pleaſed the *Lutherans:* inſomuch that, 'twas only the fault of the defenders of the *Real Preſence*, that all which claſh'd with it was not eraſed out of the *Sacramentarian Confeſſions* of Faith. But the reaſon of this was; once change, and no end of changing: a *Confeſſion* of Faith, that changes the Doctrine of ages paſt, ſhews by that, itſelf may be changed likewiſe, nor muſt we wonder, the *Synod* of *Sainte-Foy* thought they had power to correct in 1578, what the *Synod* of *Paris* had eſtabliſh'd in 1559.

XXVI. Spirit of inſtability in *Calviniſm.*

All theſe means of agreement now mention'd, ſo far from diminiſhing the diſunion of our *Reform'd*, did but increaſe it. Here were men ignorant as yet what to ſtick to, whoſe firſt ſtep, at ſetting out, was by a breach from the whole Chriſtian world. Here was a Religion built on the ſand, which had no ſtability even in her *Confeſſions* of Faith, altho' made with ſuch nice care, and publiſh'd with ſuch pomp. Even the profeſſors of it could not perſuade themſelves that they had not a right to innovate in ſo changeable a *Religion*; and 'twas this produced the novelties of *John Fiſcher*, known under the name of *Piſcator*, and thoſe of *Arminius*.

XXVII. *Piſcator's* diſpute.

Piſcator's affair will teach us many important matters, and I am the more deſirous to relate it at full length, the leſs it is known by the generality of our *Reform'd*.

Piſcator taught divinity in the Academy of *Herborne*, a Town in the Earldom of *Naſſau*, towards the end of the ſixteenth Century. Examining

mining the Doctrine of Imputed Juſtice, he ſays that the Juſtice of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which is imputed to us, is not that which he practiſed during the courſe of his life, but that which he underwent in bearing voluntarily the puniſhment of our ſin on the Croſs; as much as to ſay, the death of our Lord being a ſacrifice of an infinite value, whereby he paid and ſatisfied for us, it was alſo by this *Act* alone that the Son of God was properly *Saviour*, without any neceſſity of joining to it any other *Acts*, this being of itſelf ſufficient: ſo that, if we are to be juſtified by imputation, 'tis by that of this *Act*, in virtue whereof preciſely we are acquitted in the ſight of God, and whereby *the hand-writing of the ſentence paſs'd againſt us was defaced*, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *By the Blood which pacifieth both heaven and earth.* *Col.* ii. 14.

XXVIII. This Doctrine deteſted by the national Synod of *Gap.* Firſt deciſion. MDCIII. *Syn. de Gap. ch. de la Conf. de foy.*

This Doctrine *was deteſted* by our *Calviniſts* in the Synod of *Gap* Anno 1603, as contrary to the eighteenth, twentieth and twenty ſecond articles of the *Confeſſion* of Faith, and 'twas reſolved by them, *that a letter ſhould be addreſs'd to* Mr. Piſcator, *and likewiſe to the Univerſity in which he taught.*

It is certain, theſe three articles decided nothing as to what concern'd *Piſcator:* and for this reaſon we find no more mention made of the twentieth and twenty ſecond articles. And as to the eighteenth, in which it was pretended the deciſion might be found, it ſaid no more than that *we are juſtified by the obedience of Jeſus Chriſt, the which is allowed us*, without ſpecifying, what obedience: ſo that *Piſcator* found it no hard matter to defend himſelf in reſpect to the *Confeſſion* of Faith. But ſince they will have it, that he innovated in regard to the *Confeſſion* of the pretended *Reformed* of this kingdom, which had been

been ſubſcribed by thoſe of the *Low-countries*, I agree to it.

XXIX. Second condemnation of *Piſcator*'s Doctrine at the Synod of *Rochelle*. MDC VII.

Piſcator was writ to by order of the Synod, as reſolved, and his modeſt anſwer, but ſteady in his ſentiment, was read at the Synod of *Rochelle* in the year 1607. After reading it, this decree was made: *As to the letter* of Doctor *John Piſcator*, *Profeſſor in the* Academy *of* Herborne, *in anſwer to that of the Synod of* Gap, *rendering account of his Doctrine, which teaches Juſtification to be by the ſole obedience of Chriſt in his death and paſſion imputed as juſtice to the faithful, and not by the obedience of his life; the aſſembly* NOT APPROVING *the diviſion of cauſes ſo conjoint, hath declared, that the whole obedience of Chriſt in his life and death is imputed to us for the intire remiſſion of our ſins,* AS BEING NO OTHER THAN ONE AND THE SAME OBEDIENCE.

XXX. Important obſervation, that the Doctrine of the *Calviniſts* againſt *Piſcator* reſolves the difficulties they urge againſt us in regard of the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt.

In conſideration of theſe laſt words, I would willingly ask our *Reformed*, why, in order to merit for us the forgiveneſs of our ſins, they require, not only the obedience of the death, but alſo that of the whole life of our Redeemer? Is it that the merit of *Jeſus Chriſt* dying, is not infinite, and not more than ſufficient for our ſalvation? This they will not ſay; they muſt therefore ſay, that what is required as neceſſary after an infinite merit, does neither deſtroy its infiniteneſs nor ſufficiency; but, at the ſame time, it muſt alſo follow, that to conſider *Jeſus Chriſt*, as continuing his interceſſion by his Preſence not in heaven only, but alſo on our Altars in the ſacrifice of the *Euchariſt*, is deſtroying nothing of the infiniteneſs of the propitiation made on the Croſs; is only, as ſpeaks the Synod of *Rochelle*, not dividing *things conjoin'd*, and accounting all *Jeſus Chriſt* did in his life, all he did in his death, and

and all he now does whether in heaven where he preſents himſelf for us to the Father, or on our *Altars*, where he is preſent in another way, as the continuation of one and the ſame interceſſion, and of one and the ſame obedience which he began in his life, conſummated in his death, and never ceaſes to renew both in heaven and in the myſteries, thereby to apply them to us effectually and perpetually.

XXXI. Third deciſion. Formulary and Subſcription ordain'd againſt *Piſcator* in the Synod of *Privas*. MDCXII.

The Doctrine of *Piſcator* had its partiſans. Nothing was found againſt him in the eighteenth, twentieth, and twenty ſecond articles of the *Confeſſion* of Faith. And indeed they abandon the two laſt to fix on the eighteenth no more to the purpoſe, as we have ſeen, than the others; and to drive the matter home againſt *Piſcator* and his Doctrine, they went ſo far, in the national Synod of *Privas*, as to oblige all the Paſtors to ſubſcribe expreſly againſt *Piſcator* in theſe terms: *I under-written* N. *in regard to the contents in the eighteenth article of the Confeſſion of Faith of the reformed Churches touching our Juſtification, do declare and proteſt, that* I UNDERSTAND IT ACCORDING TO THE SENSE RECEIVED IN OUR CHURCHES, APPROVED BY THE NATIONAL SYNODS, AND CONFORMABLE TO GOD'S WORD: *which is, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was ſubject to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but in our ſtead: and that all the obedience he render'd to the law is imputed to us, and that our Juſtification does conſiſt, not only in the remiſſion of ſins, but in the imputation of active juſtice:* and SUBJECTING MYSELF TO THE WORD OF GOD, *I believe that* the Son of man came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter, *and that he did miniſter to the purpoſe he came for:* PROMISING NEVER TO DEPART FROM THE DOCTRINE RE-

CEIVED IN OUR CHURCHES, AND TO SUBJECT MYSELF TO THE ORDINANCES OF THE NATIONAL SYNODS ON THIS HEAD.

XXXII. The Scripture ill-quoted, and its whole Doctrine ill understood.

What it does avail imputed Juſtice, that *Jeſus Chriſt came to miniſter, and not to be miniſtred unto*; and to what purpoſe this text is brought abruptly and without connexion into the midſt of this decree, let him gueſs that can. Neither do I ſee what uſe the imputation of the *Ceremonial* law is to us, which never was made for us; nor for what reaſon *Jeſus Chriſt muſt have been ſubject to it, not only for our good, but in our ſtead.* I well comprehend how *Jeſus Chriſt*, having diſperſed the ſhadows and figures of the law, hath left us free from the ſervitude of the ceremonial laws, which were but ſhadows and figures; but that it was neceſſary for ſuch intent that he himſelf ſhould have been ſubject to them in our ſtead, the conſequence would be pernicious, ſince it might be equally concluded, he had alſo ſet us free from the moral law, by his fulfilling it. All this ſhews the little exactneſs of our Reformed, more intent on ſhewing erudition in a profuſion of big empty words, than on ſpeaking with accurateneſs in their decrees.

XXXIII. Fourth deciſion againſt *Piſcator* in the Synod of *Tonins*.

I am at a loſs to know what could be the reaſon that *Piſcator*'s affair was laid ſo very much to heart by our *French reformed*, or why the Synod of *Privas* deſcended to the utmoſt precautions, by injoining the above ſubſcription. This however ought to have been deciſive: a formulary of Faith, order'd to be ſubſcribed by all the Paſtors, ſhould have explain'd the matter fully and diſtinctly. Nevertheleſs, after this ſubſcription and all the precedent decrees, it was ſtill neceſſary to make a new declaration at the Synod of *Tonins* in 1614. Four great decrees one after another, and in ſuch different terms, concerning

MDCXIV.

a particular article, and on ſo limited a ſubject, is very extraordinary: but in the new *Reformation* ſomething is always found to be added, or curtail'd, and never is their Faith explain'd ſo ſincerely, nor with ſo full a ſufficiency, as to make them ſtick preciſely to the firſt deciſions.

XXXIV. The impiety of imputed Juſtice as it is propoſed by theſe Synods.

To conclude this affair, I ſhall make a ſhort reflexion on the main of the Doctrine, and ſome reflexions on the procedure.

As to the Doctrine, I very well underſtand how the death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the payment he made to the divine juſtice of the puniſhment we owed it, is imputed to us, as you impute to a debtor the payment made by the ſurety for his acquittance. But that the perfect juſtice fulfill'd by our Lord in his Life and Death, and the abſolute obedience he render'd *to the Law*, ſhould be imputed to us, or, as they ſpeak, *allow'd*, in the ſame ſenſe that the payment of the ſurety is imputed to the debtor; is the ſame as to ſay, that he diſcharges us by his juſtice from the obligation of being good and virtuous, as by his puniſhment he diſcharges us from the obligation of undergoing that which our ſins had merited.

XXXV. Plainneſs and ſimplicity of the *Catholick* Doctrine oppoſed to the obſcurities of its contrary.

I underſtand then, and very clearly, in another kind of manner, what it avails us to have a Saviour whoſe ſanctity is infinite. For thereby I behold him the alone worthy to impetrate for us all the graces requiſite to make us juſt. But that we ſhould *formally* be made juſt, becauſe *Jeſus Chriſt* was juſt; and that his juſtice ſhould be *allow'd* us, as if he had fulfill'd the Law to our diſcharge, neither does the Scripture ſay it, nor can any man of good ſenſe comprehend it.

By this means, accounting as nothing our interior juſtice, and that which we practiſe thro' grace, they make us all in the main equally juſt, by reaſon that the juſtice of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſuppoſed

by them the only one that renders us juſt, is infinite.

They likewiſe wreſt from the *Elect* of God that crown of juſtice, the juſt Judge reſerves for each one in particular, ſince they ſuppoſe, all have the ſame juſtice which is infinite; or if at length they confeſs, this infinite juſtice is *allow'd* us in different degrees, accordingly as we approach to it more or leſs by that particular juſtice we are veſted with by Grace, 'tis, by extraordinary expreſſions, ſaying the ſame thing with the *Catholicks*.

XXXVI. Reflexion on the procedure. Scripture quoted therein only for form-ſake.

Behold in few words what I had to ſay on the Doctrine itſelf. I ſhall be ſtill more brief as to the procedure: it has nothing but what is weak in it, nothing grave, nor ſerious. The act of moſt importance is the Formulary of Subſcription injoin'd at the Synod of *Privas*: but from the very beginning, they don't ſo much as think of convicting *Piſcator* from the Scriptures. The point to be proved was, *That the obedience of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby he fulfill'd the whole law in his life and death, is allow'd us in order to make us juſt*, the which is call'd, in the Formulary of *Privas*, as before in that of *Gap*, the Imputation of the *active* juſtice.

Now, all that could be found in four Synods to prove this Doctrine and the Imputation of this *active* juſtice, by the Scripture, is, that *the Son of Man did not come to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter*: a text ſo little adapted to imputed Juſtice, that there is no diſcovering even to what purpoſe it was cited.

But ſo it is with theſe new *Reformers*; provided they name but the *Word* of God with emphaſis, and then fling out a text or two however wide from the purpoſe, they think to have anſwer'd the profeſſion they make of believing nought

nought but *Scripture* in expreſs terms. The people are dazzled with theſe big promiſes, and are not even ſenſible what a ſway the authority of their Miniſters hath over them, tho' when all is done, 'tis by that their aſſent is determin'd.

XXXVII. How the Confeſſion of Faith is quoted.

As from the word of God nothing was proved againſt *Piſcator*, ſo likewiſe their *Confeſſion* of Faith was oppoſed in vain againſt him.

For we have ſeen them, at *Privas*, immediately forego the twentieth and twenty ſecond articles, which were produced at *Gap*. The eighteenth is only inſiſted on; and as it ſpoke nothing but what was general and indeterminate, they bethought themſelves of thus remedying it in the Formulary: *I declare and proteſt that I underſtand the eighteenth article of our Confeſſion of Faith according to the ſenſe received in our Churches, approved in our Synods, and conformable to the word of God.*

The word of God would have ſufficed alone: but as that was in diſpute, to finiſh it, there was a neceſſity of coming back to the authority of things judged, and abiding by the article of the *Confeſſion* of Faith, *Underſtanding it*, not according to its preciſe terms, but *according to the ſenſe received in the Churches, and approved in the national Synods*; which finally regulates the diſpute by tradition, and ſhews us, the moſt aſſured means of underſtanding what is written, is to ſee, in what manner it always had been underſtood.

XXXVIII. They laugh at all theſe decrees. Nothing ſerious in the Reformation. *Du Moulin's*

This is what paſs'd, as to the affair of *Piſcator*, in four national Synods. The laſt of them was that of *Tonins* held in 1614, where, after the ſubſcription commanded by the Synod of *Privas*, all ſeem'd determin'd in the moſt ſerious manner imaginable: yet after all, there was nothing in it; for the year following, to go no

remonſtrance approved in the Synod of *Ay*.

further, that is, in 1615. *Du Moulin*, the moſt renown'd of all their Miniſters, openly made a jeſt of it with the approbation of a whole Synod: the matter went thus.

MDCXV. The Party of the *Reformation* oppoſite to *Lutheraniſm* had always been diſturb'd, that they could never contrive among themſelves a common *Confeſſion* to unite all their members as the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg* united all the *Lutherans*. So many different *Confeſſions* of Faith ſhew'd a fund of diviſion which weaken'd the Party. They came back therefore once more to the project of a re-union. *Du Moulin* propoſed the means in a writing ſent to the Synod of the *Iſle* of *France*. Its whole drift was to diſſemble the *Dogmata* which they could not agree in; and *Du Moulin* writes in expreſs terms, that among the things it was requiſite *to diſſemble* in this new *Confeſſion* of Faith, they ought to place *Piſcator's queſtion touching Juſtification*: a Doctrine ſo much *deteſted* by four national Synods becomes indifferent, all on a ſudden, in the opinion of this Miniſter; and the Synod of the *Iſle* of *France* with the ſame hand it had but juſt ſubſcribed *Piſcator*'s condemnation, nay the pen, as I may ſay, ſtill wet with the ink it had made this ſubſcription with, thanks Mr. *Du Moulin* by expreſs letters for this propoſal: ſuch inſtability is there in the new *Reformation*, and ſo eaſily does ſhe ſacrifice the greateſt matters to this common *Confeſſion* which ſhe never yet could compaſs.

Act. auth. Blond. Piece. vi. *p.* 72.

Ibid.

XXXIX. *Du Moulin*'s words: diſſimulation, character of Hereſy,

The words of *Du Moulin* are too remarkable not to be related. *There*, ſays he, *viz.* in this aſſembly to be held for this new *Confeſſion* of Faith, *I am for no diſputes about Religion; for minds once heated, will never be brought to yield, and each one at his return cries out victory: but*

I would have laid on the table the Confeſſion of the Churches of France, *of* England *of* Scotland, *of the* Low-countries, *of the* Palatinate, *of the* Swiſs, *&c. That out of theſe Confeſſions we might ſtrive to form* ONE COMMON *one, wherein we ſhould* DISSEMBLE *many things, without the knowledge of which one might be ſaved,* AS IS PISCATOR'S QUESTION *touching Juſtification, and many ſubtle opinions propoſed* BY ARMINIUS *about Free-will, Predeſtination, and Perſeverance of the Saints.*

own'd in the Reformation. *Ibid. n.* 4.

He adds that, as *Satan had corrupted the Church of* Rome *by her having too much,* namely, *by avarice and ambition,* ſo he *ſtrives to corrupt the Churches* of the new Reformation *by knowing too much,* to wit, by curioſity; which in reality is the temptation all Hereticks ſink under, and the ſnare they are taken in: and concludes that in the way of agreement, *they ſhall have gone the greateſt part of the journey, if they can but prevail on themſelves to be ignorant of many things, be contented with neceſſaries to ſalvation, and be eaſy in regard of others.*

XL. Reflexion on theſe words of *Du Moulin* approved n the Synod of *Ly.*

How to agree in this matter, was the queſtion: for if by ſuch things, whoſe knowledge is neceſſary to ſalvation, he underſtands thoſe which every private man is obliged to know under penalty of damnation; this common *Confeſſion* of Faith is already made in the *Creed* of the Apoſtles, and in that of *Nice.* The union made on this foundation would reach much beyond the newly *Reform'd* Churches, nor could they hinder our being comprehended in it: but, *if by the knowledge of things neceſſary to ſalvation,* he underſtands the full explanation of all the expreſly reveal'd truths of God, who hath reveal'd none whoſe knowledge does not tend to ſecure

the ſalvation of his faithful; there *to diſſemble* what the Synods have declared *expreſly reveal'd of God*, with *deteſtation* of the contrary errors, is laughing at the *Church*, is holding her decrees for impoſture even after ſigning them, is betraying both Religion and Conſcience.

XLI. *Du Moulin*'s inconſtancy.

Now when you ſhall perceive that this ſame *Du Moulin* who makes ſo ſlight a matter, not of *Piſcator*'s propoſitions only, but alſo of the much more important ones of *Arminius*, was, afterwards, one of the moſt unmerciful Cenſors of them, you will acknowledge, in his procedure, the perpetual inconſtancy of the new *Reformation*, always ſuiting her *Dogmata* to the occaſion.

XLII. Great points to be ſuppreſs'd; amongſt others, that which is contrary to the *Real Preſence*. *Ibid.* 12. 13.

To conclude the account of this project of re-union then concerted, when this common *Confeſſion* of the Party oppoſite to the *Lutherans* ſhould be finiſh'd, another was to be made alſo, but more wide and general, in which the *Lutherans* might be comprehended. *Du Moulin* here ſets forth all the ways of expreſſing themſelves ſo, as *not to condemn the Real Preſence*, *nor Ubiquity*, *nor the neceſſity of Baptiſm*, nor the reſt of the *Lutheran* tenets; and what he cannot skreen by equivocations or indeterminate expreſſions, he wraps up in ſilence the beſt he is able: he hopes to aboliſh by this means the appellation of *Lutherans*, of *Calviniſts*, of *Sacramentarians*, and by ſtreſs of equivocating, to make no other name remain for *Proteſtants*, than the common one of *the Chriſtian Church reform'd*. The whole Synod of the *Iſle* of *France* applauded this fine plan; and this union thus compleated, it would be time, proceeds this Miniſter, to ſollicit the reconciliation of the Church of *Rome:* but he doubts they ſhan't ſucceed. And with good reaſon; for we have not one inſtance of her ever approving

approving equivocations in matters of Religion, or conſenting to the ſuppreſſion of articles, ſhe once believed reveal'd by God.

XLIII. Importance of the diſputes among the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe.

But I do not allow to *Du Moulin* and the reſt of the ſame Party, that the differences in their *Confeſſions* of Faith are only in the method and expreſſions, or elſe, in polity and ceremonies; or, if in matters of Faith, in ſuch only as had not yet paſs'd into law or publick ordinance: for we may have ſeen, and ſhall ſee the contrary thro' the whole ſequel of this hiſtory. And can they ſay, for example, that the Doctrine of *Epiſcopacy* wherein the *Church* of *England* is ſo firm, and carries it to ſuch a pitch as to receive no *Calvinian* Miniſters without re-ordaining them, is a matter only of expreſſion, or at moſt, of meer polity and ceremony? Is it nothing to look on a Church as utterly deſtitute of Paſtors lawfully ordain'd? It is true, the *Calviniſts* are even with them, as we are aſſured by one of their famous Miniſters in theſe words: *If any of ours ſhould teach the diſtinction of Biſhops and Prieſts, and that there is no true Miniſtry without Biſhops; we could not ſuffer him in our Communion, that is to ſay, at leaſt in our Miniſtry.* The *Engliſh Proteſtants* therefore are excluded from it. Is this a difference of ſmall importance? This ſame Miniſter does not ſpeak ſo of it, he being agreed, that *on account of theſe differences*, which he'll have but *ſmall*, *of government and diſcipline*, *they treat one another as perſons excommunicated.* If we deſcend to particulars in theſe *Confeſſions* of Faith, how many points ſhall we find in ſome, which are not in others? And in reality, were the difference in words only, their obſtinacy would be too great not to agree after ſo frequently attempting it: if in ceremonies only, their weakneſs would be too great in inſiſting on them;

Jur. Syſt. p. 214.

Id. avis. aux Prot. n. 5. at the beginning of his *Prej. legit.*

them; but the truth is, they are all ſenſible how little they agree in the main; and if they boaſt of being well united, this only ſerves to confirm, that the union of the new Reformation is rather *Political* than *Eccleſiaſtick*.

Nothing now remains but to intreat our Brethren to conſider the great ſteps they have ſeen taken, not by private men, but by their whole *Churches* touching matters decided by them with all the authority, ſaid they, of the word of God: yet all theſe decrees came to nothing. 'Tis a way of ſpeaking in the *Reformation* always to name the *Word* of God: they believe a thing never the more for that, nor fear the leaſt to ſuppreſs what they had advanced under the ſanction of ſo great an authority; but we muſt not wonder at it. There is nothing in Religion more authentick than *Confeſſions* of Faith, nothing ought to have been better warranted by the word of God than what the *Calviniſts* had inſerted in them againſt the *Real Preſence* and the other *Dogmata* of the *Lutherans*. 'Twas not only *Calvin* that accounted, *as deteſtable, the invention of the Corporeal Preſence*; *De corporali præſentiâ deteſtabile commentum*: the whole Reformation of *France* had juſt ſaid, in Body, by the mouth of *Beza*, *that ſhe deteſted this monſter, as well the* Lutheran *Conſubſtantiation as the* Papiſtical *Tranſubſtantiation*. But there is nothing ſincere, nor ſerious, in theſe deteſtations of the *Real Preſence*, ſince they were ready to retrench all that had been ſaid againſt it, and this, not only by decree of a *national* Synod, but by a joint determination of the whole Party ſolemnly aſſembled at *Franckfort*. The Doctrine of the *figurative* ſenſe, not to ſpeak here of other points, after ſo many battles and ſuch a number of pretended *Martyrs*, would have been buried in eternal ſilence, had it

2. *Def. cont. Weſtp. opuſc.* 83. §. *n.* 9.

but

but pleaſed the *Lutherans*. *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, the *Low-countries*, in a word, whatever *Calviniſts* were the world over conſented to this ſuppreſſion. How therefore can men remain ſo wedded to a tenet, which they ſee ſo little revelation for, that it is already caſt forth from the profeſſion of *Chriſtianity* by the concurrent wiſhes of the whole Party.

THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XIII.

The Doctrine concerning ANTICHRIST, *and Variations on this ſubject from* LUTHER'S *time down to this.*

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

Variations of the Proteſtants *in regard to* Antichriſt. Luther's *vain predictions.* Calvin's *evaſion. What* Luther *lays down, as to this Doctrine, is contradicted by* Melancthon. *A new article of Faith added to the* Confeſſion *in the Synod of* Gap. *The foundation of this decree manifeſtly falſe. This Doctrine deſpicable in the* Reformation. *The abſurdities, contrarieties, and impieties of the new interpretation of prophecies propoſed by* Joſeph Mede, *and maintain'd by the Miniſter* Jurieu. *The moſt holy Doctors of the Church enroll'd amongſt Blaſphemers and Idolaters.*

I. Article added to the *Confeſſion* of Faith on purpoſe to

THE diſputes of *Arminius* raiſed great combuſtions in the *united Provinces*, and it were now time to treat of them: but as the queſtions and deciſions reſulting from them are of a more particular diſcuſſion, before I engage therein,

in, a famous decree ſhould be mention'd of the Synod of *Gap*, the account of which was deferr'd, not to interrupt the affair of *Piſcator*.

declare the Pope *Antichriſt*.

It was therefore in this Synod and in 1603, that a new decree was made to declare the *Pope Antichriſt*. This decree was counted of ſo great importance that it paſs'd into a new article of Faith, in order the thirty firſt, and took place after the thirtieth, it being there ſaid, that all true Paſtors are equal; ſo that, what gives the *Pope* the character of *Antichriſt*, is his ſtyling himſelf *Superior* to other Biſhops. If it be ſo, 'tis a great while ſince *Antichriſt* has reign'd: nor do I conceive why the *Reformation* has ſo long deferr'd enrolling in the catalogue of this great number of *Antichriſts* ſhe has introduced, St. *Innocent*, St. *Leo*, St. *Gregory*, and the reſt of the *Popes* whoſe Epiſtles ſhew us the exerciſe of this *Superiority* in every page.

II. *Luther's* empty prophecies, and *Calvin's* as empty ſhift. *Sup. l.* 1. *n.* 31.

Now when *Luther* ſo greatly exaggerated this new Doctrine of the *Antichriſtian* Papacy, he did it with that prophetick air above remark'd in him. We have ſeen, in what a ſtrain he foretold the down-fall of the *Papal* power; and how his preaching was that breath of *Jeſus Chriſt* which was to overthrow *the man of ſin*; without arms, without violence, by himſelf alone, without any intervening power: ſo dazzled, ſo intoxicated was he with the unexpected effect of his eloquence! The whole *Reformation* was in expectation of the ſpeedy accompliſhment of this new prophecy. But when they ſaw the *Pope* ſtill keep his ground (for many more than *Luther* will ſplit againſt this rock) and that the *Pontifical* power, ſo far from tumbling at the blaſt of this falſe Prophet, maintain'd itſelf againſt the conſpiracy of ſo many revolted powers, inſomuch, that the attachment of God's people to this ſacred

authority, which makes the band of their unity, redoubled rather than was weaken'd by ſo numerous a defection, they laugh'd at the illuſion of *Luther*'s prophecies, and at their weak credulity who took them for celeſtial oracles. Yet *Calvin* had his evaſion ready when he ſaid to one that ridiculed them, that, *tho' the body of the Papacy ſubſiſted ſtill, the ſpirit and life had forſaken it ſo as to leave nothing but a dead carcaſe.* Thus men will run the hazard of a prophecy, and if the event does not anſwer, a flaſh of wit brings them off.

Gratul. ad Ven. Presbyt. opuſc. p. 331.

III. *Daniel* and St. *Paul* brought in to no purpoſe.

But they tell us with a ſerious air, it is a prophecy not of *Luther*'s, but of the *Scripture*, and evidently to be ſeen (ſo it ſhould ſince 'tis an article of Faith) in St. *Paul*, and in *Daniel*. As for the *Revelations*, *Luther* did not think fit to employ this book, nor receive it into his *Canon*. But for St. *Paul*, what could be more evident, ſeeing that the Pope *ſitteth in the Temple of God?* In the Church, ſays *Luther*, that is queſtionleſs in the *true* Church, the *true* Temple of God; it being unexampled in Scripture, that a Temple of *Idols* was ever call'd by this name: ſo that the firſt ſtep they muſt make towards a right underſtanding how the *Pope* is *Antichriſt*, is to acknowledge that *Church* wherein he preſides, for the *true Church*. What follows is not leſs manifeſt. Who does not ſee how *the Pope ſheweth himſelf that he is God, exalting himſelf above all that is worſhipped?* chiefly in that Sacrifice ſo much condemn'd by our *Reformers*, in which, for proof that he is God, the *Pope* confeſſes his ſins with all the people; raiſes himſelf above every thing by intreating all the Saints and all his Brethren to beg forgiveneſs for him; alſo by declaring afterwards, and in the moſt holy part of this Sacrifice, that he hopes this forgiveneſs, *not thro'*

2 *Theſſal.* ii. 4. *Sup. l.* III. *n.* 50.

thro' his own merits, but thro' the bounty and grace, and in the name, of Jesus Christ our Lord? A new kind of *Antichrist*, that obliges all his adherents to place their hope in *Jesus Christ*, and for always having been the most firm assertor of his Divinity, is placed by the *Socinians* at the head of all *Antichrists*, as the chief of them all, and as the most incompatible with their Doctrine.

IV. Protestants discredit themselves by this Doctrine.

But again, if such a dream can deserve our serious attention, which of all these Popes is *that man of sin and the son of perdition* specified by St. *Paul?* We never meet in Scripture with the like expressions unless to characterize some particular person. No matter for that: all the *Popes* since St. *Gregory*, as they said heretofore, and as they say at present, all the *Popes* since St. *Leo*, are *this man of sin*, *this son of perdition*, and this *Antichrist*, tho' they converted to Christianity, *England*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*: so that all these countries, by embracing the *Reformation*, did publickly acknowledge that they had received *Christianity* from *Antichrist* himself.

V. Illusions with regard to the *Revelations*.

Who can relate here the mysteries our *Reform'd* have found in the *Revelations*, and the deceitful prodigies of the *Beast*, which are the miracles *Rome* attributes to Saints and their Relicks: to the end that St. *Austin*, and St. *Chrysostom*, and St. *Ambrose*, and the rest of the Fathers who, they allow, publish'd the like miracles with unanimous consent, may be the precursors of *Antichrist?* What shall I say of the character which the *Beast* stamps on the forehead, which in their language means the sign even of the Cross of *Jesus Christ*, and the holy *Chrism* which is employ'd to imprint it: to the end that St. *Cyprian*, and all the other Bishops before and after who

who moſt undoubtedly, as is confeſſed, did apply this character, may be *Antichriſts*; and the faithful, who bore it ever ſince the origin of Chriſtianity, be ſtigmatiz'd with the badge of the *Beaſt*; and the ſign of the Son of Man, become the ſeal of his adverſary. 'Tis irkſom to relate all their impieties, and for my part, I am verily perſuaded, 'twas theſe impertinencies and profanations of the holy book of the *Revelations*, which were ſeen increaſing without end in the new *Reformation*, that brought the Miniſters themſelves, weary of hearing them, to a reſolution in the national Synod of *Saumur*, *that no Paſtor ſhould undertake the expoſition of the Revelations without the advice of a Provincial Synod.*

Syn. of Saumur. 1596.

VI. This Doctrine concerning *Antichriſt* was not till then, in any one act of the Reformation: *Luther* places it among the *Smalkaldick* articles, but *Melanctbon* oppoſes it. *S. l.* IV. *n.* 38. *S. l.* III. *n.* 39. *L.* V. *n.* 24. 1603.

Now although the Miniſters had never ceaſed to animate the people by theſe odious notions of *Antichriſtianiſm*, they had never ventured hitherto to let them appear in the *Confeſſions* of Faith, tho' never ſo outrageous againſt the *Pope*. *Luther* alone had placed, among the articles of *Smalkald*, a long article concerning the *Papacy*, more reſembling a ſatyrical declamation than a dogmatick article, and in it inſerted this Doctrine: but this example was follow'd by none elſe. More than this, when *Luther* propoſed the article, *Melanctbon* refuſed to ſubſcribe it, and we have heard him ſay with the general conſent of the whole Party, that the *Pope*'s Superiority was of ſo great benefit to the *Church*, that were it not eſtabliſh'd, it ought to be ſo: nevertheleſs, 'twas preciſely in this *Superiority* that our *Reform'd* acknowledged the character of *Antichriſt* at the Synod of *Gap* in 1603.

VII. Deciſion of the Synod of *Gap*. Its falſe foundation.

There they ſaid, that the Biſhop of *Rome pretended a dominion over all the Churches and Paſtors, and ſtyled himſelf God.* In what place? in what Council? in what profeſſion of Faith? 'tis what

what they ſhould have ſpecified, this being the foundation of the decree. But they durſt not do it, for then it would have appear'd, they had nothing to produce but the words of ſome impertinent interpreter, *viz.* that, in a certain manner, and in the ſenſe God ſpeaks to Judges, *Ye are Gods*, the Pope might be call'd God. *Grotius* laugh'd at this objection of his Party, asking them, ſince what time the *Hyperboles* of ſome flatterer were taken for received *Dogmata?* Nor indeed, we may ſafely ſay it, has this reproach of the Pope's *naming himſelf God*, any other foundation than this. On this foundation they decide that *he is properly the Antichriſt, and the Son of perdition pointed at in the word of God, and the beaſt cloath'd with ſcarlet whom the Lord will diſcomfit, as he promiſed, and as he has already begun to do:* and this is what was to make the thirty firſt article of Faith for our pretended-reform'd of *France*, according to the decree of *Gap, chapt. Concerning the Confeſſion of Faith.* This new article had for title: *Article omitted.* The Synod of *Rochelle* gave orders in 1607, that this article of *Gap*, *as moſt true and conformable to what was foretold in Scripture, and which we ſee in our days* MANIFESTLY FULFILLED, *ſhould be inſerted in the copies of the Confeſſion of Faith which were to be printed anew.* But it was judged of dangerous conſequence to ſuffer a Religion, tolerated under certain conditions and under a determinate *Confeſſion* of Faith, to multiply its articles as its Miniſters ſhould think fit, and a ſtop was put to the effect of the Synod's decree. MDCVII.

VIII. Occaſion of this decree.

It may be ask'd perhaps, what ſpirit mov'd them to this novelty. The ſecret is diſcover'd by the Synod itſelf. We there read theſe words in the Chapter concerning Diſcipline: *Foraſmuch*

as many are uneasy for having call'd the Pope Antichriſt; the company proteſts, this is the common Belief and Confeſſion of US ALL, by ill luck omitted nevertheleſs in all the precedent editions, *and the foundation of our ſeparating from the Church of* Rome, *a foundation drawn from the Scripture, and ſeal'd with the blood of ſo many Martyrs.* Wretched Martyrs, who ſpill their blood for a tenet abſolutely forgotten in all the *Confeſſions* of Faith! But it's true, of late it's become the moſt important of all, and the moſt eſſential ſubject of the breach.

IX. This Doctrine relating to *Antichriſt*, how deſpiſed in the Reformation.

Let us now hearken to an author, who alone makes more noiſe in his whole Party than all the reſt, and whom they ſeem to have intruſted with the whole defence of the cauſe, none but he any longer entering the liſts. Here is what he ſays in that famous book intitled, *the accompliſhment of the prophecies.* He complains preferably to every thing elſe, *that this controverſy concerning Antichriſt had languiſh'd a whole Century, and was abandoned thro' policy, and in obedience to Popiſh Princes. Had this great and important truth, that Popery is Antichriſtianiſm, been placed before the eyes of the Reform'd, they would not have fallen into that remiſſneſs we ſee them in at this day. But it was ſo long ago ſince they had heard the thing mention'd, that they had quite forgotten it.* Here then is one of the *fundamentals* of the *Reformation*; and nevertheleſs, continues this Author, it ſo happen'd thro' a manifeſt blindneſs, *that we were ſolely bent on controverſies which were but* ACCESSORIES, *and neglected this, that Popery is the Antichriſtian Empire.* The more he ſets to the ſubject, the warmer his imagination grows. *In my judgment,* proceeds he, *this is ſo capital a truth, that, without it, we cannot be true Chriſtians.* And in another

Avis. T. I. *p.* 48.

Ibi. p. following.

Ibid. Acc. des Proph. I. *part. ch.* xvi. *p.* 292.

another place: *Verily*, ſays he, *I ſo greatly account this an article of a true Chriſtian's Faith, that I cannot hold thoſe for good Chriſtians who deny this truth, after that the event and labours of ſo many great men have ſet it in ſo evident a light.* Here is a new *fundamental* article which they had not as yet thought on, nay on the contrary, which the Reformation *had unfortunately abandon'd*: for adds he, *This controverſy was ſo thoroughly extinguiſh'd, that our adverſaries believed it dead, and imagin'd, we had renounced this pretenſion,* AND THIS FOUNDATION *of our whole Reform.* *Avis.* &c. *Ibid. p.* 49. 50.

X. Confuted by the learnedſt Proteſtants, *Grotius*, *Hammond*, *Jurieu* himſelf.

For my own part thus much is true, that I never in my life have met with any man of good ſenſe among our *Proteſtants*, that laid ſtreſs on this article: in ſincerity, they were aſhamed of ſo great an exceſs, and more in pain how to excuſe the tranſports of their own people that introduced this prodigy into the world, than we were to impugn it. Their ableſt men freed us from this labour. It's well known what the learned *Grotius* wrote on this ſubject, and how clearly he has demonſtrated that the *Pope* could not be *Antichriſt*. If the authority of *Grotius* ſeem not weighty enough to our *Reform'd*, becauſe truly this learned man, by ſtudying carefully the Scriptures, and reading the ancient Eccleſiaſtical authors, diſabuſed himſelf by little and little of the errors he was born in; Doctor *Hammond*, that learned *Engliſh-man*, was not ſuſpected in the Party. Nevertheleſs, he took no leſs pains than *Grotius* to deſtroy the frenſies of *Proteſtants* touching the *Antichriſtianiſm* charged on the *Pope*. *Ibid. p.* 4. *acc.* 1. *part. ch.* xvi. *p.* 291.

Theſe authors with ſome others, whom our Miniſter is pleaſed to call *the ſhame and reproach, not only of the Reformation, but alſo of the Chriſtian* *Avis. p.* 4.

ſtian name, were in every body's hands, and received the praiſes not only of the *Catholicks*, but likewiſe of all the able and moderate men amongſt *Proteſtants*. Mr. *Jurieu* himſelf is moved with their authority. For which reaſon, in his book of *lawful Prepoſſeſſions*, he delivers all he ſays of *Antichriſt* as a thing not unanimouſly received, as a thing *undecided*, as a picture *whoſe lineaments are applicable to different ſubjects, ſome whereof have already happen'd, and others perchance are to come.* Accordingly, the uſe he makes of it is as of *a Prepoſſeſſion againſt Popery*, not as *a Demonſtration*. But now the caſe is quite alter'd: what was *undecided* before, is now become *the ground-work of the whole Reformation: for certainly*, ſays our Author, *I do not believe this Reformation otherwiſe well grounded than for this reaſon, that the Church we have abandoned is true Antichriſtianiſm.* Let them no longer perplex themſelves, as hitherto, in ſearch of their *fundamental* articles: here is the *Foundation* of *Foundations*, without which the *Reformation* would have been unjuſtifiable? What will then become of it if this Doctrine, *Popery is true Antichriſtianiſm*, falls of itſelf barely in the expoſing it? This will be perceived clearly by ever ſo little attention to what follows.

Prej. leg. 1. part. ch. iv. p. 72. 73.

Ibid. p. 50.

XI. Expoſition of the Miniſter *Jurieu's* Doctrine.

There needs only to conſider that the whole myſtery conſiſts in clearly ſhewing, what it is that conſtitutes this pretended *Antichriſtianiſm*. The next point to be fix'd, is the beginning of it, its duration, and its period, the moſt ſpeedy that's poſſible in order to comfort thoſe who are wearied with ſo tedious an expectation. He thinks he has found, in the *Revelations*, an infallible light for the unfolding of this ſecret, and ſuppoſes, by taking the days for years, that the twelve hundred and ſixty days aſſign'd in the

Rev. xi. xii. xiii.

Revelations

Revelations for *Antichriſt*'s perſecution, make twelve hundred and ſixty years: let us take all this for truth, for our buſineſs here is not to diſpute, but relate hiſtorically the Doctrine given us for the ground-work of the *Reformation*.

XII. Mr. *Jurieu* labours hard to abridge the time of his pretended prophecies.

At the firſt ſtep, he is very much puzzled about theſe twelve hundred and ſixty years of perſecution. Perſecution is very wearifom, and gladly would he find a ſpeedy end put to it: 'tis what our Author openly manifeſts; for ſince what happen'd laſt in *France*, *my ſoul being caſt*, ſays he, *into the deepeſt abyſs of grief that I ever felt in my life, I was willing for my comfort to find grounds to hope a ſpeedy deliverance for the Church*. Bent on this deſign he goes to ſearch *even in the fountain-head of the ſacred Oracles, to ſee*, ſays he, *whether the Holy Ghoſt would not teach me, in regard to* THE APPROACHING DOWNFAL *of the Antichriſtian Empire, ſomething more ſure and more preciſe than what other interpreters had diſcover'd in them.* *Avis. p.* 4. *Ibid.* 7. 8.

XIII. This author owns his prevention.

Men generally find, right or wrong, whatever they have a mind in prophecies, that is, in obſcure places and enigmatick ſayings, when violent prejudices accompany them. This author acknowledges his own: *I'll own it*, ſays he, *with ſincerity, that I approach'd theſe divine Oracles full of my prejudices, and intirely diſpoſed to believe that we were near to the end of the Reign and Empire of Antichriſt*. As he confeſſes himſelf preſſeſſed, he deſires alſo to be read *with favourable preventions*: if ſo, he is perſuaded *you can't but enter into his notions*; all will go glibly on with this allowance. *Ibid. p.* 8. *P.* 53.

XIV. He forſakes his guides, and why.

Here is he then well convicted, by his own confeſſion, that he ſet to reading the word of God, not with a mind diſengaged from his prejudices, and thereby in a fit temper to receive the

impreſſions of divine light, but on the contrary, with a mind *full of its prejudices*, diſhearten'd with perſecutions, abſolutely determin'd to find the end of them, and the approaching overthrow of this ſo irkſom an Empire. He finds all the Interpreters put it off to a diſtant date. *Joſeph Mede*, whom he had choſen for his guide, and who had indeed ſet out ſo much to his liking, loſt his way at laſt: for, whereas he hoped by the means of ſo good a guide *to ſee the perſecution ended in five and twenty or thirty years time*; to accompliſh what *Mede* propoſes, he muſt ſtay many ages. *Thus are we*, ſays he, *very much retarded, and greatly remote from our reckoning: we muſt ſtill wait theſe many ages.* This was too much for a man in ſuch haſte to ſee an end, and to publiſh better tidings to his Brethren.

Accomp. 2. part. ch. iv. *p.* 60.

XV. The impoſſibility of ſettling the beginning of theſe twelve hundred and ſixty years, which the *Reformation* allows to the perſecution of *Antichriſt*. *Dan.* xi. 38. *Hiſt. des Mart. by Creſp. l.* 1.

But after all, do what he will, he's obliged to find full twelve hundred and ſixty years of perſecution. To give a ſpeedy end to them, it's neceſſary to date the beginning early. The greateſt number of the *Calviniſts* had begun this reckoning from the time we began, as they pretended, to ſay *Maſs*, and adore the *Euchariſt*; for that was the God *Mauzzim* whom *Antichriſt* was to worſhip, according to *Daniel*. Among other fine allegories, there was ſomewhat of a reſemblance in ſound, betwixt *Mauzzim* and the *Maſs*. *Creſpin* makes a mighty ſtir with this in his hiſtory of the *Martyrs*, and the whole Party is raviſh'd with the invention. But how! place the Adoration of the *Euchariſt* in the firſt ages? 'tis too ſoon: in the tenth, or eleventh, in *Berengarius*'s time? that may be done; thoſe are ages the *Reformation* is little concern'd about: but after all, ſuppoſing theſe twelve hundred and ſixty whole years to commence in the tenth or eleventh Century, there would remain ſtill ſix hun-

dred

dred and ſixty years of troubleſome times to rub thro': our author is diſheartened at this, and his wit would be of little ſervice, could it not furniſh him with ſome more favourable expedient.

XVI. New date given to the birth of *Antichriſt* by this Miniſter in his *Prepoſſeſſions.*

'Till now the Party had ſhewn a regard for St. *Gregory*. It's true, *Maſſes* were diſcover'd in him abundantly, even for the *Dead*, *Invocations* of Saints in plenty, a number of *Relicks*; and what is very diſagreable to the *Reformation*, a ſtrong perſuaſion of the authority of his *See*. Yet for all this, his holy Doctrine and holy life made him be rever'd. *Luther* and *Calvin* had call'd him the laſt Biſhop of *Rome*: his Succeſſors were nothing but *Popes* and *Antichriſts*: but as for him, it was not feaſible to make him of that number. Our author was more hardy, and in his *lawful Prepoſſeſſions* (for he began there to be inſpired to interpret the *Revelations*) after frequently deciding with all his Interpreters, that *Antichriſt* muſt begin with the ruin of the *Roman* Empire, he declared, *this Empire ceaſed* when *Rome* ceaſed to be *the capital City of the Provinces, when this Empire was diſmember'd into ten parts; which happen'd at the end of the fifth Century, and at the beginning of the ſixth.* This he repeats four or five times that you may not doubt of it, and at laſt concludes thus: *It is then certain, that at the beginning of the ſixth age, the corruptions of the Church were great enough, and the pride of the Biſhop of* Rome *already riſen high enough, to make us fix* ON THIS ÆRA *for the firſt birth of the Antichriſtian Empire.* And again: *one may well reckon for the birth of the Antichriſtian Empire a time, wherein were already ſeen all the ſprouts of future corruption and tyranny.* And finally: *this diſmembring of the Roman Empire into ten pieces happen'd about the year* 500. *a litle before the end of the fifth Century, and at*

Prej. leg. 1. *part. p.* 82.

Ibid. p. 83. 85.

Ibi. p. 128.

the beginning of the ſixth. It is then manifeſt, we muſt begin from thence to count the twelve hundred and ſixty years aſſign'd for the duration of the *Popiſh* Empire.

XVII. The times do not tally right with it, by reaſon of the Sanctity of the then *Popes.*

Præf. Coll. decret. cod. Hiſt. T. 1. *p.* 183.

By ill luck, the Church of *Rome* is not found ſufficiently corrupted in thoſe days to make an *Antichriſtian* Church of her; for the *Popes* of thoſe times were the moſt zealous defenders of the myſteries of the *Incarnation* and *Redemption* of mankind, and withal as illuſtrious for ſanctity as ever the Church had. We need but hear the encomium which *Dionyſius Parvus*, ſo learned and pious a man, gives St. *Gelaſius* the Pope, who was ſeated in St. *Peter*'s Chair from the year 492, to the year 496. We ſhall there ſee, *that the whole life* of this holy Pope *was either Reading, or Prayer:* his Faſting, his Poverty, and in the Poverty of his Life, his immenſe Charity to the poor, his Doctrine in ſhort, and his ſo great watchfulneſs, that made him account the leaſt remiſſneſs in a Paſtor of dangerous conſequence to Souls, form'd in him ſuch a Biſhop as St. *Paul* deſcribes. This is the *Pope* whom this learned man beheld in the Chair of St. *Peter* towards the end of the fifth Century, when, it ſeems, *Antichriſt* was born. Even a hundred years after him, St. *Gregory* the *Great* was ſeated in this Chair, and the whole Church, in the *Eaſt* no leſs than in the *Weſt*, was repleniſh'd with the odour of his virtues, amongſt which his humility and zeal ſhone conſpicuous. Nevertheleſs, he was ſeated in the Chair, which *began to be the ſeat of Pride, and that of the Beaſt.* Theſe are fine beginnings for *Antichriſt.* Had theſe *Popes* been pleaſed to be ſomething more wicked, and defended with leſs zeal the myſtery of *Jeſus Chriſt* and the cauſe of piety, the ſyſtem would fit better: but every thing is adjuſted; *Antichriſt* then was only in

Prej. leg. 1. *part. p.* 147.

Ibid. 128.

in his minority, and in this nonage nothing hinder'd his being a Saint and a moſt zealous defender of *Jeſus Chriſt* and his kingdom. Theſe were our Author's diſcoveries at the beginning of the year 1685, and when he compoſed his *lawful Prepoſſeſſions*.

XVIII. The Author changes his mind, and is for advancing the overthrow of *Antichriſt*.

But upon his obſerving, towards the end of the ſame year, the revocation of the *Edict* of *Nantes* with all the conſequences of it, this great event made him change his prophecies, and advance the time of the downfall of *Antichriſt*'s kingdom. The Author would have it in his power to ſay, he hoped to live to be an eye-witneſs to it. In 1686, he publiſh'd his great work of the *accompliſhment of the prophecies*, wherein he determines the period of the *Antichriſtian* perſecution at the year 1710, or at leaſt, in 1714, or 1715. But he informs his reader, that, after all, he thinks it a difficult matter to mark preciſely the year: *God*, ſays he, *in his prophecies*, LOOKS NOT INTO MATTERS SO MINUTELY: ſtupendous maxim! nevertheleſs, *one may ſay*, proceeds he, *this muſt happen betwixt the year* 1710, *and the year* 1715. This we may depend upon, and, what he calls perſecution, will be at an end for certain, at the beginning of the eighteenth Century: ſo we draw near the point; ſcarce five and twenty years remain. Which of the zealous *Calviniſts* would not have patience, and wait ſo ſhort a term?

Acc. 2. part. ch. 2. p. 18. 28.

XIX. He is obliged to make him be born in the perſon of St. *Leo the Great*.

The truth is, there is ſome difficulty in the thing: for the more he advances the end of the twelve hundred and ſixty years, the higher muſt he carry the beginning of them, and ſettle this Epoch of the *Antichriſtian* Empire in ſtill purer times. Thus to finiſh in 1710, or thereabouts, he muſt have begun the *Antichriſtian* perſecution in the year 450, *or* 54, under the Pontificate of St.

St. *Leo*; and accordingly 'tis what the Author chuſes after *Joſeph Mede*, who, in our days, has made himſelf famous in *England* by his learned extravagancies on the *Revelations*, and the other prophecies employ'd againſt us.

XX. Abſurdity of this ſyſtem.

It ſeems as if God had a deſign to confound theſe Impoſtors by filling the Chair of St. *Peter* with the greateſt men and greateſt Saints it ever had, at the time pitch'd upon to make it the ſeat of *Antichriſt*. Can one but conſider the letters and ſermons wherein St. *Leo* inſpires, even at this day, ſo forcibly into his readers the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and believe that an *Antichriſt* was the author of them? But what other *Pope* hath impugn'd more vigorouſly the enemies of *Jeſus Chriſt*, hath maintain'd with more zeal both Chriſtian grace, and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and, infine, given to the world a more holy Doctrine with more holy examples? He, whoſe ſanctity made him be rever'd by the barbarous *Attila*, and ſaved *Rome* from maſſacre, is the firſt *Antichriſt*, and Father of all the reſt. 'Twas *Antichriſt* that held the fourth general *Council* ſo reſpected by all good Chriſtians: 'twas *Antichriſt* that dictated the divine letter to *Flavian* which was the admiration of the whole Church, wherein the myſtery of *Jeſus Chriſt* is ſo ſublimely and ſo diſtinctly explain'd, that the Fathers of this great *Council* cried out at each word, *Peter hath ſpoken by the mouth of* Leo: whereas, they ſhould have ſaid, by his mouth *Antichriſt* hath ſpoken, or rather, *Peter and Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf have ſpoken by the mouth of *Antichriſt*. Muſt not a man have drank deep, even to the dregs of that infatuating cup, the potion of the lying Prophets of old, and turn'd his head quite giddy with its fumes to vent to the world ſuch delirious exorbitancies?

XXI. Idle ſhift of the Miniſter.

At this part of the prophecy, the new Prophet foreſaw the indignation of mankind, and that of *Proteſtants* no leſs than *Catholicks:* for he is forced to own, that *from* Leo *the Firſt*, *to* Gregory *the Great* incluſively, *Rome* had a great many good Biſhops, of whom he muſt make as many *Antichriſts*; and hopes to ſatisfy the world by ſaying, they were *Antichriſts commenced.* But after all, if the twelve hundred and ſixty years of *Antichriſtian* perſecution begin then, he muſt either abandon the ſenſe he gives to the prophecy, or ſay, that then *the holy city was trod under foot by the Gentiles: the two witneſſes*, namely, *the ſmall number of the faithful*, were put to death; *the woman with child*, to wit, the Church, *was driven into the wilderneſs*, and deprived at leaſt of the publick exerciſe of Religion: that from that time, in ſhort, began the execrable *blaſphemies of the Beaſt againſt the name of God, and againſt all thoſe that dwell in heaven, and the war ſhe waged againſt the Saints.* For it is ſet down expreſly in St. *John*, that all this was to continue a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days, which he will have to be years. To make theſe blaſphemies, this war, this *Antichriſtian* perſecution, and this triumph of error to begin in the Church of *Rome* even from the time of St. *Leo*, St. *Gelaſius* and St. *Gregory*, and make it hold on for the ſpace of all theſe ages, when unqueſtionably that *Church* was the model of all other *Churches* not in Faith alone, but alſo in piety and diſcipline, is the height of all extravagancy.

Ibid. p. 39. 40. 41.

Ibid. 41.

Rev. xi. 2.

Acc. des Proph. 2. *part. ch.* x. *p.* 159.

Rev. xii. 6. 14.

Ibid. xiii. 5. 6.

XXII. Two bad characters imputed to St. *Leo.*

But again, what has St. *Leo* done to deſerve to be the firſt *Antichriſt?* he could not be *Antichriſt* for nothing. Here are the three characters he gives to *Antichriſtianiſm*, which muſt be made to agree with the time of St. *Leo*, and with

Ibid. ch. 2. p. 18. 28. with him in perſon; *Idolatry*, *Tyranny*, *and Corruption of manners*. How deplorable, to be reduced to defend St. *Leo* againſt *Chriſtians*, from all theſe reproaches! but charity conſtrains us to it. Let us begin by the Corruption of manners. But then, nothing is objected againſt him on this head: nothing can be found in the life of this great *Pope* but examples of ſanctity. In his time, eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was ſtill in its full vigour, and St. *Leo* was the ſupport of it. Thus you ſee how manners were corrupted. Let us run over the other characters, that of Tyranny next, in as few words. Ever ſince the time of St. *Leo*, objects our Author, *who was ſitting in the year* 450, *to that of St.* Gregory *the Great*; *the Biſhops of* Rome *have labour'd to arrogate to themſelves a ſuperiority over the univerſal Church*: but was it St. *Leo* that began? he dares not ſay it: all he ſays is, *he labour'd at it*: for he knows full well that St. *Celeſtin* his Predeceſſor, and St. *Boniface*, and St. *Zozimus*, and St. *Innocent*, to go no further back at preſent, acted no otherwiſe than St. *Leo*, nor did leſs maintain the authority of St. *Peter*'s Chair. Why ſhould they not then be of the number, at leaſt, of theſe *Antichriſts commenced*. The reaſon is, becauſe, had he began from their time, the twelve hundred and threeſcore years would have been elapſed already, and the event would have belied the ſenſe he's reſolved to give the *Revelations*. Thus do men impoſe on the world, and turn the divine Oracles to their own fancy.

Ibid. p. 41.

XXIII. St. *Leo*'s idolatry. The *Mauzzims* of *Daniel* applied to the Saints.

But it's time we ſhould come to the third character of the *Beaſt*, which our adverſaries are determin'd to find in St. *Leo*, and in the whole Church of his time. There is a new *Paganiſm*, an *Idolatry* worſe than that of the *Gentiles*, in the honour pay'd to Saints and their Relicks. 'Tis on

on this third character the chief ſtreſs is laid: *Joſeph Mede* has the honour of this invention, who interpreting theſe words of *Daniel*, *he ſhall honour the God* Mauzzim, to wit, as he tranſlates it, the God of forces: and again: *he ſhall do it to fence* Mauzzim *with a ſtrange God*; underſtands this of *Antichriſt*, who ſhall call the Saints his *Fortreſſes*.

Expoſ. of Dan. ch. xi. *n.* 36. &c. Book iii. *ch.* xvi. xvii. *p.* 666. & *ſeq.* *Dan.* xi. 38. 39.

But how can he find that *Antichriſt* will give the Saints this name? In this, ſays he, that St. *Baſil* hath preach'd to all his people, or rather to the whole univerſe, who have read and approved his divine ſermons, that the forty Martyrs, whoſe Relicks they poſſeſſed, *were towers whereby the city was defended.* St. *Chryſoſtom* hath alſo ſaid, *that the Relicks of St.* Peter *and* Paul *were more ſecure towers for* Rome *than ten thouſand ramparts.* Is not this, concludes *Mede*, raiſing up the Gods *Mauzzims?* St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtom* are the *Antichriſts* who erect theſe *Fortreſſes* againſt the true God.

XXIV. St. *Baſil* and the reſt of the Saints of thoſe times accuſed of the ſame Idolatry. *Ib. c.* xvii. *p.* 673. *Baſ. orat. in* 40. *Mart.* *Id. in Maur. Mart.* *Chryſ. Hom.* 32. *ad Rom.*

Yet not they alone: the Poet *Fortunatus* hath ſung after St *Chryſoſtom*, *that* Rome *had two ramparts and two towers in St.* Peter *and St.* Paul. St. *Gregory* has ſaid as much of them. St. *Chryſoſtom* repeats again, *that the holy Martyrs of* Egypt *protect us like impregnable ramparts, like unſhaken rocks, againſt our inviſible enemies.* And *Mede* ſtill replies, *are not theſe* Mauzzims? he adds that St. *Hilary* diſcovers likewiſe our bulwarks in the Angels. He cites St. *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* Brother to St. *Baſil*, *Gennadius*, *Evagrius*, St. *Eucherius*, *Theodoret*, and the prayers of the *Greeks* in proof of the ſame. He does not forget that the *Croſs* is call'd our defence, and that our common expreſſion is, *we fortify ourſelves with the ſign of the Croſs*; *Munire ſe ſigno Crucis:* the *Croſs* comes in amongſt the reſt, and this

XXV. Other Saints likewiſe Idolaters. *Ibid. p.* 673. *Hom.* 70. *ad Pop. Ant.* *Orat. in* 40. *Mart.* *Ibid. p.* 678.

this ſacred ſymbol of our ſalvation muſt alſo be rank'd amongſt the *Mauzzims* of *Antichriſt*.

XXVI. St. *Ambroſe* added to the reſt by Mr. *Jurieu*. *Acc. des Pro.* 1. *part. ch.* xiv. *p.* 248. 249. *& ſeq.* *Ibi. p.* 245. *Mede. ubi ſup. ch.* xvi.

Mr. *Jurieu* ſets off all theſe fine paſſages of *Joſeph Mede* to the beſt advantage; and not to be a meer tranſcriber, adds to them St. *Ambroſe*, who ſays, the Saints *Gervaſe* and *Protaſe* were the tutelary Angels of the City of *Milan*. He might alſo have named St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Auſtin*, and in ſhort, all the Fathers who abound in as ſtrong expreſſions. All this is making as many Gods of the Saints, becauſe it's making of them *Ramparts* and *Rocks* where is found a ſecure ſanctuary, names which the Scripture appropriates to God.

XXVII. The Miniſters cannot believe what they ſay themſelves.

Jer. i. 18.

Theſe men know well in their own conſciences, that the Fathers, whom they quote, never underſtood it ſo: but meant only to ſay, that God gives us in the Saints, as heretofore he did in *Moſes*, in *David*, and in *Jeremiah*, invincible protectors, whoſe acceptable prayers are a more ſecure defence to us, than a thouſand ramparts: for he is able to make of his Saints, when he pleaſes, and in the manner that he pleaſes, *impregnable fortreſſes, iron pillars, and brazen walls*. Our Doctors, I ſay again, are convinced in their hearts, that is the ſenſe of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil* when they call the Saints *Towers* and *Fortreſſes*. From theſe examples they ought to learn, not to take in a criminal ſenſe other as ſtrong expreſſions, and withal as innocent as theſe: and at leaſt, not to carry impiety ſo far as to make theſe holy Doctors the Founders of *Antichriſtian* Idolatry, this being a charge equally atrocious on the whole *Church* of their times, whoſe Doctrine and Worſhip they did but propound. Nor indeed ought we to imagine our Miniſters believed ſeriouſly what they ſaid, and judged ſo many Saints no better than *Bla*ſ*phe-*

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mers and *Idolaters*. All we can conclude from thence is, that they ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported beyond all bounds, and without enlightning the underſtanding, ſeek only to kindle hatred in the heart.

XXVIII. Why they dont make St. *Baſil* the beginner of *Antichriſtianiſm* as well as St. *Leo*. *Acc.* 2. *part. p.* 23.

But after all, if we muſt hold for *Antichriſts* all theſe pretended worſhippers of *Mauzzims*, why do they defer to St. *Leo*'s time, the beginning of the *Antichriſtian* Empire? Let them ſhew me that in this *Pope's* days, more was done for the Saints than acknowledging them for *Towers* and impregnable *Fortreſſes?* Let them ſhew me, more truſt was put in their prayers, more honour paid to their Relicks? You ſay that in 360, and 390, the Worſhip of creatures, that is, in your notion, that of the Saints, was not as yet eſtabliſh'd in the publick ſervice: ſhew me, it was more or leſs ſo in St. *Leo*'s time? You ſay, in theſe ſame years of 360, and 390, great precautions were taken not to confound the ſervice of God with the ſervice of creatures then commencing: ſhew me, leſs was taken afterwards, and eſpecially in St. *Leo*'s Pontificate? But who ever could have confounded things ſo well diſtinguiſh'd? We demand things of God; we demand prayers of the Saints: who ever dreamt of asking either prayers of God, or the things themſelves of the Saints as of thoſe that gave them? Shew then that in St. *Leo*'s time, theſe ſo diſtinct characters were confounded, the ſervice of God, with the honour given to his ſervants for love of him? you never will undertake it. Why therefore ſtop in ſo fair a way? dare to utter what you think. Begin by St. *Baſil* and St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* the reign of *Antichriſtian* Idolatry, and the blaſphemies of the *Beaſt* againſt the *Eternal*, and againſt all that dwells in heaven: turn into blaſphemies againſt God and againſt the Saints, what has been

ſaid

ſaid ever ſince that time of the glory God imparted to his ſervants in the Church: St. *Baſil* is no better than St. *Leo*; nor the Church more privileged at the end of the fourth age, than fifty years after in the middle of the fifth. But I ſee the anſwer you make me in your heart, *viz.* that ſhould you begin by St. *Baſil*, all would have been completed long ago; and thus belied by the event, you could no longer amuſe the people with vain hopes.

XXIX. Ridiculous calculation.

Accordingly, our author owns, you might begin his whole calculation from four different Epoch's: *viz.* 360, 393, 430, and infine, 450, or 55, which is the calculation he himſelf follows. All theſe four accounts, according to him, agree admirably with the ſyſtem of the new Idolatry: but unluckily in the two firſt reckonings, where every thing elſe, as he pretends, agreed ſo well, the chief point is wanting: to wit, that, according to theſe computations, the *Popiſh* Empire ſhould have fallen in 1620, or in 1653. Now it ſtill exiſts and enjoys a ſmall reſpite. As to the third calculation, it terminates in 1690, four or five years hence, ſays our Author: 'twould be too much expoſing himſelf to take ſo ſhort a term. Yet every concurrence tallied with it to admiration. See what theſe concurrences are which they build ſo much on, meer dreams, viſions, manifeſt illuſions, proved notoriouſly ſuch by the event.

Ibi. 2. *part. p.* 20. *& ſeq.*

Ibid. 22.

XXX. Why St. *Baſil*'s Idolatry and that of the other Fathers is not accounted *Antichriſtian.*

But, ſays our Author, *the chief reaſon why God will not compute the birth of Antichriſtianiſm from theſe years* 360, 393, and 430, notwithſtanding that the new Idolatry, which he will have to be the character of *Antichriſtianiſm*, was then eſtabliſh'd, is, that *there was a fourth characteriſtick of the birth of this Antichriſtian Empire which had not as yet appear'd*; namely, that the *Roman* Empire

Empire was to be deſtroy'd: that there were to be ſeven Kings, to wit, according to all the *Proteſtants*, ſeven forms of government in the City on ſeven mountains, meaning *Rome*. The *Papal* Empire was to make the ſeventh government, and it was requiſite the ſix others ſhould be deſtroy'd to make room for the ſeventh which was that of the *Pope* and *Antichriſt*. When *Rome* ceaſed to be miſtreſs, and the *Antichriſtian* Empire was to commence, it was neceſſary there ſhould be *ten Kings*, which were to receive the ſovereign power at the ſame time with the *Beaſt*; and ten kingdoms, *into which the Roman Empire was to be ſubdivided*, according to the Oracle of the *Revelations*. All this was fulfilled in the nick of time under St. *Leo*: this therefore is the preciſe time of the birth of *Antichriſt*, and there is no reſiſting the concurrence of ſuch circumſtances.

Ibid. p. 23. *Rev.* xvii. 9.

Rev. xvii. 12.

XXXI. Infinite abſurdity.

Admirable Doctrine! neither theſe ten Kings, nor the diſmembring of the Empire enter'd into the conſtitution of *Antichriſt*, nor, at furtheſt, could this be any thing elſe than an exterior token of his birth: what truly conſtitutes him, is the corruption of manners, is the pretenſion to ſuperiority, is principally the new Idolatry. All this is no more to be found under St. *Leo*, than fourſcore or a hundred years before: but God would not, as yet, impute it for *Antichriſtianiſm*, nor did it pleaſe him that the new Idolatry, tho' already intirely form'd, ſhould be *Antichriſtian*. 'Tis impoſſible, in fine, that ſuch extravagancies, where impiety and abſurdity ſtrive together which ſhall exceed, ſhould not open the eyes of our Brethren, and, at length, put them out of conceit with thoſe, who delude them with ſuch dreams.

XXXII. The ſyſtem of the

But let us enter into the particulars of theſe fine concurrences ſo dazzling to our *Reform'd*, and

Miniſters concerning the ſeven Kings of the *Revelations* evidently confounded by the very words of this prophecy. *Rev.* xvii. 3. 9. 12. *Ibid.* 9. 10, 11. *Acc.* 1. *part. p.* 11.

and begin with the ſeven Kings, who, according to St. *John*, are the ſeven Heads of the Beaſt, and with theſe ten Horns, which, according to the ſame St. *John*, are ten other Kings. The ſenſe, ſay they, is manifeſt. *The ſeven heads*, ſays St. *John*, *are the ſeven mountains on which the woman ſitteth, and theſe are ſeven Kings: five are fallen; one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace; and the Beaſt that was and is not, even he is the eighth King, and one of the ſeven, and goeth into deſtruction.* The ſeven Kings are, ſays our Author, the ſeven forms of government *Rome* had been ſubject to; the *Kings*, the *Conſuls*, the *Dictators*, the *Decemvirs*, the military *Tribunes* who had conſular power, the *Emperors*, and finally the *Pope*. *Five are fallen*, ſays St. *John*: five of theſe governments had expired when he wrote his prophecy: *one is* ſtill; the Empire of the *Cæſars* under which he wrote: *and the other muſt come ſoon*; who does not eſpy the *Papal* Empire? 'Tis one of the ſeven Kings: one of the ſeven forms of government, and 'tis alſo *the eighth King*, namely, the eighth form of government: the ſeventh, becauſe the *Pope* much reſembles *Emperors* by the dominion which he exerciſes; and the eighth, becauſe he has ſomewhat peculiar, his ſpiritual Empire, his dominion over conſciences; all mighty juſt, but for one little word that marrs the whole. In the firſt place, I would fain ask, why the ſeven *Kings* are ſeven forms of *Government*, and not ſeven real *Kings*. Let them ſhew me in Scripture, that the forms of *Government* are named *Kings*; on the contrary, three verſes after, I ſee that the ten *Kings* are ten *real Kings*, and not ten ſorts of *Government*. Why ſhould the ſeven *Kings* of verſe the ninth, be ſo different from the ten *Kings* of

verſe

verſe the twelfth? Does he pretend to make us believe that the *Conſuls*, annual Magiſtrates, are *Kings?* that the intire extirpation of the *Regal* power in *Rome*, is one of the ſeven *Kings* of *Rome?* that ten men, the *Decemviri*, are one *King*, and the whole ſeries of four or ſix military *Tribunes* more or leſs, another *King?* But in good truth, is that another form of goverment? who is ignorant that the military *Tribunes* differ'd not from *Conſuls*, except in the number? for which reaſon they were call'd, *Tribuni militum Conſulari poteſtate*; and if St. *John* had a mind to denote all the names of the ſupreme power among the *Romans*, why did he forget the *Triumviri?* had they not, at leaſt, as much power as the *Decemviri?* and ſhould it be ſaid, it was too ſhort to deſerve notice, why ſhould that of the *Decemviri*, which held but two years, deſerve it more? this is true, they may reply: let us put them in lieu of the *Dictators*, for there is little likelihood the *Dictatorſhip* could ever be call'd a form of government under which *Rome* continued for a certain time. 'Twas an extraordinary Magiſtracy ſet up according to the exigency of preſent circumſtances in all times of the republick, not a particular form of government. Let us remove them then and put the *Triumviri* in their ſtead. I conſent to it, and even willingly give to the interpretation of *Proteſtants* the beſt appearance it is capable of, for when all is ſaid, there is nothing in it but illuſion; one little word, as I ſaid, will ſubvert the whole Fabrick: for in ſhort, we read of the *ſeventh King* (who ſhall be, ſince they will have it, the ſeventh government) that, *when he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace.* St. *John* has but juſt ſhewn him; and immediately, ſays he, *he goeth into deſtruction.* If this be the *Papal* Em- *Rev.* xvii. 10.

pire, it muſt needs be ſhort. Now it's pretended from St. *John*, that it muſt continue at leaſt one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore years, as long a time, as is own'd by our new Interpreter, *as all the other governments together*. Wherefore it is impoſſible, the *Papal* Empire ſhould be meant by this prophecy.

Acc. 1. *part. p.* 11.

XXXIII. Trifling reply.

But, replies our author, *one day*, as ſays St. *Peter*, *is with the Lord as a thouſand years*. A fine diſcovery! all equally is ſhort to the eyes of God, and not only the reign of the ſeventh *King*, but alſo the reign of all the reſt. Now St. *John* would diſtinguiſh this ſeventh *King* by comparing him with the other *Kings*, and his reign was to be remarkable by the ſhortneſs of its continuance. To ſhew this characteriſtick in the *Papal* government, who does not ſee, its being ſhort in the ſight of God, with whom nothing is durable, is not ſufficient? it ought to be ſhort in compariſon with the other governments; more ſhort by conſequence than that of the military *Tribunes* which ſcarce ſubſiſted thirty or forty years; more ſhort than that of the *Decemviri* which continued but two; more ſhort at leaſt than that of the *Kings*, or *Conſuls*, or *Emperors*, who fill'd up the greateſt ſpace of time in duration. But on the contrary, that which St. *John* has diſtinguiſh'd by the brevity of its duration, does not only hold out longer than any one of the reſt, but alſo longer than all the reſt together: what more manifeſt abſurdity! and is it not an attempt to make the prophecies ridiculous, thus to interpret them?

2. *Peter* iii. 8.

XXXIV. The ten Kings of the *Revelations* manifeſtly as ill interpreted.

But let us ſay one word of the ten *Kings* whom our Interpreter, after *Joſeph Mede*, believes he triumphs in. There it is he ranges before us, Firſt, the *Britons*; Second, the *Saxons*; Third, the *French*; Fourth, the *Burgundians*; Fifth, the *Viſigoths*;

Viſigoths; Sixth, the *Suevi* and *Alani*; Seventh, the *Wandals*; Eighth, the *Germans*; Ninth, the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*, where the *Lombards* ſucceed them; Tenth, the *Grecians*. Here are good ten Kingdoms which the *Roman* Empire was divided into at its fall. Without diſputing on the qualities, without diſputing on the number, without diſputing on the dates, this at leaſt is very certain; *viz.* that as ſoon as ever theſe ten *Kings* appear, St. *John* makes them *give their power and ſtrength unto the Beaſt*. We own as much, ſay our Interpreters, and 'tis likewiſe the very thing that gains our cauſe; for theſe are *the ten vaſſal and ſubject Kings which the Antichriſtian Empire*, namely, the Pontifical, *hath always had in ſubjection to worſhip it, and maintain its power*. Here is a wonderful tallying of incidents: but what, I pray, have the *Arian* Kings contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the *Papal* Empire, ſuch as the *Viſigoths* and the *Oſtrogoths*, the *Burgundians* and the *Wandals*; or the Heathen Kings, ſuch as at that time were the *French* and *Saxons*? Are theſe the ten *Vaſſal Kings* of the Papacy, who had nothing elſe to do but worſhip it? but when was it that theſe *Wandals* and *Oſtrogoths* worſhipped the *Popes*? was it under *Theodorick* and his Succeſſors, when the *Popes* groan'd under their tyranny? or under *Genſerick*, when, with the *Wandals*, he pillag'd *Rome* and carried the ſpoils of it into *Africa*? And ſince even the *Lombards* are introduced; were they alſo of the number that aggrandized the Church of *Rome*, they that did all in their power to oppreſs her as long as ever they ſubſiſted, namely, for two hundred years. For what were elſe, during this whole ſpace of time, the *Alboini*, the *Aſtolphi*, and the *Didiers*, but enemies to *Rome* and the Church of *Rome*? And the *Emperors* of the *Eaſt*, who

Prej. legit 1. *part. ch.* VII. *p.* 126.

Acc. des Proph. 2. *part.* 27. 28.

Rev. XVII. 13.

Acc. 1. *part. ch.* XV. *p.* 266.

who were in reality the *Emperors* of *Rome* tho' ranged here the laſt under the name of *Greeks*, muſt they alſo be reckon'd amongſt the *Vaſſals and ſubjects* of the *Pope*, they, whom St. *Leo* and his Succeſſors, down to the time of *Charlemain*, acknowledged for their Sovereigns? But, you'll ſay, theſe Heathen and Heretical Kings embraced the true Faith. Right; they embraced it a long while after this diviſion into ten Kingdoms. The *French* had four Heathen Kings; the *Saxons* were not converted till the time of St. *Gregory*, a hundred and fifty years after this diviſion: the *Goths*, who reign'd in *Spain*, were converted from *Arianiſm* at the ſame time: what has this to do with theſe *Kings*, who, according to the pretenſion of our Interpreters, were to begin to reign at the ſame time with the *Beaſt*, and give up their power to him? Beſides, can no other *Era* be found for the entrance of theſe Kings into the *Antichriſtian* Empire, but that of their turning *Chriſtians*, or *Catholicks*? What a happy deſtiny for this pretended *Antichriſtian* Empire, to be compounded of people converted to *Jeſus Chriſt*! But what is it, after all, that theſe *Kings*, ſo happily converted, have contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the *Pope's* authority? if, at their admittance into the Church they acknowledged the *firſt See* which was that of *Rome*, neither did they give him that *Supremacy* which he had undoubtedly before their converſion, nor did they acknowledge, in the *Pope* any thing more than Chriſtians had acknowledged in him before them, to wit, the *Succeſſor* of *St.* Peter. Nor did the *Popes*, on their ſide, exerciſe their authority over theſe people otherwiſe than by teaching them the true Faith, and upholding regularity and diſcipline among them; nor can any man ſhew, during this time, or for hundr

hundred years after, they concern'd themſelves with any thing elſe, or enterpriſed any thing on temporals: thus you ſee what were theſe ten *Kings*, with whom the *Papal* Empire was to commence.

XXXV. Vain reply. *Prej.* 1. *part. ch.* vi. *p.* 105.

But then, we are told, came other ten in their place, and theſe are they with their Kingdoms: Firſt, *Germany*; Second, *Hungary*; Third, *Poland*; Fourth, *Sweden*; Fifth, *France*; Sixth; *England*; Seventh, *Spain*; Eighth, *Portugal*; Ninth, *Italy*; Tenth, *Scotland*. Expound who can, why *Scotland* ſtands here rather than *Bohemia*; why *Sweden*, rather than *Denmark*, or *Norway*; why infine *Portugal*, as ſeparated from *Spain*, rather than *Caſtille*, *Arragon*, *Leon*, *Navarre*, and the other Kingdoms: but why loſe we our time in examining theſe fancies? Let them reſolve me at leaſt, whether or no theſe were the ten Kingdoms that were to be form'd out of the remnants of the *Roman* Empire at the ſame time that *Antichriſt* was to appear, and which were to reſign their authority and power to him? What has *Poland* to do here, and the other Kingdoms of the *North*, which *Rome* was not acquainted with, and which, beyond queſtion, were not form'd of her ruins when the *Antichriſt* St. *Leo* came into the world? Is it in banter that men write, with ſo ſerious an air, ſuch ridiculous conceits? In good truth, it ill becomes thoſe, who have nothing in their mouths but the pure word of God, thus raſhly to ſport with its Oracles, and if they have nothing more pertinent whereby to explain the prophecies, it were much better to adore their ſacred obſcurity, and reſpect the future which God hath reſerved in his own hands.

XXXIV. Contrarieties of the

We muſt not wonder to ſee theſe daring Interpreters at variance among themſelves, and deſtroying

new Interpreters.

ſtroying one another. *Joſeph Mede*, on that verſe of St. *John*, importing that in a great earthquake *the tenth part of the City fell*, thought he had hit exactly, when he interpreted this tenth part with reſpect to the new *Antichriſtian Rome*, which is ten times leſs than ancient *Rome*. To come at the proof of his interpretation, he ſeriouſly compares the *Area* of old *Rome* with that of the new, and with a fine figure demonſtrates that the firſt is ten times greater than the laſt: but his diſciple Mr. *Jurieu* deprives him of ſo mathematical an interpretation. *He is miſtaken with all the reſt*, cries out haughtily the new Prophet, *when by the City St.* John *ſpeaks of, he underſtands only the City of* Rome. *We ought to hold for certain*, proceeds he in a maſterly ſtrain, *that the great City is* Rome *with its Empire.* And the tenth part of the City, what ſhall it be? he has found it out: *France*, ſays he, *is the tenth part.* But how! ſhall *France* fall? and does this Prophet forebode ſo ill of his own country? No, no, ſhe may be reduced indeed to a tottering condition; let her look to it, the Prophet threatens her: yet ſhall not periſh. What the *Holy Ghoſt* here means by ſaying, ſhe ſhall fall, *is that ſhe ſhall fall with reſpect to Popery:* but then, ſhe ſhall riſe more illuſtrious than ever, becauſe ſhe ſhall embrace the *Reformation*, and that ſpeedily; and our Kings (a thing I am loath to repeat) are on the point of being *Calviniſtically reformed.* What patience is able to ſupport theſe interpretations? But after all, he is more in the right than he thought for, by calling this a *Fall:* dreadful indeed would be the *Fall* into a *Reformation*, wherein the ſpirit of illuſion ſo forcibly predominates.

Rev. xi. 13.

Med. comm. in apoc. part. 2. *p.* 489.

Acc. 2. *p. ch.* xi. *p.* 194.

Ibi. p. 200. 203.

Ibi. p. 201.

Ibid.

XXXVII. The *Engliſh* man

If the *French* Interpreter finds *France* in the *Revelations*, the *Engliſhman* finds *England* in them:

them: the Phial pour'd out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, *are the Pope's emiſſaries, and the* Spaniards *vanquiſh'd in* Queen Elizabeth's *reign of glorious memory.* But good Mr. *Mede*, it ſeems, was in a groſs miſtake: his more enlightned diſciple aſſures us, the ſecond and third Phial *were the* Cruſades, *when God return'd upon Catholicks blood for the blood of the* Vaudois *and* Albigenſes *ſpilt by them.* Theſe *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, *John Wickliff* and *John Huſs* with all the reſt of that gang, even to the bloody *Taborites*, appear throughout theſe new interpretations as faithful witneſſes of the truth perſecuted by the *Beaſt*; but they are now well known, and even this were enough to evidence the falſity of theſe pretended prophecies.

finds *England*, and the *French* man, *France*, in the *Revelations.* *Med. comm. Apo. p.* 528. *ad Phial.* 3. *Ap.* 16. *Acc. des Proph.* 2. *p. ch.* iv. *p.* 72. *Prej. legit.* 1. *p. ch.* v. *p.* 98. 99.

Joſeph Mede had out-done himſelf in his expoſition of the fourth Phial. He ſaw it *poured out upon the ſun, upon the chief part of the heaven, poſſeſſed by the Beaſt*, namely, the *Papal* Empire: the meaning whereof was, that the *Pope* was going to loſe the Empire of *Germany*, which is his ſun: nothing more clear. Whilſt *Mede*, if you'll believe him, was printing theſe things *which he had meditated on long before*, he heard of the wonderful atchievements *of that pious, happy, and victorious King, whom God had ſent from the* North *to defend his cauſe:* in a word, 'twas the great *Guſtavus*. *Mede* can no longer doubt but his conjecture was an inſpiration; and applies to this great King the ſame canticle that *David* applied to the *Meſſiah: gird thy ſword upon thy thigh, O moſt mighty King; combate for the truth, and for juſtice, proceed proſperouſly and reign.* But the event belied the prediction; ſo *Mede* publiſh'd at once his prophecy and ſhame.

XXXVIII The King of *Sweden* foretold, and the prediction falſified immediately after. *Comm. Ap. p.* 528. *Rev.* xvi. 8. *Ibid.* 529. *Pſ.* 44.

No

XXXIX. Ridiculous conceit about the *Turk*.

No leſs remarkable is that fine paſſage, where, whilſt *Mede* is contemplating the overthrow of the *Turkiſh* Empire, his Diſciple, on the contrary, ſpies in it the victories gain'd by that Empire. The *Euphrates* in the *Revelations*, is to *Mede* the Empire of the *Turks*, and the waters of the *Euphrates* dried up at the effuſion of the ſixth Phial, is the *Turkiſh* Empire deſtroy'd. He is quite in the dark: Mr. *Jurieu* demonſtrates to us that the *Euphrates* is the *Archipelago* and the *Boſphorus*, which the *Turks* paſſed in 1390, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of *Greece* and *Conſtantinople*. More than this, *there is great likelyhood that the conqueſts of the Turks are carried on thus far in order to give them the means of contributing, together with Proteſtants, to the great work of God*, namely, to the deſtruction of the *Papal* Empire: for tho' the *Turks have never been ſo low as at preſent*, this is the very thing that makes our author believe, they'll ſoon riſe again. *I look upon*, ſays he, *this year* 1685, *as critical in this affair. God hath humbled the Reformed and the* Turks *at the ſame time*, TO RAISE THEM UP AGAIN AT THE SAME TIME, *and in order to make them the inſtruments of his revenge againſt the Popiſh Empire.* Who would not admire this ſympathy of *Turkiſm* with the *Reformation*, and this common deſtiny of them both? Should the *Turks* prove ſucceſsful, then will the *Reformed* (whilſt the reſt of *Chriſtians* grieve at their victories) raiſe up their heads and believe, that the time of their deliverance is at hand. We were ſtrangers, as yet, to this new excellency of the *Reformation*, of its being to increaſe and decreaſe as it were by ſympathy with the *Turks*. Our author himſelf was puzzled at this place when he compoſed his allowable *Prepoſſeſſi-*

Rev. xvi. 12. *Ibi. ad Ph.* 6. *p.* 529. *Acc.* 2. *p. ch.* vii. *p.* 99.

Ibid. 101.

ons,

ons, and knew nothing of the plagues of the two laſt Phials wherein this myſtery was lock'd up: but at laſt, *after knocking, two, four, five,* and *ſix times, with a religious attention, the door flew open*, and he beheld this mighty ſecret. *Ibid. p.* 94.

XL. Why theſe abſurdities tolerated in the Party.

Men of ſenſe, you'll tell me, among the *Proteſtants*, laugh at theſe fooleries as well as we. Yet they let them take their run knowing them neceſſary to amuſe the credulous multitude. Chiefly by theſe viſions was hatred excited againſt the Church of *Rome*, and hopes fomented of her ſpeedy overthrow. The ſame artifice is employ'd again for the ſame purpoſe, and the people, a hundred times deceived, give ear to them, as the *Jews*, abandon'd to the ſpirit of error, did heretofore to falſe Prophets. Examples are quite uſeleſs to diſabuſe a people poſſeſſed with prejudice. They believed they ſaw, in the prophecies of *Luther*, the expiration of the *Papacy* ſo near at hand that there was not a *Proteſtant* who did not hope to be preſent at its funeral. It was neceſſary indeed to prolong the time, but the ſame ſpirit was kept up ſtill, and the *Reformation* never ceaſed to be the bubble of theſe lying Prophets, who propheſy the deluſions of their frantick brain.

XLI. The Party's Prophets are Impoſtors. Confeſſion of the Miniſter *Jurieu*. *Avis à tous les Ch.* at the beginning. *p.* 5. 67. *Ibid.*

God forbid I ſhould loſe my time in ſpeaking here of a *Cotterus*, a *Drabicius*, a *Chriſtina*, a *Comenius*, and all thoſe other Viſionaries, whereof our Miniſter boaſts the predictions and acknowledges the errors. None of them, as he pretends, no not even the learned *Uſher*, but muſt turn Prophet. But the ſame Miniſter frankly owns, he was no leſs miſtaken than the reſt. Experience proved them all deluded, *and we diſcover in them*, ſays the Miniſter, *ſo many things in which they blunder'd, that there is no relying on them.* Yet he nevertheleſs accounts them Prophets,

phets, and great Prophets, *Ezechiels* and *Jeremiahs*. He finds *in their viſions ſuch majeſty and loftineſs, that thoſe of the ancient Prophets have not more, and a train of miracles as great as ever happen'd ſince the Apoſtles.* Thus does the chief of our *Proteſtants* ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed on by theſe falſe Prophets, even after that the event had confounded them: ſo prevalent is the ſpirit of illuſion in the Party; but the true Prophets of the Lord deliver themſelves in another ſtrain againſt ſuch Impoſtors as abuſe the name of God: "*Hear thou*, O *Hananiah*, ſaith *Jeremiah*, this word that I ſpeak in thine ears, and in the ears of all the people. The Prophets that have been before me, and before thee of old, and have propheſied good or evil to nations and to kingdoms; when their words came to paſs, it was known that they were Prophets whom the Lord had truly ſent; and the word of the Lord came unto *Jeremiah*, ſaying: go, and tell *Hananiah*, ſaying, thus ſaith the Lord; thou haſt broken the yokes of wood," *In token of the people's future deliverance*, "and thou ſhalt make for them yokes of iron: I will aggravate the yoke of thoſe nations" *to whom thou denounceſt peace.* "Then ſaid the Prophet *Jeremiah* unto *Hananiah* the Prophet: hear now *Hananiah*; the *Lord* hath not ſent thee, but thou makeſt this people to truſt in a lye: therefore thus ſaith the *Lord*, behold, I will caſt thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou ſhalt die, becauſe thou haſt ſpoken againſt the *Lord:* and *Hananiah* the Prophet died the ſame year, in the ſeventh month." Thus did he deſerve to be confounded who deceived the people in the Lord's name, and the people needed but to open their eyes and take warning.

Acc. des. Proph. 2. p. 174. Ibid.

Jer. xxviii. 7. & ſeq.

Our

Our *Reformed* Interpreters are no better worth than our *Reformed* Prophets. The *Revelations* and the reſt of the prophecies have ever been the ſubject, which the wits of the *Reformation* have thought themſelves at liberty to ſport with. Each one has diſcover'd in them his *concurrences*, whereby the credulous *Proteſtants* were always caught. Mr. *Jurieu* reproves often, as we have ſeen, *Joſeph Mede* whom he had choſen for his guide. Nay, he has pointed out the errors of *Du Moulin* his Grand-father, whoſe interpretations on the prophecies were admired by the whole *Reformation*; and has even ſhew'd, *that the foundation he built upon was deſtitute of ſolidity.* Nevertheleſs, there was abundance of wit, and a very extenſive erudition in theſe viſions of *Du Moulin*: but ſo it is, the more wit a man has, the more he deceives himſelf in theſe occaſions; becauſe, the more wit he has, the more he invents, and ventures the more. *Du Moulin*'s fine wit, which muſt needs exerciſe itſelf on futurity, ſet him on a task he is laugh'd at for, even in his own family; and Mr. *Jurieu* his Grand-ſon, who perhaps ſhews more wit than the reſt on this ſubject, will be but the more certainly the laughter of mankind.

XLII. Their Interpreters no better.

Jur. Acc. des Proph. 1. part. p. 71. 2. part. p. 183.

I am aſhamed of dwelling ſo long on viſions more chimerical than ſick mens dreams. But I ought not to forget what is of greateſt importance in this vain myſtery of the *Proteſtants*. According to the idea they give of the *Revelations*, nothing ſhould be more diſtinctly marked in them, than the *Reformation* itſelf with its authors, who came to deſtroy the Empire of the *Beaſt*; and eſpecially it ought to be marked in the effuſion of the *ſeven Phials* in which are foretold, as they pretend, the ſeven plagues of their *Antichriſtian* Empire. But what our Interpreters

XLIII. What the Miniſters have diſcover'd in the Revelations touching their *Reformers*.

ters deſcry here, is ſo ill-contrived, that one de-
Joſ. Med. ad Ph. 2. Apo. xvi. 3. ſtroys what the other builds. *Joſeph Mede* thinks he hath found both *Luther* and *Calvin* when the *Phial* is poured on *the ſea*, that is, on the *Antichriſtian* world, and when immediately this ſea *is changed into blood like to that of a dead man.* Here, ſays he, is the *Reformation*; 'tis a
Rev. Ibid. poiſon that kills every thing: for then *every living ſoul died in the ſea.* *Mede* takes care to explain this blood like to that of a carcaſe, and ſays, 'tis as the blood of a member lopt off, on
Med. Ibid. account *of the Provinces and Kingdoms which were then rent from the Body of the Papacy.* This is an ill-boding ſpectacle for *Proteſtants*, to ſee the *Reformed* nations exhibited to them in no other view than that of *Lopt members* which have loſt, according to *Mede*, *all connexion with the fountain of life, all vital ſpirit, and all warmth*, without telling us any more of the matter.

XLIV. The idea of the Miniſter *Jurieu. Rev* xvi 17. *Acc. 2. part. ch.* VIII. *p.* 122.

This is *Mede*'s idea of the *Reformation.* But if he ſees it in the effuſion of the *ſecond Phial*, the other Interpreter ſees it only in the effuſion of the *ſeventh: when there came*, ſays St. *John*, *a great voice out of the Temple of Heaven, from the throne, ſaying, it is done. And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, ſuch as was not ſince men were upon the earth:* there, ſays he, is the *Reformation.*

This great commotion, I muſt own, ſuits well enough with the diſturbances it raiſed over the whole univerſe, ſuch as never had been ſeen before on the ſcore of Religion. But here it is
Rev. Ibid. he ſhines moſt: *the great City was divided into three parts: namely*, ſays our author, into the Church of *Rome*, the *Lutheran*, and the *Calvinian:* theſe are the three Parties that divide the *great City*, to wit, the *Weſtern* Church. I accept

cept the omen; the *Reformation* breaks *Unity*: in breaking it, ſhe divides herſelf into two, and leaves *Unity* to the Church of *Rome* in St. *Peter*'s Chair which is the center of it. But St. *John* ſhould not have forgotten that one of the divided parties, the *Calvinian*, broke again into two pieces, ſince *England*, reckon'd to appertain to it by our Miniſter, yet makes in the main a Sect apart; nor muſt he ſay, this diviſion is but light, for by his own Confeſſion, they mutually treat each other *as excommunicated perſons*. Accordingly, the Church of *England* reckons the *Calviniſts* or *Puritans* in the number of *Nonconformiſts*, that is, in the number of thoſe whoſe ſervice ſhe does not allow, nor receives their Miniſters but by ordaining them anew as Paſtors void of allowance and character. I might alſo ſpeak of the other Sects which divided the Chriſtian world at the ſame time with *Luther* and *Calvin*, and which, taken together or ſeparately, make a Party ſufficiently great not to have been omitted in this paſſage of St. *John*. And all conſider'd, theſe men ſhould have given their *Reformation* a more ſpecious character than that of overthrowing every thing, and a more creditable mark, than that of pulling to pieces the *Weſtern* Church the moſt flouriſhing of the whole univerſe; which has been the greateſt of all plagues.

S. l. xii. *n.* 44.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XIV.

From the year 1601, *to that part of the ſeventeenth Century wherein the Author wrote and concluded his Hiſtory.*

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The exceſſes of the Reformation, *with reſpect to Predeſtination and Free-will, diſcover'd in* Holland. Arminius, *who owns them, falls into other exceſſes. Parties of* Remonſtrants *and* Anti-Remonſtrants. *The Synod of* Dort, *where the exceſſes of* Calvinian *Juſtification are clearly approved. Monſtrous Doctrine on the certainty of Salvation, and the Juſtice of the moſt wicked perſons. Conſequences equally as abſurd; concerning Infant-Sanctification, decided in the Synod. The Synod's procedure juſtifies the Church of* Rome *againſt* Proteſtants. Arminianiſm *in the main left intire notwithſtanding the deciſions of* Dort. Pelagianiſm *tolerated, and the ſuſpicion of* Socinianiſm *ſole cauſe of rejecting the* Arminians.

Arminians. *The uſeleſneſs of Synodical deciſions among* Proteſtants. *The Synod of* Dort's *connivance at an infinity of Capital errors, whilſt bent on maintaining the particular* Dogmata *of* Calviniſm. *Theſe* Dogmata *confeſſed at the beginning for eſſential, at laſt, reduced almoſt to nothing. Decree of* Charenton *for receiving the* Lutherans *to Communion. Conſequence of this decree which changes the ſtate of Controverſies. The diſtinction of articles* Fundamental *and* not Fundamental *obliges* Proteſtants *to own, at laſt, the Church of* Rome *for a true Church affording ſalvation to her Members. Conference of* Caſſel *betwixt the* Lutherans *and* Calviniſts. *Their agreement, wherein deciſive grounds are eſtabliſh'd for Communion under one kind. Preſent ſtate of Controverſies in* Germany. *The opinion concerning* Univerſal *Grace prevails in* France: *Is condemn'd at* Geneva *and among the* Swiſs. *The queſtion decided by the* Magiſtrate. *Formulary eſtabliſh'd. The error of this Formulary with reſpect to the* Hebrew *text. Another decree concerning Faith, made at* Geneva. *That Church impeach'd by Mr.* Claude *of making a* Schiſm *from the reſt of the Churches by her new Deciſions. Reflexions on the* Teſt, *in which the* Reality *remains intire. Acknowledgment of the* Proteſtant *Church of* England, *that the* Maſs *and* Invocation *of Saints may have a good ſenſe.*

I.

THE ſubject of *Grace* and *Free-will* was carried to ſuch lengths in the *Reformation*, that it was impoſſible even *Proteſtants* themſelves ſhould not be at laſt ſenſible of theſe exorbancies. In order to deſtroy *Pelagianiſm*, which they

Intolerable exceſſes of *Calviniſm.*

Free-will deſtroy'd, and God made the author of

ſin. *Beza*'s words.

they were determin'd to fix on the Church of *Rome*, they had caſt themſelves into the oppoſite extreams; inſomuch that the very name of *Free-will* raiſed a horror in them. There never had been ſuch a thing in Men or Angels: nay, impoſſible it ſhould have been; nor had the *Stoicks* themſelves ever made Fate more rigid and inflexible. *Predeſtination* reach'd even to ſin itſelf, and God was not leſs the cauſe of evil actions than of good: ſuch were *Luther*'s ſentiments; *Calvin* had follow'd them, and *Beza*, the moſt renown'd of his diſciples, had publiſh'd *a brief expoſition of the chief points of the Chriſtian Religion*, where he laid down this foundation, *that God does all things according to his determin'd counſel, even thoſe which are wicked and execrable.*

Exp. de la Foi. chez Riv. 1560. *ch.* 11. *conc.* 1.

II. *Adam*'s ſin ordain'd by God.

He had extended this principle as far as the ſin of the firſt Man, which, according to him, was not committed but by God's will and appointment, on account, that *he having ordain'd the end*, which was to glorify his juſtice in the puniſhment of the Reprobate, *muſt likewiſe have ordain'd the proportionable cauſes leading to that end*, to wit, ſins which lead to eternal damnation, and in particular that of *Adam*, the origin of all the reſt; ſo that *the corruption of the principal work of God*, namely, the firſt Man, *did not happen by chance, nor without the decree and juſt will of God.*

Ibid. ch. III. *conc.* T. 4. 5. *p.* 35.

Ibid. Conc. 6. *p.* 38.

III. Inevitable neceſſity in *Adam*.

It is true, this author maintains at the ſame time, *that the will of man, which was created good, made itſelf evil:* but then, he underſtands and repeats ſeveral times, that what is *Voluntary* is withal *Neceſſary*; ſo that nothing hinders the will of ſinning from being ever the leſs the fatal conſequence of a hard and unavoidable neceſſity; and if men will *reply, that they had not the power of reſiſting the will of God*, *Beza* does not anſwer

Ibid. 39. *Ibi.* 29. 90. 91. *ch.* III. *Con.* 6. *p.* 40.

them as he ought to do, that God does not move them to sin: but says only, *they must be left to plead against him, who will be well able to defend his own cause.*

IV. This Doctrine of *Beza* taken from *Calvin.*

This Doctrine of *Beza* was taken from *Calvin*, who maintains in expres terms, that *Adam could not avoid falling, yet was nevertheless guilty, because he fell voluntarily*; which he undertakes to prove in his *Institution*, and reduces the whole of his Doctrine to two principles: the first, that the will of God causes in all things, even in our wills, without excepting that of *Adam*, an inevitable necessity; the second, that this necessity is no excuse for sinners. Hereby it's plain, he preserves *Free-will* in name only, even in the state of innocence; and after this, there is no room for disputing whether he makes God the author of sin, since besides his frequently drawing this consequence; it is but too evident by the principles he lays down, that the will of God is the sole cause of that necessity imposed on all that sin.

Lib. de Æt. Dei prædes. opusc. 704. 705. *Lib.* III. *c.* 23. *n.* 7. 8. 9.

De prædes. de occult. provid. &c.

Nor indeed are *Calvin*'s sentiments and those of the first *Reformers* any longer disputed now, as to that point; and after owning what they have said upon it, *even that God pushes on the wicked to enormous crimes, and that he is in some sort the cause of sin*, his disciples think they have sufficiently justified the *Reformation* from these so impious expressions, on account that *they have not been employ'd for more than a hundred years*; as if it were not a sufficient conviction of the evil spirit she was conceived in, to confess in her very Authors such horrid blasphemies.

Jur. jugem. sur les mech. Sect. XVII. *p.* 142. 143.

Jur. Ibid.

Such therefore was the fatality which *Calvin* and *Beza* taught after *Luther*; and thereto the before-seen *Dogmata* were added by them touching the certainty of salvation and the *Inamissibility*

V. The tenets which *Calvin* and *Beza* superadded

to those of *Luther*. *S. l.* ix. *n.* 3. *& seq.*

of Justice. As much as to say, true justifying Faith could never be lost: those that have it, are surely certified of having it, and thereby are not only certified of their present Justice, as spoke the *Lutherans*, but also of their eternal salvation, and this with an absolute and infallible certainty: assured, by consequence, of dying just, whatever crimes they might commit; and not only of dying just, but also of continuing so in sin itself, because without that, they could not maintain the sense given by them to this text of St. *Paul*, *The gifts and calling of God are without repentance.*

Rom. xi. 29.

VI. Every Believer certified of his perseverance and salvation: and this, in *Calvinism*, the chief foundation of Religion. *ch.* viii. *Conc.* 1. *p.* 66.

This is what *Beza* likewise decided in the same exposition of Faith, where he said, that to the sole elect *was granted the gift of Faith: that this Faith, which is proper and peculiar to the elect, consists in depending with certainty, each one for himself, on their election:* whence it follows, that *whosoever hath this gift of true Faith, ought to rest assured of his perseverance.* For as he says: *What does it avail me to believe if I be not assured (perseverance in Faith being requisite) that perseverance will be given me?* Then he reckons among the fruits of this Doctrine, *that it alone teaches us to be assured of our Faith for the time to come*: which he takes to be of such importance, that those, says he, *who oppose this, do certainly overthrow the chief foundation of the Christian Religion.*

VII. This certainty of ones own particular salvation, as great, as if God himself had given it us by

Thus, this certainty, which every man hath of his own Faith and Perseverance, is not only a certainty of Faith, but also the principal foundation of the Christian Religion: and to shew, he speaks not here of a moral and conjectural certainty, *Beza* adds, *that we have it in our power to know whether we be predestinated to salvation, and to be assured of the glorification* which we

we expect, on account of which all *Satan's* war is waged *againſt us*; *yea, ſay I, aſſured*, continues he, *not by our fancy, but by concluſions as certain, as if we had aſcended into heaven to hear that ſentence from the mouth of God.* He will not have the faithful aſpire to leſs certainty than this; and after propoſing the means of attaining to it, which he places in the certain knowledge we have of the Faith that is in us, he concludes, *we* thereby *learn that we are given to the Son according to God's purpoſe and Predeſtination:* by conſequence, proceeds he, *ſince that God is unalterable, ſince that perſeverance in the Faith is requiſite to ſalvation, and being made certain of our Predeſtination, Glorification is annex'd to it by an indiſſoluble hand: how can we doubt of perſeverance, and finally of our ſalvation.*

his own mouth. *Ib. Conc.* II. *p.* 121.

VIII. *Calviniſts* begin to be ſenſible of theſe exceſſes.

As the *Lutherans*, no leſs than the *Catholicks* abominated theſe *Dogmata*, and the writings of the firſt were read with a more favourable prevention by the *Calviniſts*; the horror of theſe ſentiments, unheard of till *Calvin*'s days, ſpread itſelf by little and little among the *Calvinian* Churches. Men began to awake and perceive, how horrible it was, that a true believer could not fear for his ſalvation in contradiction to this precept of the Apoſtle: *work out your own ſalvation with fear and trembling.* If it be a temptation and weakneſs to fear for ones ſalvation, as in *Calviniſm* men are forced to ſay: why does St. *Paul* command this fear; and can a temptation fall within the precept?

Phil. ii. 12.

IX. They oppoſed this fear commanded by St. *Paul.*

The anſwer return'd by them was not ſatisfactory. The believer trembles, ſaid they, when he regards himſelf, becauſe, however juſt he may be, he hath nothing in himſelf but death and damnation; and would indeed be damn'd, were he judged with rigour. But reſting aſſured

that he ſhall not be ſo judged, what has he to fear? the future, ſay they; becauſe, ſhould he forſake God, he would periſh: weak reaſoning! ſince, beſides their holding the condition itſelf impoſſible, they hold moreover, that the true faithful ought to believe aſſuredly, they ſhall perſevere. Thus in all manner of ways, the fear inſpired by St. *Paul*, is baniſh'd, and ſalvation render'd certain.

X. Frivolous evaſion.

When they anſwer; without fearing for ſalvation, there are other chaſtiſements enough to afford juſt occaſion of trembling; the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* reply, that this fear mention'd by St. *Paul* does manifeſtly regard ſalvation: *Work out*, ſays he, *your own ſalvation with fear and trembling*. The Apoſtle inſpired a terror reaching ſo far as to fear *making ſhipwreck in the Faith*, as well as *in a good conſcience*; and *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf had ſaid, *fear him who is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell*; a precept which concern'd the faithful as well as the reſt, and made them fear no leſs a thing than the loſs of their own ſouls. To theſe proofs they added thoſe from experience: the Idolatries, and diſaſtrous fall of a *Solomon* adorn'd undoubtedly at firſt with all the gifts of Grace; the abominable crimes of a *David*; beſides what every perſon is conſcious of in his own regard. What then, is it fitting, without ſecurity againſt crimes, you ſhould be ſecure againſt their penalties; and that he, who once believed himſelf truly faithful, ſhould be obliged to believe that he is ſure of forgiveneſs let him fall into whatſoever abominations. But muſt he loſe this certainty in the midſt of crimes? He muſt then neceſſarily loſe the remembrance of his Faith and of the Grace he hath received. Does he not loſe it? He muſt then remain as ſecure in crimes, as in innocence; and,

Phil. ii. 12.

1 *Tim.* xix.

Matth. x. 28.

and, provided he argue aright according to the principles of his Sect, ſhall find therein wherewith to condemn all whatever doubts might ariſe of his converſion; ſo that, whilſt he continues to live amidſt diſorders, he will be ſure not to die in them: or elſe, will be ſure he never had been a true Believer when he moſt believed himſelf ſuch; and there you ſee him in deſpair, never able to hope for more certainty of his ſalvation than he had enjoy'd then, nor able, do what he will, ever to ſecure himſelf in this life that he ſhall not relapſe into the deplorable ſtate he now is in. What remedy for all this, unleſs to conclude, that the infallible certainty, boaſted of in *Calviniſm*, ſuits not with this life, and that nothing is more raſh nor pernicious than ſuch certainty.

XI. Juſtifying Faith not forfeited by ſin.

But how much is it more ſo, to hold ones ſelf aſſured, I don't ſay to recover loſt Grace with true juſtifying Faith, but not to loſe them in ſin itſelf; to remain therein ſtill juſt and regenerated; to preſerve therein the *Holy Ghoſt*, and the ſeed of life, as the *Calviniſts* undoubtedly believe if they follow *Calvin* and *Beza* and the other chief Doctors of their Sect? For, according to them, juſtifying Faith is peculiar to the ſole elect, who are never deprived of it; and *Beza* ſaid in the *Expoſition* ſo often quoted, *that Faith, altho' it be as it were buried ſometimes in the Elect of God, in order to make them ſenſible of their infirmity; yet it never is without the fear of God and charity for our neighbour.* And a little further on, he ſays two things concerning the ſpirit of *Adoption*: *Firſt*, that thoſe, who are planted in the Church only *for a time*, do never receive it; *Second*, that thoſe who are admitted among the people of God by this ſpirit of *Adoption*, do never go forth from them.

S. l. ix. *n.* 15.

Ch. iv. *Conc.* 13. *p.* 74.

Ibid. ch. 5. *Conc.* 6. *p.* 90.

XII. What Scripture-texts *Calviniſts* grounded themſelves on. *Ibid. p.* 74. *Rom.* xi. 29.

This Doctrine was grounded on theſe texts: *God is not like to man, ſo as to be a lyar; nor like to the ſon of man, ſo as to repent.* Which alſo was the reaſon why St. *Paul* ſaid, *That the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.* What then, does not man loſe any of the gifts of God in adulteries, in homicides, in the blackeſt of crimes, not even in Idolatry? And if ſome of them at leaſt may be loſt for a time and during this ſtate; why ſhould not juſtifying Faith, and the Preſence of the Holy Ghoſt be of this number, nothing being more incompatible with the ſtate of ſin, than ſuch Graces?

XIII. Queſtion propoſed to the *Calviniſts*: whether a Believer were damn'd that died in his crime.

In regard to this laſt difficulty, a very material query was alſo propoſed, which I beg may be attentively conſider'd, becauſe it will be the ſubject of an important diſpute to be treated of ſoon. The *Calviniſt* is therefore ask'd; Whether this true Believer, *David* for inſtance, fallen into adultery and murder, would be ſaved or damn'd dying in this ſtate before he had done Penance? None durſt anſwer, he would be ſaved: and indeed, how can a Chriſtian maintain, any may be ſaved with ſuch crimes? This true Believer would be therefore damn'd dying in this ſtate; this true Believer, in this ſtate has therefore ceaſed to be juſt, ſince none will ever ſay of a juſt man, that he would be damn'd dying in his juſtice.

XIV. The *Calviniſts* inextricable confuſion under this queſtion.

To anſwer, he ſhall not die in his ſin, but will do penance if he be of the number of the predeſtinated, is ſaying nothing; for it is not predeſtination, nor the penance we ſhall do one day, which juſtifies and makes us Saints: otherwiſe, a predeſtinated Infidel would actually be ſanctified and juſtified even before he had Faith and Repentance; ſince, before he had either of them, he was already certainly predeſtinated;

God

God had already certainly decreed, he ſhould have them.

If it be anſwer'd, this Infidel is not actually juſtified and ſanctified, becauſe he has not as yet had Faith and Repentance, altho' he be to have them hereafter; whereas, the true Believer hath them already: here ariſes a new perplexity; for it would follow from thence, that Faith and Repentance, but once exerciſed by the faithful, juſtify and ſanctify them actually and for ever, altho' ceaſing to exerciſe them, and even abandoning them by abominable crimes: a thing more horrible to conceive than all hitherto ſaid, on this ſubject.

XV. This no indifferent queſtion.

Again, this is no chimerical queſtion; 'tis a queſtion that every Believer, when he ſins, ſhould make to himſelf: or rather, 'tis a judgment he ought to pronounce; were I to die in the ſtate I am in, I ſhould be damn'd. To add after this, but I am predeſtinated, and ſhall amend one day; and by reaſon of this future amendment, am, at this inſtant, juſt and holy and a living member of *Chriſt Jeſus:* is utter blindneſs.

XVI. Theſe difficulties were the occaſion of many forſaking *Calviniſm.* *S. l.* viii. *n.* 52. *Epit. c.* xi. *Concord. p.* 621. *ſolid. repet.* 669. 805. *& ſeq.*

Whilſt *Catholicks*, and *Lutherans* more readily hearken'd to than they in the new *Reformation*, urged home theſe arguments, many *Calviniſts* were convinced; and ſeeing on the other hand amongſt the *Lutherans* a more engaging Doctrine, were attracted by it. A general will in God to ſave all mankind; in *Jeſus Chriſt*, a ſincere intention to redeem them, and means ſufficient offer'd unto all, was what the *Lutherans* taught in the book of *Concord.* We have ſeen as much: we have ſeen even their exceſſes touching theſe offer'd means and the co-operation of *Free-will:* they gave daily more and more into theſe ſentiments, and the *Calviniſts* began to liſten to them, principally in *Holland.*

James

XVII. *Arminius*'s diſpute and exceſſes. MDCI. MDCII.

James Arminius, a famous Miniſter of *Amſterdam*, and ſince Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of *Leyden*, was the firſt that declared himſelf in the univerſity againſt the maxims received in the Churches of his country: but a man of ſo vehement a temper was not like to keep within juſt bounds. He openly blamed *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Zanchius*, and the reſt, whom *Calviniſm* accounted her main pillars and ſupport. But he impugn'd exceſſes with other exceſſes; and beſides his apparently drawing near to the *Pelagians*, was ſuſpected, nor without reaſon, of ſomething worſe: certain words falling from him, made him believed favourable to *Socinianiſm*, and a great number of his diſciples turning afterwards to that ſide, confirm'd the ſuſpicion.

Act. Syn. Dordr. Edit. Dordr. 1620. *Præf. ad Eccl. ante Synod. Dordr.*

XVIII. *Gomar*'s oppoſition to him in defence of *Calviniſm*. Party of *Remonſtrants* and *Anti-Remonſtrants*.

He met with a terrible adverſary in the perſon of *Francis Gomar* Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of *Groningen*, a rigorous *Calviniſt* if ever there was one. The *Academies* divided themſelves between theſe two Profeſſors: the diviſion increaſed: the Miniſters eſpouſed the quarrel; *Arminius* beheld whole Churches in his Party. His death did not end the diſpute. And the minds of men on both ſides were ſo inflamed under the names of *Remonſtrants* and *Anti-Remonſtrants*, namely, of *Arminians* and *Gomariſts*, that the *united Provinces* ſaw themſelves on the very brink of a civil war.

XIX. The Prince of *Orange* upholds the firſt, *Barneveld* the ſecond Party. *Ibid.*

Maurice Prince of *Orange* had his reaſons for ſupporting the *Gomariſts*. *Barneveld* his enemy was judged favourable to the *Arminians*; and the reaſon of it was his propoſing a mutual toleration and impoſing ſilence on both Parties.

This indeed anſwer'd the wiſhes of the *Remonſtrants*. A Party juſt ſhooting up, and as yet but weak, asks no more than time to gather ſtrength;

ſtrength: but the Miniſters, among whom *Gomar* prevail'd, were bent on victory, and the Prince of *Orange* had more skill than to let a Party ſtrike root, which he judged as oppoſite to his grandeur as to the primitive maxims of the *Reformation*.

XX. The *Remonſtrants* or *Arminians* condemn'd in the Provincial Synods. Convocation of the Synod of *Dort*.

The Provincial Synods had done no other than aggravate the evil by condemning the *Remonſtrants*; it was neceſſary to proceed at length to a greater remedy: wherefore the *States-General* aſſembled a national Synod, and invited to it all thoſe of their Religion in every country. Upon this invitation *England*, *Scotland*, the *Palatinate*, *Heſſe*, the *Swiſs*, the Republicks of *Geneva*, of *Bremen*, and *Embden*, in a word, the whole body of the *Reformation* not united to the *Lutherans*, ſent Deputies, except the *French*, whom reaſons of ſtate prevented; and of all theſe Deputies, in conjunction with thoſe of the whole *United Provinces*, was compoſed that famous Synod of *Dort* whoſe Doctrine and procedure we are now to relate.

XXI. Opening of the Synod. M DC XVIII.

This aſſembly open'd the fourteenth of *November* 1618, with a ſermon preach'd by *Balthaſar Lydius* Miniſter of *Dort*. The firſt Seſſions were taken up in regulating divers matters of diſcipline, or of procedure, nor was it till the thirteenth of *December*, in the thirty firſt ſitting, that, properly ſpeaking, they began to treat of Doctrine.

XXII. The diſpute reduced to five heads. Declaration of the *Remonſtrants* in general

In order to underſtand, in what manner they proceeded there; you muſt know, that after many Books and Conferences, the diſpute was at length reduced to five heads. The *Firſt*, regarded Predeſtination; the *Second*, the univerſality of Redemption; the *Third*, and the *Fourth*, which were always treated together, regarded the corruption

touching these five heads.

ruption of Man, and his Converſion; the *Fifth*, regarded Perſeverance.

On theſe five heads, the *Remonſtrants* had declared in general, in full Synod, by the mouth of *Simon Epiſcopius* Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, who always appears at their head, that men of great renown and repute in the *Reformation*, had laid down ſuch things as agreed neither with God's wiſdom, nor with his goodneſs and juſtice, nor with the love which *Jeſus Chriſt* bore to all men, nor with his ſatisfaction and merits, nor with the ſanctity of preaching and the miniſtry, nor with the uſe of the Sacraments, nor infine, with the duties of a Chriſtian. Theſe *great men* whom they impeach'd, were the authors of the *Reformation*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, and the reſt of them whom they were not allow'd to name, yet had not at all ſpared in their writings. After this general declaration of their ſentiment, they explain'd themſelves in particular as to the five articles, and their declaration attack'd principally the *Certainty* of Salvation, and the *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice; *tenets by* which, they pretended, piety was ruin'd in the *Reformation*, and ſo fine a name diſcredited. I ſhall relate the ſubſtance of this declaration of the *Remonſtrants*, to the end it may be better underſtood, what chiefly was the ſubject matter of the deliberation and the reſult thereof, in the deciſions of the Synod.

Seſſ. xxxi. *p.* 112.

XXIII. The import of the *Remonſtrants* declaration as to each particular. As to Predeſtination. *Ibid.*

Concerning Predeſtination, they ſaid, *They ought not to own in God any abſolute decree, whereby he had determin'd to give Jeſus Chriſt to the Elect alone, no more than to give to them alone, by an efficacious vocation, Faith, Juſtification, Perſeverance, and Glory; but that he had appointed Jeſus Chriſt the common Redeemer of the whole*

whole world, and reſolved, by this decree, to juſtify and ſave all thoſe who ſhould believe in him, and at the ſame time, to give to all of them ſufficient means in order to be ſaved; that none periſh'd thro' want of theſe means, but thro' the abuſe thereof; that the abſolute and eſpecial election of particular perſons, was made in view of their Faith and future perſeverance, nor was there any election but conditional; that reprobation likewiſe was made in view of mens infidelity and perſeverance in ſo great an evil. *Ibid.*

XXIV. Doctrine of the *Remonſtrants* concerning Infant-Baptiſm, and what they would conclude from it.

They added two points worthy of particular conſideration: the firſt, that all children of the faithful are ſanctified, and none of them, dying before the uſe of reaſon, are damn'd; the ſecond, that with much more reaſon none of theſe children dying after Baptiſm before the uſe of reaſon are damn'd.

In ſaying that all the children of the faithful are ſanctified; they did but repeat what we have clearly ſeen in the *Calvinian* Confeſſions of Faith; and if they be ſanctified, 'tis evident they cannot be damn'd, in this ſtate. But after this firſt article, the ſecond ſeem'd unneceſſary; for if theſe children were ſecure of their ſalvation before *Baptiſm*, after it's reception, there could be no queſtion of it. 'Twas therefore with a particular deſign that this ſecond article was inſerted, and the *Remonſtrants* would thereby denote the inconſtancy of the *Calviniſts*, who on one hand, to ſalve the *Baptiſm* given to all theſe children, ſaid, they were all Saints, and born in the *Covenant*, the ſign whereof, by conſequence, could not be refuſed them; and to ſalve, on the other hand, the Doctrine of the *Inamiſſibility* of juſtice, ſaid that *Baptiſm* given to children had not its effect, but in the ſole predeſtinated; ſo that the baptized, that lived ill afterwards, never had *Art.* ix. 10. *Ibid.*

had been Saints, not even with the *Baptiſm* they had received in their infancy.

Remark, I beſeech the judicious Reader, this important difficulty; it ſtrikes home to the queſtion of *Inamiſſibility*, and 'twill be curious to behold, how the Synod will behave in this regard.

XXV. Declaration of the *Remonſtrants* concerning the univerſality of Redemption. *Seſſ.* xxxiv. *p.* 115. & *ſeq.*

As to the ſecond head, touching the univerſality of Redemption, the *Remonſtrants* ſaid, that *the price pay'd by the Son of God was not only ſufficient to all, but actually offer'd for all and every individual perſon; that none were excluded from the fruit of Redemption by an abſolute decree, or otherwiſe than by their own fault; that God, prevail'd with by his ſon, had made a new treaty with all mankind, altho' ſinners and damn'd.* They ſaid, by this treaty he had bound himſelf, in reſpect of all, to afford them thoſe ſufficient means as above mention'd: *but that the remiſſion of ſins, merited for all, was not given actually, except thro' actual Faith, whereby man believed actually in Jeſus Chriſt*; by which words they gave to underſtand, that whoſoever loſt, by his crimes, actual Faith which juſtifies us, loſt alſo, together with it, juſtifying Grace and Sanctity; finally they ſaid alſo, *none ought to believe, Jeſus Chriſt died for him, ſave only thoſe for whom he died in effect; inſomuch that the reprobate, for whom Jeſus Chriſt did not die, whatſoever ſome might think of them, ought not to believe that he died for them.* This article reach'd much farther than it ſeem'd. For the deſign of it was to ſhew (according to *Calvin*'s and the *Calviniſts* Doctrine, who laid down for an undoubted *Dogma*, that *Jeſus Chriſt* did not die in any ſort but for the *Predeſtinated*, and in no ſort for the Reprobate) that it follow'd from thence, that to be enabled to ſay, *Jeſus Chriſt died for me*, one ought to be

Art. IV. *Ibid.*

aſſured,

assured, with an absolute certainty, of his Predestination and eternal happiness, without ever being able to say, *he died for me, but I have render'd his death and redemption unserviceable to me:* a Doctrine which defeats all preaching of the word to Christians, who, if bad livers, are continually told, they have made themselves unworthy of being redeem'd by *Jesus Christ*. Accordingly this was one of those articles by which the *Remonstrants* maintain'd, that, in the *Reformation*, all the sincerity and holiness of preaching was subverted as well as this text of St. *Peter*: *They have denied the Lord that bought them, and brought upon themselves swift perdition.* 2 *Pet.* ii. 1.

XXVI. Their Doctrine as to the third and fourth head.

Touching the third and fourth head, after saying that Grace is necessary to all good, not only to finish, but also to begin it, they added, *that efficacious Grace was not irresistible.* This was their expression, and that of the *Lutherans*, whose Doctrine they bragg'd of following. Their meaning was, that one might resist all kind of Grace; and thereby, as every one sees, they pretended, *That altho' Grace were bestow'd unequally, yet God gave or offer'd a sufficient Grace to all those the Gospel was announced to, even to those that were not converted; and offer'd it with a sincere and serious desire of saving them all without acting two different parts, seeming inclined to save, and at bottom unwilling to do it, and moving men interiorly to sins which he forbad exteriorly.* In all these places they aim'd directly at the authors of the *Reformation*, and that unsincere vocation which they attributed to God, whilst he openly call'd those to Grace whom in reality he excluded from it, predestinating them to evil. *Ead. Sess. p.* 116. & *seq.* *Ibid. P.* 117.

In order to shew how far Grace was *resistible* (these words warranted by use, must be allow'd to avoid circumlocution) they had inserted an article *Art.* VII. *Ibid.* 117.

article, which ſaid, *that man could do more good by the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt than he did, and keep at a farther diſtance from evil than he did*; he therefore frequently reſiſted Grace, and made it uſeleſs.

XXVII. Declaration of the *Remonſtrants* concerning the *Amiſſibility* of juſtice. *Ead. Seſſ. p.* 117. 118. & *ſeq.*

Concerning Perſeverance, they decided, that *God gave to the true faithful, regenerated by his Grace, means for preſerving themſelves in that ſtate: that they might loſe the true juſtifying Faith, and fall into ſins incompatible with Juſtification, even into atrocious crimes; perſevere in them, die in them, recover from them likewiſe by repentance, nevertheleſs without being neceſſitated to it by Grace.* Here is what they urged with the greateſt efforts, *deteſting*, ſaid they, *from the bottom of their hearts thoſe impious* Dogmata, *and contrary to good morals, diſſeminated daily among the people*; viz. *that the true faithful could not fall into the ſins of malice, but only into the ſins of ignorance and weakneſs: that they could not loſe Grace: that all the crimes of the world put together could not fruſtrate their election, nor deprive them of the certainty thereof; a thing*, added they, *which open'd a gap to carnal and pernicious ſecurity: that no crimes, how horrible ſoever, were imputed to them: that all manner of ſins preſent and to come were forgiven them before-hand: that in the midſt of Hereſies, of Adulteries, of Murders, for which they might be excommunicated, they could not totally and finally loſe the Faith.*

Art. VI. *Ibid. p.* 118.

XXVIII. Two material words which the whole diſpute turn'd on: that one could loſe Grace *totally* and *finally*.

Theſe two words, *totally and finally*, were what the diſpute chiefly turn'd upon. To loſe Faith and the Grace of Juſtification *totally*, was to loſe it wholly for a certain time; to loſe it *finally*, was to loſe it for ever and beyond recovery. Both the one and the other were held impoſſible in *Calviniſm*, and both of theſe exceſſes were deteſted by the *Remonſtrants*.

They

They concluded the declaration of their Doctrine, by ſaying that, as the true Believer might, in the time preſent, be aſſured of his Faith and good Conſcience, he might alſo be aſſured for that time, ſhould he then die, of his eternal Salvation; that he might alſo be aſſured of being able to perſevere in the Faith, foraſmuch as Grace would never fail him for that end: but to be aſſured of always doing his duty, they did not ſee how he *could be ſo, nor how this aſſurance could be neceſſary for him.*

XXIX. Againſt the certainty of Salvation. *Art.* VII. & VIII. *Ibid.* 119.

If you deſire now to comprehend in few words the whole of their Doctrine, the foundation of it was, that there is no abſolute Election, no gratuitous preference whereby God prepares for certain choſen perſons, and for them only, certain means to lead them to Glory: but that God offers to all men, and eſpecially all thoſe to whom the Goſpel is publiſh'd, ſufficient means of converſion, which ſome make uſe of, and others not, without employing any other for his *Elect* more than for the *Reprobate*; ſo that *Election* always is conditional, which, the condition failing, may be forfeited. Whence they concluded in the firſt place, that we may loſe juſtifying Grace, and *totally;* that is, intirely; and *finally*, that is, beyond recovery: Secondly, that Man could not in any wiſe be ſure of his Salvation.

XXX. Foundations of the *Remonſtrants, viz.* that there is no gratuitous preference for the Elect.

Altho' *Catholicks* did not agree with them in the principle, they agreed with them in the two laſt conſequences, which nevertheleſs they grounded on other principles, not to our purpoſe to ſet forth in this place, and likewiſe they agreed that the *Calvinian* Doctrine, oppoſite to theſe conſequences, was impious, and an inlet to all ſorts of wickedneſs.

XXXI. Wherein *Catholicks* agreed with the *Remonſtrants.*

The *Lutherans* alſo agreed on this point with the *Catholicks* and *Remonſtrants.* But the difference

XXXII. Wherein conſiſted

the difference betwixt *Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, and *Remonſtrants*.

rence betwixt *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* is, that theſe latter, denying the certainty of Perſeverance, acknowledged a certainty of preſent Juſtice, in which they were follow'd by the *Remonſtrants*: whereas *Catholicks* differ'd from both of them, by maintaining, none could be aſſured either of his future good diſpoſitions, nor even of his preſent ones, which, by reaſon of the blindneſs of ſelf-love, we have always grounds to diſtruſt; ſo that the confidence we have on God's ſide, takes not away wholly the doubt we have on our own.

XXXIII. *Calviniſts* contrary to the Doctrine of them both.

Calvin and the *Calviniſts* oppoſed the Doctrine of both theſe, and maintain'd againſt the *Lutherans* and *Remonſtrants*, that the true Believer was ſure, not of the preſent only, but alſo of the future, and ſure, by conſequence, of never loſing *totally*, that is intirely; nor *finally*, that is, beyond recovery, juſtifying Grace or the true Faith once received.

XXXIV. The *Remonſtrants* demand a diſtinct deciſion. *Ibi. p.* 121. 322.

The ſtate of the queſtion and the different ſentiments are well underſtood; and never ſo little perſpicuity in the Synod of *Dort*'s deciſion would have made us eaſily comprehend what was their Doctrine; which they were ſo much the more obliged to, as the *Remonſtrants*, after their declaration, had ſummon'd thoſe that ſhould complain of their Doctrine's being ill repreſented by them, to reject diſtinctly every particular wherein they judged themſelves wrongfully accuſed; and intreated alſo the Synod to deliver themſelves preciſely in reſpect of the articles that caſt ſuch a blemiſh on the whole *Reformation*.

XXXV. The Synod's deciſion.

If ever there was a neceſſity of ſpeaking plainly, 'twas after ſuch a declaration and in ſuch a conjuncture. Let us now give ear to the deciſion of the Synod.

I

It pronounces on the five heads propoſed in four Chapters, for, as above ſaid, the third and fourth head always went together. Each chapter hath two parts: in the firſt, they aſſert; in the ſecond, reject and condemn. This is the Subſtance of their *Canons*, for ſo did they call the Decrees of this Synod.

XXXVI. The Synod's deciſion on the firſt head. Faith in the ſole Elect: certainty of ſalvation. *Seſſ.* xxxvi. *p.* 249. *&* *ſeq.* *Ibid. Art.* xii. *&* *ſeq.* *p.* 251.

Concerning Predeſtination and Election they decided, *that the decree thereof is abſolute and unchangeable; that God gives true and lively Faith to all thoſe he reſolves to withdraw from common damnation,* AND TO THEM ONLY: *that this Faith is a gift of God; that all the Elect, in their time, are aſſured of their Election, albeit not in the ſame degree nor in equal meaſure; that this aſſurance is derived to them, not from the fathoming of God's ſecrets, but from obſerving in themſelves, with a holy pleaſure and ſpiritual joy, the infallible fruits of Election ſuch as be true Faith, ſorrow for their ſins, and the like; that the ſenſe and certainty of their ſalvation always make them better; that thoſe, who have not as yet this ſenſe and this certain confidence, ought to deſire it; and laſtly, that this Doctrine ſhould not affright any but thoſe, who, wedded to the world, are not ſeriouſly converted.* Here have we already for the *ſole Elect*, together with true Faith, the certainty of ſalvation: but the thing will unfold itſelf hereafter much more clearly.

XXXVII. Deciſion on Infant-Baptiſm. *Art.* xvii. 252.

The ſeventeenth Article decides, *that the word of God declaring holy the children of the faithful, not by nature, but by the Covenant wherein they are compriſed together with their parents, the believing parents ought not to doubt of the Election and Salvation of their children that die in this Infant age.*

In this Article the Synod approves the Doctrine of the *Remonſtratns*, whom we have heard *Sup. n.* 23.

ſay preciſely the ſame thing: nothing therefore is more unqueſtionable amongſt our adverſaries, than an Article which we ſee equally taught by both Parties; the ſequel will manifeſt to us what are its conſequences.

XXXVIII Condemnation of thoſe that denied the certainty of ſalvation. *Ibid. Art.* VII. *p.* 254.

Amongſt the rejected Articles, we find that which aſſerts, that *the certainty of ſalvation depends on an uncertain condition*; that is to ſay, they condemn thoſe who teach, one is ſure of being ſaved by perſevering to live well, but one is not ſure of living well; which preciſely is the Doctrine we have heard the *Remonſtrants* teach. The Synod declares *this uncertain Certainty* abſurd; and by conſequence, eſtabliſhes an abſolute Certainty, which it endeavours even to prove from Scripture: but proofs are not our preſent purpoſe; it is to ſee this Doctrine well aſſerted, *viz.* that the true Believer, according to the decrees of *Dort*, not only ought to be ſure of his ſalvation ſuppoſing he does his duty well, but alſo ought to be ſure of doing it well, at leaſt at his life's end. But this is nothing hitherto, and we ſhall ſee this Doctrine decided much more clearly.

XXXIX. Juſtifying Faith again confeſſed in the ſole Elect.

Concerning Redemption and the Promiſe of Grace, they define, *that it's announced indifferently to all people:* that *'tis thro' their own fault that thoſe who believe it not, do reject it, and thro' Grace, that the true faithful do embrace it; but they are the Elect only to whom God is reſolved to give juſtifying Faith, whereby they infallibly are ſaved.* Here then, a ſecond time, have we juſtifying Faith in the Elect alone: we muſt ſee afterwards what thoſe ſhall have who don't continue to believe unto the end.

XL. Co-operation how admitted.

The ſummary of the fourth Chapter is, that altho' God calls *ſeriouſly* all thoſe whom the Goſpel is proclaim'd to, ſo that, if they periſh, 'tis not God's fault; ſomething nevertheleſs particular

ticular is wrought in thoſe that are converted, God calling them *efficaciouſly*, and giving to them Faith and Repentance. The ſufficient Grace of the *Arminians*, whereby *Free-will determines itſelf*, is rejected as a *Pelagian tenet*. Regeneration is repreſented as tranſacted *without us*, not by *the exterior word, or by moral perſuaſion*, but by an operation leaving it not *in the power of man to be* REGENERATED OR NOT, to be converted, or not converted: and nevertheleſs, ſay they in this article, when the Will is *renew'd*, it is not only *puſh'd on and moved by God*, but *acts being moved by him, and 'tis Man that believes and repents*.

Art. xii *p.* 265. *Ibid.*

XLI. The Believers certainty.

The Will therefore does not act but when converted and renew'd. What then, does it not act when one begins to deſire his converſion, and to pray for the Grace of Regeneration? Or have it you already when you begin to pray for it? This they ought to have explain'd, and not ſay in general, Converſion and Regeneration is wrought *without us*. Many other things might be ſaid in this place; but our buſineſs is not diſputing: it's ſufficient we make the Doctrine of the Synod hiſtorically well underſtood.

It ſays in the thirteenth Article, that the manner whereby this operation of regenerating Grace is wrought in us, is inconceivable: it's ſufficient to conceive that by this Grace the Believer *knows and feels that he believes and loves his Saviour. He knows and feels*; here have you what is moſt certain within the compaſs of perception, to know and feel.

XLII. Sequel of the ſame ſubject. *Ibid.*

We read in the ſixteenth Article, that as ſin hath not robbed Man of his Nature, nor of his Underſtanding, nor of his Will; ſo regenerating Grace acts not in him *as in a ſtump or log of wood*; it conſerves to the Will *its properties, and*

does not force it in ſpite of itſelf; that is, it does not make it *will without willing*. What ſtrange Theology! Are not men reſolved to puzzle every thing who thus weakly expreſs themſelves on Free-will?

XLIII. Habits infuſed. *Art.* vi. *p.* 267.

Amongſt the rejected errors, I find that which teaches, *that in the true converſion of Man, God cannot communicate qualities, habits and gifts by infuſion: and that Faith by which we are firſt converted, and from which we are called faithful, is not a gift and quality by God infuſed, but only an act of Man.* I am glad to hear the infuſion of theſe new qualities and habits: it will be of great ſervice to us in order to explain the true idea of Juſtification, and to ſhew, by what means it may be obtain'd of God. For I do not believe it can be doubted but that, in thoſe who are come to the age of underſtanding, 'tis an act of Faith inſpired by God which impetrates for us the Grace to receive the habit of it with that of other virtues. Yet, the infuſion of this habit will be nevertheleſs gratuitous, as will be ſeen in due time. But let us proceed, and come now to the laſt Chapter which is the moſt material, becauſe the reproaches of the *Remonſtrants*, concerning the Certainty of ſalvation and the *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, were there to be anſwer'd fully and diſtinctly.

XLIV. Juſtice not to be loſt. Monſtrous Doctrine of the Synod. *Art.* iv. v. *p.* 271.

Touching *Inamiſſibility*, this is what they ſay: *viz, That in certain particular actions the true faithful may ſometimes withdraw themſelves, and do ſo in effect, by their vices, from the guidance of Grace to follow concupiſcence, even ſo far as to fall into atrocious crimes; and do by theſe enormous ſins offend God, render themſelves guilty of death, interrupt the exerciſe of Faith, greatly wound their conſciences, and* SOMETIMES *loſe, for a while,* THE SENSE OF GRACE. O God,

is it poſſible, in this deteſtable ſtate, they ſhould only *loſe* THE SENSE OF GRACE, and not Grace itſelf, and this too but SOMETIMES! but 'tis not yet time to exclaim; here is much worſe: *God, in theſe diſmal falls, does not* INTIRELY *deprive them of his Holy Spirit, nor ſuffers them to fall ſo, as to* FORFEIT THE GRACE OF ADOPTION AND THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION, *nor ſo as to commit the ſin unto death, nor againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and be damn'd.* Whoſoever therefore is once truly faithful, and regenerated by Grace, not only ſhall not periſh in his crimes, but at the very time he abandons himſelf to them, DOTH NOT FALL FROM THE GRACE OF ADOPTION, AND THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION. Could *Jeſus Chriſt* be aſſociated with *Belial*, Grace with ſin, in a more flagrant manner?

Art. VI. *& ſeq. Ibid.*

XLV. What is the ſin a true Believer cannot fall into.

The Synod indeed ſeems willing to preſerve the faithful from ſome crimes, when it ſays, they are not *ſo far abandon'd as to fall into the ſin unto death, or againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, which the Scripture ſays is not to be forgiven: but if they underſtand any other ſin by this than that of final impenitence, I am at a loſs to know what it can be, there being no ſuch ſinner, what diſorders ſoever he may have been guilty of, that ſhould not be made to hope the forgiveneſs of them. Let us however leave to the Synod to determine what other explanation it pleaſes of this ſin: it's ſufficient we ſee plainly, according to its Doctrine, that all crimes poſſible to be named, for example, an adultery as long continued, and a murder as much premeditated as that of *David*, Hereſy, Idolatry even with all its abominations, which the Synod evidently allows the true Believer may fall into, are compatible *with the grace of Adoption and the ſtate of Juſtification.*

XLVI. The Synod ſpeaks plainly.

Nor can it be ſaid, by this ſtate the Synod underſtands only the right to ſalvation ſtill remaining in the true Believer, namely, according to the Synod, in the predeſtinated, in virtue of Predeſtination: for on the contrary, the matter here in deliberation concerns the immediate right one hath to ſalvation by actual Regeneration and Converſion, and concerns the ſtate whereby one is, I don't ſay deſtin'd to, but really in poſſeſſion as well of the true Faith as of Juſtification. In a word, the matter in debate, is not whether you ſhall one day have this Grace, but whether, after having had it, you can forfeit it one ſole moment: the Synod decides you can't. *Remonſtrants*, complain not, you have your anſwer at leaſt in plain terms as you deſired, and all the pernicious Doctrine you ſay is believed in the Party which you accuſe, all that you reject therein with ſuch abhorrence, is decided by them in expreſs terms.

XLVII. The great words *totally* and *finally*. *S. n.* 27.

But to remove all equivocation, we muſt ſee in the Synod theſe eſſential words, *totally* and *finally*, whereon, I have ſhew'd, the whole diſpute depended. We muſt ſee, I ſay, whether it allows the *Remonſtrants* to aſſert, that a true Believer *may fall totally and finally from the ſtate of Juſtification*. The Synod, to leave no doubt of its ſentiment as oppoſite to the *total* loſs, ſays, *that the immortal ſeed, whereby the true faithful are regenerated, abides always in them in ſpite of their fall*. As oppoſite to the *final* loſs, the ſame Synod ſays, that the reconciled, one day, SHALL FEEL *Grace anew*: they ſhall not recover it; no, the Synod is ſure not to ſay that; they *ſhall feel it* anew. In this manner, proceeds the Synod, it happens that *neither do they loſe* TOTALLY *the Faith and Grace, nor do they remain* FINALLY *in their ſin, ſo as to periſh in it*.

Art. VII. VIII. *p.* 272.

Here,

Here, methinks, is enough ſaid for *Inamiſſibility*. Let us ſee as to *Certainty*.

XLVIII. Certainty of ſalvation, of what kind? *Ibi. Art.* ix. 272. 273.

The true faithful, ſays the Synod, *may be certain, and are ſo, of their Salvation and Perſeverance, according to the meaſure of Faith wherewith they* BELIEVE WITH CERTAINTY *that they are, and abide, living Members of the Church, that they have forgiveneſs of their ſins, and life eternal: a Certainty which does not accrue to them from a particular Revelation, but from Faith in the promiſes which God hath reveal'd in his word, and by the teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, and laſtly, by a good conſcience, and a holy and ſerious application to good works.*

XLIX. All uncertainty a temptation. *Ibi. Art.* 11.

To leave nothing unſaid, it adds, that *in the temptations and doubts of the fleſh, which we are to contraſt with, we do not always feel this fulneſs of Faith and this Certainty of Perſeverance:* to the end that, as often as ever you feel ſome doubt, and dare not promiſe yourſelf with an intire Certainty to perſevere always in your duty, you may look on yourſelf obliged to reckon this doubt among the motions of the fleſh, and the temptations you are to fight againſt.

L. Totally and finally. *Art.* III. *p.* 274. *Conc. Trid. Seſſ.* vi. *c.* xii. *Can.* xvi.

Amongſt the rejected errors this afterwards is reckon'd, *viz, that the true faithful may fall, and do often fall,* TOTALLY AND FINALLY *from juſtifying Faith, from Grace and Salvation, and that, during this life, you cannot have any ſecurity of future Perſeverance without ſpecial Revelation.* They declare, this Doctrine brings back the doubts of *Papiſts*, becauſe this Certainty, without ſpecial Revelation, was condemn'd in the Council of *Trent*.

LI. How man juſtified remains guilty of death.

It may be ask'd, how they reconcile, with the Doctrine of *Inamiſſibility*, that which is ſaid in the Synod, *viz*, that by great crimes, the faithful committing them, *render themſelves guilty of*

of death. This is what eaſily is brought to bear with the principles of the new *Reformation*, where it's maintain'd that the true Believer, how much ſoever regenerated, remains always, by concupiſcence, *guilty of death*, not only in his great and leſs ſins, but alſo in his good-works; ſo that this ſtate, rendering us guilty of death, is no hinderance, according to the terms of the Synod, to our abiding *in the ſtate of Juſtification and Grace.*

S. n. 42.

LII. The ſelf-contradiction of the *Calvinian* Doctrine.

But then, have we not ſaid that our *Reformed* could not deny, nor in effect did deny, but that, ſhould one die in theſe crimes without doing Penance, he would be damn'd? True it is, the greateſt part confeſs it; and altho' the Synod decided nothing in Body concerning this difficulty, it was propoſed there, as we ſhall ſee, by ſome of the Opiners. In good truth, 'tis wondrous ſtrange men can remain in an error containing ſo inevitable and manifeſt a contradiction as that is which acknowledges a ſtate of Grace, in which nevertheleſs, one would be damn'd ſhould he die therein. But many other contradictions are there in this Doctrine: here is one unqueſtionably not leſs palpable than the other. In the new *Reformation*, true Faith is inſeparable from the love of God and good-works, the neceſſary fruits thereof: 'tis the moſt ſteddy *Dogma* of this Religion; and here you ſee, nevertheleſs, in oppoſition to this *Dogma*, true Faith, not only without good-works, but alſo in the greateſt crimes. Have patience, this is not all: I ſpy another contradiction not leſs manifeſt in the new *Reformation*, even by the Synod's own decree: All children of the faithful are holy, and their ſalvation certain. Therefore, in this ſtate, they are truly juſtified: therefore, they cannot fall from Grace, and every individual of the *Reformation* will be predeſtinated

S. n. 36.

deſtinated: nor can one Believer, which is ſtill more ſtrange, have a child that is not holy and predeſtinated like himſelf: thus all their poſterity are evidently predeſtinated, and never can a Reprobate ſpring from one Elect. Who of them all will dare to ſay it? And yet, who of them can deny, that ſo viſible and ſo ſtrange an abſurdity is clearly contain'd in the principles of the Synod and the Doctrine of *Inamiſſibility*? It is therefore all over teeming with manifeſt abſurdities, all over jarring with horrid contradictions: nor can it indeed be otherwiſe than the neceſſary reſult of error thus always to contradict itſelf.

LIII. All error contradicts itſelf.

There is no error but muſt fall into ſelf-contradiction ſome way or other: but ſee what befalls man poſſeſſed with ſtrong prejudice. He firſt ſtrives, what he can, to avoid ſeeing this inevitable and glaring contradiction: if this cannot be done, he looks on it with a prepoſſeſſion, that does not allow him to form a right judgment of it; he thinks to fence againſt it by ſoothing himſelf with frothy reaſoning and fine words: dazzled with ſome ſpecious principle to which he is ſtrongly wedded, he's reſolved never to forſake it. *Eutyches* and his Followers durſt not ſay, *Jeſus Chriſt* was not at the ſame time true *God* and true *Man*: but fond of that unity ill-underſtood, which they imagin'd in *Jeſus Chriſt*, they would have both natures confounded in this union, and were pleaſed and gloried in removing by this means to a greater diſtance than all others (tho' it were even to exceſs) from *Neſtorius*'s Hereſy which divided the Son of God. Thus do men intangle, thus do they prepoſſeſs themſelves, thus do the prepoſſeſſed, with blind determination, lead the van and draw after them the giddy vulgar, without being willing, or able to underſtand, as ſays the Apoſtle, *either what they* 1 *Tim.* 1. 7.

they ſay themſelves, or whereof they affirm with ſuch aſſurance. This is what conſtitutes all opinioniſts; this is the pit all Hereticks fall into.

LIV. Certainty of ſalvation, a falſe allurement.

Our adverſaries frame to themſelves an object of infinite comfort in the Certainty they will needs be in of their eternal ſalvation. Do not expect they ever will regard, with candid equity or attention, what may deprive them of this Certainty. If to maintain it they muſt be obliged to ſay, one is ſure not to die in ſin tho' he fall into it with malice prepenſe, nay, tho' he contract a deteſtable habit thereof; this they will ſay. If they muſt exaggerate, beyond meaſure, this text of St. *Paul*, *The gifts and calling of God are without Repentance*, and ſay, God never takes away intirely, nor in Subſtance, what he hath given; this they will ſay happen what will, what ever contradictions you may ſhew them, whatever inconſiſtency, what diſmal conſequence ſoever may reſult from their Doctrine: otherwiſe, beſides loſing the pleaſure of their Certainty and the charms diſcover'd by them in the novelty of this tenet; they muſt alſo be forc'd to own, they were in the wrong as to the point they look'd upon the moſt eſſential of their *Reformation*, and the Church of *Rome*, ſo much cenſured and hated by them, was in the right.

Rom. xi. 29.

LV. Whether the Synod were ill underſtood in reſpect to *Inamiſſibility*, and whether the Certainty it propoſes be no more than confidence.

But perchance, this Certainty, which they teach, is nothing elſe at bottom than that Truſt which we admit. Would to God it were! no body denies this Truſt: the *Lutherans* maintain'd it, yet the *Calviniſts* told them a hundred times, that ſomething more was requiſite. But without going forth from the Synod; the *Arminians* admitted this Truſt, for queſtionleſs they never ſaid that a Believer fallen into ſin, which he repents of, ſhould deſpair of his ſalvation. The Synod nevertheleſs condemns them, on account that,

that, ſatisfied with this hope, they reject Certainty. The *Catholicks* infine admitted this Truſt, and the holy Perſeverance, which the Council of *Trent* will have us acknowledge as *God's ſpecial gift*, it will have us expect with confidence from his infinite bounty: and yet, becauſe it rejects *Abſolute* Certainty, the Synod condemns it, and accuſes the *Remonſtrants*, who likewiſe condemn'd this Certainty, of falling by this means into the doubts of *Popery*. Had the *Dogma* of abſolute Certainty and *Inamiſſibility* raiſed as much horror in the Synod as ſo hideous a Doctrine ſhould excite naturally in all minds, the Miniſters that compoſed this aſſembly, would not have had mouths enough to proclaim throughout all the Univerſe, that the *Remonſtrants*, the *Lutherans*, and the *Catholicks*, laying ſuch a blaſphemy to their charge, did calumniate them; and all *Europe* would have rung with their clamour; but on the contrary, ſo far were they from defending themſelves againſt this *Certainty* and *Inamiſſibility* objected to them by the *Remonſtrants*, that they define it expreſly, and condemn the *Remonſtrants* for denying it. When they think themſelves calumniated, they are not at all ſparing of their complaints. They complain, for inſtance, at the cloſe of their Synod, that their enemies, and amongſt the reſt, the *Remonſtrants*, accuſe them *of making God the author of ſin; and of the reprobation of men without any regard to ſin; of making him precipitate the children of the faithful into damnation, ſo as all the prayers of the Church, and even Baptiſm itſelf, are not able to withdraw them from it.* Why don't they complain, in like manner, they are wrongfully accuſed of admitting this ſame *Certainty* and *Inamiſſibility*. It's true, they ſay in this very place, they are accuſed *of inſpiring men*

Conc. Trid. Seſſ. vi. *Can.* xv. xvi. xxii.

Syn. Dord. Concl. Seſſ. 136. *p.* 275.

Ibid.

men with a carnal ſecurity, by affirming that no crime prejudices the ſalvation of the Elect, and that they may, with full ſecurity, commit the moſt execrable. But is this a ſufficient explanation from men that were ask'd a plain and direct anſwer? What, does it not ſuffice them then for an evaſion, that they acknowledged crimes, for inſtance, *the ſin even unto death and againſt the Holy Ghoſt* whatever it may be, which the Elect and true faithful never fall into? And if it was their ſentiment that other crimes were equally incompatible with true Faith and the ſtate of Grace, could they not have ſaid as much in expreſs terms, whereas, in expreſs terms, they aſſert the contrary?

LVI. *Calvin*'s Doctrine expreſly, defin'd by the Synod. *S. l.* ix. *n.* 2. 3. *& ſeq. Conf. de Foi. de Fr. Art.* 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. *Dim.* 18. 19. 36. *S. l.* ix. *Conf. Belg. Art.* 24. *Synt. Gen.* 1. *p. p.* 139.

Conclude we therefore, that, of the three Articles wherein we have made the *Calvinian* Juſtification to conſiſt, the two firſt which already were inſinuated in the *Confeſſions* of Faith, namely, abſolute Certainty of Predeſtination, and the impoſſibility of forfeiting finally Faith and Grace once received, are expreſly defined in the Synod of *Dort*; and that the third Article, where the queſtion is, whether a true Believer may at leaſt loſe for a while and during his continuance in ſin, juſtifying Grace and true Faith, altho' not expreſs'd in any *Confeſſion* of Faith, is likewiſe decided conformably to *Calvin*'s Doctrine and the ſpirit of the new *Reformation*.

LVII. *Peter du Moulin*'s ſentiments approved by the Synod.

One may alſo know the ſentiment of the whole Synod by that of the renown'd *Peter du Moulin* Miniſter of *Paris*; allow'd by all the world, to be unqueſtionably the moſt rigorous *Calviniſt* of his time, and the moſt wedded to the Doctrine *Gomar* defended againſt *Arminius*. He ſent to *Dort* his judgment on this matter, which was read and approved by the whole Synod, and inſerted in the Acts. He declares, he had not leiſure

leiſure to handle all the queſtions: but lays down the whole Subſtance of the Synod's Doctrine when he decides, that none is juſtified but he that is glorified: whereby he condemns the *Arminians*, in that they teach, *there are men juſtified that loſe the Faith, and are damn'd.* And ſtill more clearly in theſe words: *Altho' the doubt of ſalvation enter ſometimes into the minds of the true faithful, God nevertheleſs commands us in his word to have a Certainty thereof, and we muſt tend with all our might to this Certainty, whereat, we ſhould not doubt, many do arrive; and whoever is aſſured of his ſalvation, is ſo, at the ſame time, that God will never abandon him, and that he ſhall thus perſevere even to the end.* One cannot, more clearly, regard Doubting as a temptation and weakneſs, nor Certainty, as injoin'd by God's commandment. Thus the faithful are not aſſured that they ſhall not fall into the worſt of crimes and continue in them a long while like *David:* but are nevertheleſs aſſured, *God never will abandon them, and that they ſhall perſevere even to the end.* This is an abridgment of the Synod: accordingly, it was reſolved by the aſſembly to return *Du Moulin* thanks for the very accurate judgment paſs'd by him on this ſubject, and for his Aſſent to the Doctrine of the Synod.

Seſſ. CIII. CIV. *p.* 289. 300.

Ibi. p. 291.

Ibid. 300.

LVIII. Queſtion: whether the Certainty of Salvation be a Certainty of Faith.

Some would doubt whether this Certainty required by the Synod in every Believer for his Salvation, be a Certainty of Faith: but their doubt will ceaſe, if they do but obſerve, that the Certainty in queſtion, is always expreſs'd by the word *Believe*, which in the Synod is taken no otherwiſe than for true Faith; to which add, that this certainty, according to the ſame Synod, is nothing elſe than the belief of the promiſes applied by each individual to himſelf and to his eternal

eternal ſalvation, with a certain feeling in the heart of the ſincerity of his Faith, ſo that, to the end no kind of Certainty may be wanting, you have that of *Faith*, join'd to that of *Expe-perience* and *Feeling*.

LIX. The ſentiment of the Divines of *Great-Britain*. *Theol. Mag. Brit. c. de perſev. cert. quoad nos. Th.* III. *p.* 218. *Ibid. Th.* IV. *p.* 219. *Conf. Ang. Art.* XVII. *Synt. Gen.* 1. *p.* 102. *S. l.* X. *n.* 23.

Of all the Opiners, thoſe that beſt explain the ſenſe of the Synod, are the *Divines* of *Great-Britain*: for after confeſſing, with all the reſt, a kind of doubt in the Believer concerning his Salvation, but a doubt that always proceeds from temptation, they explain very clearly, *how that after the temptation, the act whereby one believes that God looks upon him with the eyes of mercy, and that he ſhall infallibly poſſeſs eternal life, is not an act of dubious opinion, or of conjectural hope wherein one might be deceived*, cui falſum ſubeſſe poteſt; *but an act of a true and lively Faith excited and ſealed in our hearts by the ſpirit of Adoption:* wherein, theſe Divines ſeem to advance further than the *Engliſh Confeſſion* of Faith, which, as we have already ſeen, looks as if it deſign'd to avoid ſpeaking ſo clearly *on the Certainty of ſalvation*.

LX. Theſe Divines believed that juſtice could not be forfeited. Contradiction of their Doctrine. *Ibid. Th.* III. IV. *Ibid. Th.* II. *p.* 212.

Some have thought that theſe *Engliſh* Divines were not of the common opinion in reſpect to juſtice attributed to the faithful fallen into grievous crimes whilſt they continue in them like to *David*; and what may occaſion this doubt is, that theſe Doctors decide formally, *that theſe faithful are in the ſtate of damnation, and would be damn'd, ſhould they die therein:* whence it follows, that they are fallen from the Grace of Juſtification, at leaſt for that time. But this is one of thoſe places which involve all ſuch as err in neceſſary contradictions: for theſe Divines ſee themſelves obliged by their erroneous principles to acknowledge, on one ſide, that the faithful, thus plunged into crimes, would be damn'd ſhould they then die;

die; and on the other, *that they do not fall from the ſtate of Juſtification.*

LXI. That Faith and Charity ſubſiſt amidſt the greateſt crimes.

Nor muſt one perſuade himſelf, they here confound Juſtification with Predeſtination: for on the contrary, 'tis what they diſtinguiſh moſt expreſly; and ſay, that theſe faithful, plunged into crimes, not only are not fallen from their Predeſtination, which is true of all the Elect, but, *they are not fallen from the Faith*, nor from *that celeſtial ſeed of regeneration and thoſe fundamental gifts, without which, ſpiritual life can in no wiſe ſubſiſt; inſomuch, that 'tis impoſſible the gifts of Charity and Faith ſhould intirely be extinguiſhed in their hearts. They do not intirely loſe the Faith, Sanctity, Adoption: they abide in this univerſal Juſtification the which is Juſtification in its moſt proper ſenſe, which no particular crime can exclude them from:* they abide in this Juſtification, *from which interior renovation and ſanctification are inſeparable*; in a word, they are Saints, who, if they died, would be damn'd.

Ibid. Th. v. *p.* 213. vi. 214. *Ibid.* 215. *Ib. Th.* vii. *Ib. Th.* vi. *Ibid.* 214. 218.

LXII. What it was that remain'd in the faithful guilty of grievous crimes. The Doctrine of thoſe of *Embden.*

They were extremely puzzled to explain, according to theſe principles, what it was that remain'd in the faithful that had run themſelves into criminal diſorders. Thoſe of *Embden* were agreed, *actual Faith could not remain in them, and that it was inconſiſtent with the conſent to grievous ſins*, What they did not loſe, *was habitual Faith, that*, ſaid they, *which ſubſiſts in man whilſt he ſleeps, or doth not act:* but then, *this habitual Faith infuſed into man by preaching and the uſe of the Sacraments, is the true living and juſtifying Faith*; whence they concluded that the faithful did not, for all theſe enormous crimes, loſe *either Juſtice or the Holy Ghoſt:* and when they were ask'd whether it might not as well be ſaid, they loſt *Faith and the Holy Ghoſt* afterwards

Jud. Theo. Embd. de V. Art. Th. 1. *n.* 44. 52. *p.* 266. 267. *Ibid. n.* 45. *Ibid.* 270.

afterwards to recover them, as to say, they only lost *the feeling and energy* thereof; they answer'd, the faithful ought not to be deprived of the comfort accruing to them from the impossibility of their ever losing *either Faith or the Holy Ghost, what crime soever they fell into against their conscience. For this*, said they, *would be but a cold comfort to tell them, you have intirely lost Faith and the Holy Ghost, yet perchance, God will adopt and regenerate you again that you may be reconciled to him.* Thus, what sins soever the Believer may give himself up to, contrary to his conscience, they are so favourable to him, that to comfort him, they are not satisfied with leaving him the hopes of a future return to the state of Grace; but he must also have the comfort of *Actually* being in it, his crimes notwithstanding.

Ibid. n. 50. 51.

Ibid. n. 30. *p.* 265.

LXIII. What it was the Holy Ghost did in the faithful guilty of grievous sins. Strange idea of Christian justice.

The question still remains, what did Faith and the *Holy Ghost* in these Believers thus abandon'd to sin, and whether or no they were altogether without action in them. It was answer'd, they were not without action; and the effect produced by them, for example in *David*, was, that he did not sin *whole and intire: Peccavit David, at non totus*; there being a certain sin which he did not commit. But if you urged so far as to ask, what could be *this sin the whole man falls into*, and the faithful are never guilty of; they answer'd, *it was not a particular fall of the Christian man into such or such a crime against the first or second table, but a total and universal defection and apostacy from the Gospel-truth, whereby man offends not God in part and by halves, but by an obstinate contempt, despises his whole majesty, and absolutely excludes himself from Grace.* Thus, till you are arrived to this obstinate contempt of God, and to this universal apostacy, you still have

Ibid. n. 54. *p.* 267.

Ibid. n. 60. *p.* 268.

have the comfort *of being holy, of being juſtified, and regenerated*, and of having *the Holy Ghoſt* dwelling in you.

LXIV. The opinion of thoſe of *Bremen*. *Jud. Brem. de V. Art. n.* 32. 33. *p.* 254. 255.

Anſwerable to this is the ſentiment of thoſe of *Bremen*, when they ſay, that *thoſe who are once truly regenerated, never wander to that degree as to ſtray intirely from God by an univerſal apoſtacy, ſo as to hate him as their enemy, to ſin like the Devil with a ſtudied malice, and to deprive themſelves of heavenly gifts: wherefore they never loſe abſolutely God's Grace and Favour*; ſo that, they remain in this Grace and Favour, well regenerated, well juſtified, provided only they be not the declared enemies of God, and quite as wicked as the Devil.

LXV. Whether the Synod can be excuſed from theſe exceſſes. The unanimous conſent of all the Opiners. *Seſſ.* CXXV. CXXX. & *præf. ad Ecc.*

So great are theſe exceſſes that the *Proteſtants* are confounded at them; nay, there have been ſome *Catholicks* that could not perſuade themſelves the Synod was guilty of them. Nevertheleſs, here have you hiſtorically with the decrees of the Synod, the votes of the principal Opiners. And that there might be no doubt, in reſpect to thoſe of all the reſt, beſides what is inſerted in the Acts of the Synod, that every thing was there decided by the unanimous conſent of all the voices not one excepted, I have expreſly related the opinions, wherein, thoſe that are willing to excuſe the Synod of *Dort* find the greateſt moderation.

LXVI. The ſanctification of all baptized children confeſſed in the Synod, and the conſequence of this Doctrine.

Beſides theſe important points, we ſee a fourth expreſly decided in the Synod; and 'tis that of the ſanctity of all children deſcending from the faithful. There have been different explanations of this Article in the Acts of the new *Reformation*. We have ſeen this ſanctity of children formally eſtabliſh'd in the *Catechiſm* of the *Calviniſts* of *France*, and there it's ſaid expreſly, that all children of the faithful are ſanctified, and born

born in the *Covenant:* yet, we have ſeen the contrary in the agreement of thoſe of *Geneva* with the *Swiſs*, and the ſanctification of Infants even baptized is there reſtrain'd to the predeſtinated alone. *Beza* ſeems to have follow'd this reſtriction in the above-cited expoſition: but the Synod of *Dort* pronounces in favour of the ſanctity of all children born of faithful parents, and permits not the parents to doubt of their ſalvation; an Article from which we have ſeen it follow demonſtratively, according to the principles of the Synod, that all the children of the faithful and all the poſterity of theſe children to the end of time, ſhould their race continue ſo long, are of the number of the predeſtinated.

S. l. ix. *p.* 11.12.19. *Ibid.* 21. *Expoſ. de la Foi. ch.* IV. *Conc.* 13. *p.* 80. *Seſſione* xxxvi. *Ca. de prædeſt. Art.* 17. *Sup. n.* 36.

LXVII. Procedure of the Synod. The *Remonſtrants* Petition complaining they are judged by their adverſaries.

Whether all theſe Deciſions which ſeem ſo authentick, be ſo certainly fundamental in the new *Reformation*, as to deprive of ſalvation and cut off from the Church all thoſe that reject them, is what we are to examine by ſetting forth the procedure of the Council.

The firſt thing I obſerve therein, is a Petition preferr'd by the *Remonſtrants*, repreſenting to the Synod that they have been condemn'd, treated as Hereticks, and excommunicated by the *Anti-Remonſtrants* their Colleagues and Parties; that they are *Paſtors* like the reſt, and ſo naturally ought to have a ſeat in the Synod together with them: if they are to be excluded from it as Parties in the cauſe, their plantiffs ought to be excluded from it no leſs than they: otherwiſe, they would be both Judges and Parties at the ſame time, which of all procedures is the moſt unjuſt.

Seſſ. xxv. *p.* 65. & *ſeq.*

LXVIII. They employ the ſame arguments which the

Theſe were manifeſtly the ſame reaſons for which all the *Proteſtants* had excepted againſt the Council of the *Catholicks*; for which the *Zuinglians* in particular had oppoſed the Synod of

of the *Ubiquitarians*, by whom they were condemn'd at *Jena*, as above ſeen. The *Remonſtrants* did not fail to quote theſe examples. They inſtanced chiefly in complaints made againſt the Council of *Trent*, when all *Proteſtants* exclaim'd: *we will have a free Council; a Council we may be preſent at together with the reſt; a Council that comes unbiaſſed; a Council that does not hold us for Hereticks; otherwiſe we ſhould be judged by our adverſaries.* We have ſeen that *Calvin* and the *Calviniſts* alledged the ſame reaſons againſt the Synod of *Jena*. The *Remonſtrants* found themſelves in this very ſtate when they beheld *Francis Gomar* and his adherents ſeated in the Council amongſt their Judges, yet themſelves excluded, and treated as guilty perſons: this was prejudging againſt them before examining the cauſe; and theſe reaſons ſeem'd to them ſo much the more convincing, as they were viſibly the very ſame their Fathers had urged againſt the Council of *Trent*, as they ſet forth in their Petition.

whole *Proteſtant* Party inſiſted on againſt the *Church*. *S. l.* viii. *n.* 41. *Ibi.* 70. 81.

Syn. Dord. Ibid. p. 70. 71. 72. &c. 81. &c.

After their Petition was read, it was declared to them, *the Synod thought it very ſtrange that the accuſed ſhould ſet laws to their Judges, and preſcribe them rules; which was not only injuring the Synod, but alſo the States-General, by whom it was aſſembled and authoriz'd to judge; wherefore they had no more to do but obey.*

LXIX. Their mouths are ſtopt by the authority of the *States*. *Ibid. p.* 80. *Seſſ.* xxvi. *p.* 82. 83.

This was ſtopping their mouths with the authority of the ſecular power, but not anſwering their arguments, nor the example of their forefathers when they declined the judgment of the Council of *Trent*. And truly, little did they dwell on theſe conſiderations: the Delegates of the *States*, who were preſent at the Synod with the whole authority of their Superiors, judged the *Remonſtrants* were not to be admitted plan-

Seſſ. xxvi. *p.* 81.

tiffs, and order'd them to obey the regulations of the Synod, which, on its ſide, declared their propoſitions inſolent, and their challenging the whole Synod as a Party in the cauſe, injurious, not only to the Synod itſelf, but alſo to the Supreme authority of the *States-General*.

LXX. They proteſt againſt the Synod. The arguments uſed againſt them by the Synod, condemn the whole *Proteſtant* Party. *Seſſ.* xxvii. *p.* 93. *Ibid. n.* 83. 87. 97. 98. 100. 104. 106.

The *Remonſtrants* condemn'd, change their Petitions into Proteſts againſt the Synod. Theſe were debated on; and as the reaſons alledged by them were the ſame with thoſe the *Proteſtants* had uſed to elude the authority of the *Catholick* Biſhops, the anſwers return'd them were the ſame that the *Catholicks* had employ'd againſt the *Proteſtants*. They were told, that it never had been the cuſtom of the *Church* to deprive Paſtors of their right of ſuffrage againſt errors on account that they had oppoſed them: that this would be diveſting them of the prerogatives of their function for having faithfully diſcharg'd their duty, and ſubverting the whole œconomy of Church-judgments: that by the ſame reaſons the *Arians*, the *Neſtorians*, and the *Eutychians* might have excepted againſt the whole *Church*, and left themſelves no Judge among *Chriſtians*: that this would be the way to ſilence Paſtors and give a free ſcope to all kind of Hereſies. After all; what Judges would they have? Where could they find, in the wole body of the Paſtors, theſe neuter and indifferent perſons that had intereſted themſelves no way in queſtions of Faith and affairs of the Church? Theſe arguments were unanſwerable: but then, unluckily for our *Reformed*, they were the very ſame that had been objected to them when they declined the judgment of the Biſhops in poſſeſſion of authority, at the time of their ſeparation.

LXXI. They decide that

What carried the greateſt weight in the objections againſt the *Remonſtrants* was, *that they were innovators*,

innovators, and the leaſt Party as well as the neweſt, which by conſequence, ought to be judged *by the greateſt, and the moſt ancient; by that which was in poſſeſſion, and which maintain'd the Doctrine till then received.* But thereby the *Catholicks* did moſt evidently gain their cauſe; for after all, what antiquity did the *Dutch Reformed* Church alledge againſt the *Remonſtrants?* We will not ſuffer, ſaid ſhe, any alteration to be made in the Doctrine we have conſtantly taught *theſe fifty years paſt*, for this was the utmoſt antiquity they could boaſt. If *fifty years* gave to this Church, that call'd herſelf *Reform'd*, ſo great a power againſt the *Arminians* newly crept out of her boſom, what ought to be the authority of the whole *Catholick* Church of ſo many ages ſtanding?

the weaker and younger Party ought to yield to the greater and more ancient. *P.* 97. 103. &c.

Præf. ad Ecc. Ant. Syn. Dord.

LXXII. The Synod's perplexity at the Proteſt of the *Remonſtrants.* *P.* 99.

Among all the anſwers made to the *Remonſtrants* in relation to their Proteſt, what was the leaſt taken notice of, was the compariſon made by them betwixt their exceptions againſt the Synod of *Dort*, and thoſe of the *Reformed* againſt the Councils of the *Catholicks*, and thoſe of the *Lutherans*. Some of them ſaid, *there was a great difference betwixt this, and the Councils of Papiſts and* Lutherans. *There you hear Men, the Pope and* Luther; *here you hear God. There Men are prepoſſeſſed; here not a Man to be found that is not ready to yield to the word of God. There you have Enemies to contend with; and here, none but Brethren. There every thing is forced; here, all is free.* This was ſolving the queſtion by that which cauſed the difficulty. The queſtion was whether the *Gomariſts* did not come to the Synod prepoſſeſſed: the queſtion was, whether they were enemies or brethren; the queſtion was, which of them had the moſt docile hearts in regard to truth and the word of God:

whether the *Proteſtants* in general, or the *Catholicks*; the Diſciples of *Zuinglius*, or thoſe of *Luther*; the *Gomariſts*, or the *Arminians*. And as to liberty; the authority of the *States* which every where interpoſed, and moreover was always in the mouth of the Synod, that of the Prince of *Orange* the declared enemy of the *Arminians*, the impriſonment of *Grotius* and the other heads of that Party, and laſtly, the capital puniſhment of *Barneveld*, ſufficiently evidence what liberty was allow'd in *Holland* as to that matter.

Seſſ. xxv. 80. xxvi. 81. 82. 83. &c.

LXXIII. Strange anſwer of thoſe of *Geneva*. *Ibid.* 103.

The Deputies of *Geneva* make fewer words of the difficulty, and without ſtopping at the *Lutherans*, to whom but four years of ſeniority, above the *Zuinglians*, could give but little authority to be their Judges, they anſwer in reſpect of the *Catholicks*: *Our fathers might, as they pleaſed, proteſt againſt the Councils of* Conſtance *and* Trent, *becauſe we are determin'd to have no kind of union with them; on the contrary, we deſpiſe and hate them: in all times, thoſe who declined the authority of Councils, ſeparated from their Communion.* This is the whole of their Anſwer; and theſe great Doctors would have had nothing to oppoſe againſt the exceptions of the *Arminians*, had they but broken off from the Churches of *Holland*, and openly *deſpiſed* and *hated* them.

LXXIV. According to the Synod of *Dort*, the *Proteſtants* were obliged to own the Council of the *Catholick* Church.

According to this way of anſwering, the *Lutherans* needed not have taken ſo much pains to heap up grievances againſt the Council of *Trent*, nor to have diſcuſs'd which was Party, and which was not, in this cauſe. To reject the authority of the Council the *Catholicks* cited them to, they had no more to do but ſay down right, We are determin'd to break with you, we deſpiſe you, we hate you, we trouble not ourſelves about your Council. But publick edification and the very

very name of a Chriſtian would not ſuffer ſuch an anſwer. Neither did the *Lutherans* anſwer in this manner: on the contrary, they declared, and even at *Ausburg* in their own *Confeſſion*, that they appeal'd to the Council, even that Council which the Pope was to aſſemble. There is a like declaration in the *Confeſſion* of *Strasburg*; ſo that, both *Proteſtant* Parties were agreed in this point. They were not for breaking with us: they did not hate us; they did not deſpiſe us to that degree as did thoſe of *Geneva*. If it be therefore true, according to them, that the *Remonſtrants* ought to have ſubmitted themſelves to the Council of the *Reformation*, as they were averſe to Schiſm; ſo the *Proteſtants*, who alike declared they would not ſeparate from the *Catholick* Church, ought to have ſubmitted to her Council.

S. l. III. *n.* 62. *Conf. Argent. Peror. Synt. Gen.* 1. *p. p.* 199.

LXXV. In order to ſilence the *Remonſtrants*, a Synod of *Calviniſts* is forced to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the *Holy Ghoſt* promiſed to Councils. 24. *Oct.* 1618. *Syn. Delph. Int. Act. Dord. Seſſ.* xxvi. *p.* 86. *Matth.* xviii. 20.

We muſt not forget the Anſwer made by a whole Synod of the *Province* of *Holland* to the exceptions of the *Remonſtrants*: 'twas the Synod held at *Delph*, a little before that of *Dort*. The *Remonſtrants* objected that the Synod, which was to be conven'd againſt them, would not be infallible like that of the Apoſtles, and conſequently would not bind their conſciences. This they muſt certainly have own'd, or denied all the principles of the *Reformation*; yet after owning it, thoſe of *Delph* add theſe words: *Jeſus Chriſt who promiſed the Apoſtles the ſpirit of Truth, whoſe lights were to lead them into all Truth, hath likewiſe promiſed to his Church to be with her always even to the world's end, and to be in the midſt of two or three that ſhould meet together in his name*; whence they concluded a little after: *that when Paſtors ſhould meet together from ſundry countries in order to decide, according to God's word, what ought to be taught in*

in the Churches, one ought to perſuade himſelf with a firm confidence that Jeſus Chriſt would be with them according to his promiſe.

LXXVI. This is returning to the *Catholick* Doctrine.

Here then you ſee them obliged to confeſs two promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that he will be preſent at, and direct the judgments of his Church. Now the *Catholicks* never had any other foundation than this to believe the Church *Infallible*. They make uſe of the firſt text in order to ſhew, he always is with her conſider'd in her whole. They make uſe of the ſecond to ſhew, we ought to hold for certain, he would be in the midſt of two or three, were we aſſured that they were truly aſſembled in the name of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Now what is doubtful in reſpect to two or three aſſembled in private, is certain, in regard to the whole *Church* aſſembled in body: we ought therefore to hold for certain, in ſuch caſe, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is there by his Spirit, and by that means her judgments are infallible; or let them tell us, what other uſe can be made of theſe texts in the caſe the Synod of *Delph* applies them to.

LXXVII. The *Remonſtrants* are made to hope an Oecumenical Council. *Præf. ad Ecc. Ant. Syn. Dord.*

It is true, the certain accompliſhment of theſe promiſes is to be found in the body of the *Univerſal* Church and in her *Oecumenical* Council. Accordingly, 'twas to ſuch a Council the *Remonſtrants* had appeal'd. They were anſwer'd, *it was doubtful whether and when this Oecumenical Council could be aſſembled; mean while, the national one, called together by the States, would be like to one Oecumenical and general, foraſmuch as it would be compoſed of the Deputies of all the Reformed Churches; and in caſe they ſhould find themſelves aggrieved by the national Synod, they would be free to appeal to an Oecumenical Council, provided, in the interim, they obey the national Council.*

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The reflexion we ought to make here is, that to ſpeak of an *Oecumenical* Council, was amongſt theſe new *Reformed*, a remainder of the Church's language. For what could this word mean in theſe upſtart Churches? They durſt not ſay, the Deputies of all the *Reformed* Churches were an *Oecumenical* Council repreſenting the *Univerſal* Church. It was, ſaid they, not an *Oecumenical* Council, but *like to an Oecumenical Council.* What then ſhould a true *Oecumenical* Council be compoſed of? Ought the *Lutherans* to be a part of it, who had excommunicated them? Or the *Catholicks?* Or, infine, ſome other Churches? 'Tis what the *Calviniſts* could not tell, and in the condition they had put themſelves by dividing from all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, the great name of an *Oecumenical* Council, ſo venerable among Chriſtians, was nothing to them but an inſignificant word, which had no idea in their mind correſponding to it.

LXXVIII. The illuſion of this promiſe.

The laſt obſervation I have to make, as to the procedure, regards the *Confeſſions* of Faith and the *Catechiſms* received in the *United Provinces.* The *Provincial* Synods obliged the *Remonſtrants* to ſubſcribe them. Theſe refuſed it abſolutely, becauſe they believed there were principles in them from which the condemnation of their Doctrine might be clearly enough deduced. Upon this refuſal, they were treated as *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks*; and this notwithſtanding it was agreed in the *Provincial* Synods, and expreſly declared in the Synod of *Dort*, that theſe *Confeſſions* of Faith, ſo far from paſſing for a certain rule, might be examin'd anew: ſo that, they obliged the *Remonſtrants* to ſubſcribe a Doctrine of *Faith*, even without believing it themſelves.

LXXIX. Reſolution of the Synod, that the *Confeſſions* of Faith might be reviſed, and at the ſame time an obligation impoſed of ſubſcribing them. *Syn. Delp. Int. Act. Dord. Seſſ.* xxv. *p.* 91. *Seſſ.* xxxii. 123.

We have obſerved already, what is ſpecified in the Acts, that the *Canons* of the Synod againſt the

LXXX. Decree of

the pretended Reformed of *France* at the Synod of *Charenton*, in order to approve that of *Dort*. The certainty of Salvation acknowledged as the principal point. *Seſſ.* CXXV. CXXX. *Præf. ad Ecc.* M DC XX. *Syn. de Cha. ch.* xxiii.

the *Remonſtrants* were eſtabliſh'd with the unanimous conſent of all the voices, *not one excepted*. The pretended *Reformed* of *France* were not allowed to go to *Dort* tho' invited, but received its Deciſions in their national Synods, and amongſt the reſt, in that of *Charenton* in 1620, where all the *Canons* were tranſlated into *French*, and a ſubſcription of them injoin'd in this form: *I receive, approve, and embrace all the Doctrine taught in the Synod of* Dort *as intirely conformable to God's word and to the Confeſſion of Faith of our Churches: the Doctrine of the* Arminians *makes God's election to depend on the will of Men, brings back* Paganiſm, *diſguiſes Popery, and overthrows the whole Certainty of Salvation.* Theſe laſt words ſhew us what they judged of moſt importance in the Deciſions of *Dort*, and the Certainty of Salvation ſtands foremoſt as one of the moſt eſſential characteriſticks of *Calviniſm*.

LXXXI. A new ſubſcription of the Synod of *Dort* by the *French* refugees.

Even but the other day, the firſt thing required of our Miniſters, who had taken refuge in *Holland* in theſe laſt conteſts about Religion, was to ſubſcribe the Acts of the Synod of *Dort*; and ſo great a concourſe, ſo many oaths, ſuch a number of repeated Acts, ſeem to make it plain, that nothing is more authentick in the whole Party.

LXXXII. By the decree of the Synod of *Dort* the *Remonſtrants* ſtand depoſed and excommunicated.

Even the Decree of the Synod ſhews the importance of this Deciſion, the *Remonſtrants* being deprived by it *of the miniſtry, of their chairs of profeſſorſhip in divinity, of all their other functions as well eccleſiaſtick as academical, until having ſatisfied the Church, they be fully reconciled and received to her Communion*: which ſhews, they were treated as excommunicated, and that the ſentence of excommunication, paſs'd againſt them in particular Churches and Synods, was ratified; after which the Synod ſupplicates the States not

to

to ſuffer *any other Doctrine* to be taught *but that which was juſt defined, and to obſtruct Hereſies and errors that were creeping in*; which manifeſtly regards the *Arminian* Articles, by them qualified *as erroneous, and as the ſource of hidden errors.* *Sent. Syn. de Remon. Seſſ.* cxxxviii. *p.* 280.

All theſe things might make one think, theſe Articles were accounted very eſſential to *Religion*. Mr. *Jurieu*, nevertheleſs, aſſures us of the contrary: for after ſuppoſing, *the Church of* Rome *was in the ſentiment of the* Arminians, *at leaſt during the time of the Council of* Trent, he thus proceeds: *If ſhe had no other errors, we ſhould have done exceeding ill to ſeparate from her: we ought to have borne with thoſe for peace-ſake, by reaſon that ſhe was a Church whereof we made part, and which had not banded herſelf to maintain Grace according to St.* Auſtin's *ſyſtem of divinity*, &c. And accordingly, 'tis this which makes him conclude, that the reaſon which made them *cut the* Remonſtrants *off from their Communion was, for that they would not ſubmit to a Doctrine, which, in the firſt place, we believed conformable to the word of God; which, in the ſecond, we had bound ourſelves, by a confederate Confeſſion, to maintain and defend againſt the* Pelagianiſm *of the Church of* Rome. LXXXIII The Deciſions of *Dort* not eſſential. The ſentiment of the Miniſter *Jurieu*. *Syſt. de l'Egl. liv.* II. *ch.* III. *p.* 255. *Ibid. ch.* X. *p.* 305.

Without aſſenting to his principles, or what he ſays of the Church of *Rome*, it ſuffices to relate his ſentiments, which make him ſay in another place, that *the Churches of the* Swiſs *and the* Geneva-*Confeſſion would exclude from their Communion a* Semipelagian, *and one that ſhould maintain the errors of the* Remonſtrants: *yet, 'twould not be their deſign thereby to declare this man damn'd, as if* Semipelagianiſm *did damn.* It therefore ſtands well grounded by the ſentiment of this Miniſter, that the Doctrine of the *Remonſtrants* may well exclude one from the particular LXXXIV *Semipelagianiſm*, according to this author, damns none. *Ibid. ch.* III. *p.* 249.

particular confederation of the pretended *Reformed* Churches, but not, in general, from the fellowſhip of God's children; the which ſhews, theſe Articles are not of the number of thoſe, they call *fundamental.*

Laſtly, the ſame Doctor, in his *judgment concerning methods*, where he labours at the re-union of the *Lutherans* to thoſe of his Communion, acknowledges, that *in order to ſtem a torrent of* Pelagianiſm *which was going to overflow the* Low-countries; the Synod of *Dort ought to oppoſe the rigideſt and ſtricteſt method to this* Pelagian *relaxation.* He adds, that with this view *ſhe might have impoſed, on her Party, the neceſſity of maintaining St.* Auſtin's *method, and obliged, I don't ſay all the members of her ſociety, but at leaſt, all her Doctors, Preachers, and the reſt concern'd in teaching, yet without laying other Churches and other Communions under the ſame obligation.* Whence reſults that the Synod, ſo far from binding all Chriſtians to her tenets, does not even pretend to bind all her members, but only her *Preachers* and *Doctors:* which ſhews, what theſe grave Deciſions of the new *Reformation* are in the main, when after ſo much boaſting the expreſs word of God, all terminates at laſt in obliging *Doctors* to teach, by common agreement, a Doctrine, which private men are neither obliged to believe, nor profeſs.

Jug. ſur les meth. Sect. xviii. *p.* 159. 160.

LXXXV. The tenets in debate at *Dort* were the moſt popular and the moſt eſſential.

Nor can it be anſwer'd, that theſe are *Dogmata* which appertain not to the knowledge of the people: for beſides that all *Dogmata* reveal'd by God are made for the people as well as the reſt, and there are certain caſes wherein they are not allow'd to be ignorant of them; that which was defined at *Dort* ought, above all others, to be a moſt popular *Dogma*, ſince it principally concern'd that Certainty every body ought to have

have of his own Salvation: a *Dogma*, wherein the *Calviniſts* laid the main foundation of the Chriſtian Religion. *S. n.* 6.

LXXXVI. The Miniſter *Jurieu* makes the Synod of *Dort* act more by policy than truth.

All the reſt of the Deciſions of *Dort*, as you have ſeen, tending to this *Dogma* of Certainty, it was no queſtion of idle ſpeculation, but of practice, which they judged the moſt neceſſary and of the utmoſt conſequence to Religion; and nevertheleſs Mr. *Jurieu* hath repreſented this Doctrine not ſo much as a capital *Dogma*, but as *a method* they were obliged to follow; and not as the moſt certain neither, but as being *the moſt rigid*. *In order to ſtem*, ſays he, *this torrent of* Pelagianiſm, *it was neceſſary to oppoſe againſt it the rigideſt and ſtricteſt method*, and to decide, adds he, many things *to the prejudice of that liberty of diſputing pro and con, which always had ſubſiſted amongſt the Reformed:* as if this were a political affair, or that other things were to be conſider'd in Church-deciſions than the pure truth revealed by God clearly and expreſly in his word; or, after a full knowledge thereof, it were allowable to ſhift and decline from it. *Ibid. p.* 59.

LXXXVII. They were ready to bear with *Pelagianiſm* in the *Arminians*. *Ibid. Sect* xvi. *p.* 137.

But what this Miniſter teaches in another place, is ſtill more ſurpriſing, ſince he declares to the *Arminians*, that 'tis not properly *Arminianiſm*, but *Socinianiſm* which they reject in them. *Theſe Remonſtrants*, ſays he, *ought not to wonder, we offer peace to Sects that ſeem to be of the ſame mind with them in reſpect to the Synod of* Dort, *and do not offer it to them. Their* Semi-Socinianiſm *will ever be a wall of ſeparation betwixt them and us.* Here then is what makes the ſeparation. 'Tis becauſe, *at this day*, proceeds he, *Socinianiſm is in the moſt elevated ſtations amongſt them.* It's plainly ſeen, were it not for this obſtacle, that they might unite with the *Arminians*, without concerning themſelves for *that torrent of* Pelagianiſm

nism *with which they overflow'd the* Low-countries, nor for the Decisions of *Dort*, nor even for the Confederacy of all *Calvinism* in favour of the pretended sentiments of St. *Austin*.

LXXXVIII. The rest of the Ministers are of the same opinion with Mr. *Jurieu*.

Diallact. c. 8. p. 126. &c. *Ibid.* 130. *Ibid.* 127.

Mr. *Jurieu* is not the only one that has reveal'd to us this secret of the Party. The Minister *Matthew Bochart* had assured us before him, that, *if the* Remonstrants *had only differ'd from the rest of the* Calvinists *in the five points decided at the Synod of* Dort, *the difference might have been agreed:* which he confirms with the opinions of other Doctors of the Sect, even with that of the Synod itself.

LXXXIX. The Reformation allows private men to arrogate to themselves more capacity for understanding sound Doctrine, than all the rest of the Church.

Ibid. 126. *& seq.* *Ibid* 127.

It is true, he says at the same time, that altho' they were disposed to tolerate, in particular peaceable and modest men, sentiments opposite to those of the Synod, they could not have suffer'd them in the Ministers who ought to be better instructed than the rest: but this, however, is enough to evince, that these Decisions, *which were opposed against* Pelagianism, altho' made by the Synod with so great solemnity and with such frequent declarations of their following nothing therein but the pure and express word of God, are not very material to *Christianity*; and what more surprises is, they hold for *modest men* such private persons as, after knowledge of what all the *Doctors* had decided, nay, as speaks Mr. *Bochart*, *all the Churches of the Party as many as there are in* Europe, yet believe, they are better able to understand which is sound Doctrine, not only than any one of these in particular, but also, than all of them together.

XC. The Doctors themselves are very much relax'd in the obser-

It is also very certain, that the Doctors, in whom opposite sentiments to those of the Synod were not to be tolerated, are greatly slacken'd in that regard. The Ministers that have wrote of late days, and among others Mr. *Beaulieu*, whom we

we have ſeen at *Sedan* one of the moſt learned and pacifick of them all, ſoften as much as they are able the *Dogma* of *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, and even that of the Certainty of Salvation: and two reaſons move them to it; the firſt is, the *Lutherans* diſlike to it, whom they are willing to be united to at any rate: the ſecond is, the abſurdity and impiety diſcoverable in theſe tenets by never ſo little an inſpection. The Doctors may, by degrees, inure themſelves to them in conſequence of the falſe principles they are imbued with; but plain and ſincere people will not eaſily be perſuaded, that every one of them, to have true Faith, muſt aſſure himſelf, he has no Damnation to fear, let him commit what crimes he pleaſes; much leſs, that he is ſure of preſerving Sanctity and Grace in ſuch crimes.

vance of the decrees of *Dort*. *The. de Art. Juſt. part.* 2. *Th.* 42. 43. *Item. Th. An Homo ſolis nat. virib.* &c. *Corol.* 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. &c.

As often as our *Reformed* diſclaim theſe impious tenets, let us praiſe God for it, and without more diſputing, intreat them only to conſider, that the *Holy Ghoſt* could not have been in thoſe that taught them, and who made a great part of the *Reformation* to conſiſt in notions ſo derogatory to Chriſtian Juſtice.

XCI. The Synod of *Dort* hath done no good, and ſpite of all its decrees Mr. *Jurieu* is a *Pelagian.*

This however we may conclude from thence; that, after all, this great Synod has proved quite uſeleſs, and neither cured the people, nor even the Paſtors, for whom it was principally intended, foraſmuch as, what is call'd *Pelagianiſm* in the *Reformation* (the thing the Synod deſign'd to deſtroy) ſtill ſtands its ground: for I ask, who hath been cured of this evil? Not thoſe ſure who do not believe the Synod; nor even thoſe who do believe it, for, Mr. *Jurieu* for inſtance, who is of this laſt number, and ſeems to continue ſo firm in the Confederation, as he calls it, of the *Calvinian* Churches againſt *Pelagianiſm*, at the bottom, does not diſapprove

S. n. 83. 84. 37. it, ſince he maintains, as we have ſeen, that it is not contrary to piety. He is like to thoſe *Socinians*, who, ask'd if they believe the eternal *Divinity* of the Son of God, make no difficulty of anſwering, they believe it: but urged a little further, will tell you, the contrary belief, in the main, is neither oppoſite to piety nor true Faith. Such are true enemies to the Son of God's Divinity, ſince they hold the tenet for indifferent: Mr. *Jurieu* is a *Pelagian*, and the enemy of Grace, in the ſame ſenſe.

XCII. Another *Pelagian* ſaying of the ſame Miniſter, and his wretched contradictions.

In effect, what is the tendency of theſe words of his, *in exhortations, you muſt of neceſſity ſpeak like a* Pelagian? This is not the ſpeech of a Divine; for if *Pelagianiſm* be a Hereſy, and a Hereſy that evacuates the Croſs of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as hath been ſo much preach'd even by the *Reformation*, you cannot keep at too great a diſtance from it in exhortations, ſo far from retaining the leaſt tincture of it.

Meth. Sect. xv. *p.* 131. *Meth. Sect* xiv. *p.* 113. 114.

This Miniſter is no leſs inconſiſtent when he excuſes the *Pelagians* or *Semi-Pelagians* of the *Ausburg-Confeſſion* together with the *Arminians* following the ſame ſentiments, under pretext that, *whilſt they are* Semi-Pelagians *in word and ſpirit, they are the diſciples of St.* Auſtin *in the heart*, for can he be ignorant that a perverted ſpirit ſoon corrupts the heart? Men muſt be lull'd in error to a great degree when even truth preſented does not awaken them, nay, preſented by a Synod made up of their whole Communion.

S. n. 83. 84. 87. *Meth. Sect.* xv. *p.* 113. 121.

When therefore Mr. *Jurieu* ſays, on one hand, that *Pelagianiſm* does not damn; and on the other, that you'll *never make truly pious men of* Pelagians *and* Semi-Pelagians, tho' he be never ſo ſubtle a Divine, he could not ſhew more clearly that he does not reflect on what he ſays, and that, by endeavouring to ſave all, he loſes all.

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He alſo thinks he has kept clear from that blaſphemy which makes God the Author of ſin, into which, he pretends, none of his Party hath fallen *for this hundred years*, and he himſelf relapſes into it in that very Book where he pretends to ſhew, they are no longer guilty of it. For when all is ſaid, whilſt you continue to deprive mankind of the liberty of their choice, and believe that *Free-will* ſubſiſts together with an intire and inevitable neceſſity; it always will be true that neither Men, nor prevaricating Angels, could avoid ſinning; and ſo the ſins they fell into, are the neceſſary conſequence reſulting from thoſe diſpoſitions their Creator placed them in. Now Mr. *Jurieu* is one of thoſe who leave this inevitable neceſſity whole and intire, when he ſays, we know nothing of our ſoul, *only that ſhe thinks*, nor can we define what is requiſite *to conſtitute her free*. He owns therefore, he does not know but 'tis this inevitable neceſſity which drags us into evil as well as good, and by that means ſinks into all the exceſſes of the firſt *Reformers*, which he brags his Party has been exempt from, a whole age.

XCIII. This Miniſter falls back into the exceſſes of the *Reformers* relating to to the cauſe of ſin. *S. n.* 6.

Ibid. 129. 132.

To avoid theſe terrible inconveniences, you muſt at leaſt believe, if not arrived to the comprehenſion of it, that there is no admitting, without blaſphemy and making God the Author of ſin, this invincible neceſſity which the *Remonſtrants* reproach'd the pretended *Reformers* with, and from which the Synod of *Dort* hath not juſtified them.

And in reality, I obſerve that nothing is ſaid in any part of the Synod againſt theſe damnable exceſſes. It was willing to ſpare the *Reformers*, and ſave the beginnings of the *Reformation* from eternal infamy.

XCIV. Connivance of the Synod of *Dort*, not only at the exceſſes of

the pretended Reformers, but alſo at thoſe of the *Remonſtrants*. *Specim. Controv. Belg. ex Offic. Elzev. p.* 2. 4. 7. &c.

Yet at leaſt it ought not to have extended the like condeſcenſion to the *Remonſtrants*, who oppoſed to the exceſſes of the *Reformers*, other no leſs criminal exceſſes.

They printed in *Holland* in 1618, a little before the Synod, a Book under this title: *The ſtate of controverſies in the* Low-countries, where is ſhewn, it was the Doctrine of the *Remonſtrants* that certain accidents might befal God; that he was liable to change; that his Preſcience of particular events was not certain; that he proceeded by diſcourſing and conjecture in drawing, as we do, one thing from another, and other the like numberleſs errors, wherein the Author ſides with thoſe Philoſophers who deſtroy God's Fore-knowledge, for fear of leſſening the liberty of Man. There it's made appear, they went ſo far aſtray as to make God corporeal, to attribute to him three Eſſences, and the reſt that may be learn'd from that Book which is very perſpicuous and conciſe. It was compoſed in order to prepare, for the approaching Synod, the ſubject-matter of their deliberations: but none of all theſe things were mention'd at it, no more than many others as material ſtarted by the *Remonſtrants*. The whole care of the Synod was taken up in preſerving thoſe Articles which are peculiar to *Calviniſm*, and more zeal was ſhew'd by them for theſe opinions, than for the fundamental principles of *Chriſtianity*.

XCV. The Decree of *Charenton* receiving the *Lutherans* to Communion. M DC XXXI.

The great deference, which we have ſeen was paid to the *Lutherans*, prevail'd nothing with them in regard to a union, they ſtill perſiſting to hold the whole Party of the *Sacramentarians* for excommunicated. At laſt the pretended *Reformed* of *France*, in their national Synod of *Charenton*, made this memorable Decree, wherein they declare, *that the* Germans *and others following*

lowing the Confeſſion of Ausburg, *for ſo much as the Churches of the* Ausburg-*Confeſſion agree with the others that are reformed in the fundamental principles and tenets of the true Religion, and that in their worſhip, there is neither Idolatry nor Superſtition, may, without making abjuration, be received to the holy table, to contract marriage with the faithful of our Confeſſion, and to preſent, as God-fathers, children to Baptiſm, in promiſing the Conſiſtory, they will never ſollicit them to act counter, directly, or indirectly, to the Doctrine received and profeſſed in our Churches, but will be contented with inſtructing them in the principles wherein we all agree.*

XCVI. The conſequences of this Decree.

In conſequence of this Decree, they were obliged to ſay, that the Doctrine of the *Real Preſence*, taken in itſelf, *hath no venom in it: that it is neither contrary to piety, nor God's honour, nor the good of mankind: that altho' the opinion of the* Lutherans *relating to the Euchariſt infers, no leſs than that of* Rome, *the deſtruction of Jeſus Chriſt's humanity, this conſequence nevertheleſs cannot be imputed to them without calumny, inaſmuch as, 'tis formally rejected by them*, ſo that it's an allow'd maxim, that in matters of Religion, none ought to charge on others the conſequences they draw from their Doctrine, but only ſuch things as they allow in expreſs terms.

Daillè Apol. ch. VII. 43. *Id. Lettre à Mongl.*

XCVII. The *Calviniſts* had never advanced ſo far before.

Never had the *Sacramentarians*, before this time, taken ſo great a ſtep towards the *Lutherans*. The novelty of this Decree does not conſiſt in ſaying, that the *Real Preſence* and the other diſputed points betwixt both Parties, do not regard the *fundamentals* of Salvation; for it muſt be own'd ingenuouſly, that ever ſince the time of the Conference of *Marpurg*, that is, ſo long ago as the year 1529, the *Zuinglians* offer'd the *Lutherans* to hold them for Brethren notwithſtanding

S. l. II. *n.* 45.

ſtanding their Doctrine of the *Real Preſence*; and never, from that time, did they believe it *fundamental*, but required that the Fraternity ſhould be mutual and own'd equally on both ſides; which being refuſed them by *Luther*, they likewiſe continued to diſown thoſe for Brethren, who were ſo averſe to paſs the ſame judgment in their favour: whereas, in the Synod of *Charenton*, 'tis the *Sacramentarians* alone that receive the *Lutherans* into that fellowſhip, notwithſtanding that they are held by them for excommuncicated.

XCVIII. Memorable date of the Decree of *Charenton*.

The date of this Decree is remarkable; it was made in 1631, when the great *Guſtavus* was thundering in *Germany*, and when currently believed throughout the whole *Reformation*, that *Rome* itſelf would be ſoon in the power of the *Lutherans*. God had otherwiſe ordain'd: the year following, this victorious King was kill'd at the battle of *Lutzen*, and all the rare diſcoveries made concerning him in the prophecies *were now to be retracted*.

XCIX. Great change in controverſies by means of this Decree. It convicts the *Calviniſts* of calumny.

Mean while the Decree paſs'd, and the *Catholicks* obſerved the greateſt change imaginable in the Doctrine of the *Proteſtants*.

In the firſt place, all that horror they had infuſed into the people againſt the Doctrine of the *Real Preſence* appear'd manifeſtly unjuſt and calumnious. The Doctors may ſay what they pleaſe of the matter: but 'twas the *Real Preſence* on which the people's averſion was chiefly bent. This Doctrine had been repreſented to them, not only as groſs and carnal, but alſo as brutal and full of barbarity, whereby men became *Cyclopſes*, eaters of human Fleſh and human Blood, Parricides that eat their *Father* and their *God*. But now, ſince the Decree of this Synod, it ſtands confeſſed that all theſe exaggerations, the

ſilly vulgar were faſcinated with ſo long a time, are calumnies, and the Doctrine that was made to paſs for ſo impious and inhuman, has no longer any thing in it that is contrary to piety.

C. The literal ſenſe and the *Real Préſence* neceſſary. *John* vi. 53. *Matth.* xxvi. 26. 27. 28.

Thereby even it becomes the moſt credible, and the moſt neceſſary; for the chief reaſon inducing to wreſt the ſenſe of theſe words, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood*, and alſo of theſe, *Eat, this is my Body; drink, this is my Blood*, to ſpiritual and metaphorical meanings was, becauſe they ſeem'd to lead to ſin by commanding to eat human Fleſh, and to drink human Blood: ſo that St. *Auſtin*'s rule, of interpreting ſpiritually what appears to incline to evil, was here to take place. But at preſent, this reaſon carries no longer any the leaſt probability; all this imaginary crime is vaniſh'd, and nothing prevents taking the words of our Saviour in their true *literal* ſenſe.

The people were made to abhor the *Catholick* Doctrine as a Doctrine that deſtroyed *Jeſus Chriſt's* human nature, and ruin'd the myſtery of his *Aſcenſion*. But they muſt no longer be affrighted at theſe conſequences, ſince the denial of them ſufficiently acquits whoſoever denies them.

CI. The chief argument in behalf of the rupture render'd frivolous.

Theſe horrors thus raiſed in the minds of the people were, to ſpeak the truth, the real cauſe of their departure from the Church. Read in all the Acts of the pretended Martyrs the cauſe for which they ſuffer'd, and you'll find every where, 'twas for the Doctrine oppoſite to the *Real Preſence*. Conſult a *Melanchon*, a *Sturmius*, a *Peucer*, all the reſt that were againſt condemning the Doctrine of the *Zuinglians*: you'll find their chief reaſon to be, becauſe 'twas for this Doctrine that ſuch a number of the faithful laid down their lives in *France* and *England*.

land. Theſe wretched Martyrs perſuaded themſelves, in dying for this Doctrine, they died for a fundamental point of Faith and piety: at preſent, this Doctrine is innocent, and excludes none from the ſacred table, nor from the kingdom of heaven.

CII. The hatred of the people turn'd againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*, a thing of much leſs importance.

To preſerve in the hearts of the people their averſion to the *Catholick* Doctrine, it was requiſite to divert it on another object than the *Real Preſence*. *Tranſubſtantiation* is now the great crime: there's now no manner of difficulty in admitting *Jeſus Chriſt really* preſent, in admitting one and the ſame Body in different places at once, in admitting the intire Body in every crumb of Bread: the grand error conſiſts in taking the Bread away: what regards *Jeſus Chriſt* is of ſmall importance: what regards the Bread is alone eſſential.

CIII. Jeſus Chriſt no longer adorable in the Euchariſt, as formerly believed by Proteſtants. *Cont. Weſtp. Cont. Heſhu. Dial. du Miniſt. Boch. ſur le ſyn. de Cha.* 1. 24. *Ejuſd. Dial.* 2. *p. cap.* 7. *Sedani. p.* 21.

All the maxims, till then held for unqueſtionable, touching the adoration of *Jeſus Chriſt*, are now changed. *Calvin* and the reſt of them had demonſtrated, that wherever *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſo adorable an object, was held preſent by ſo ſpecial a Preſence as that acknowledged in the *Euchariſt*, it was not lawful to with-hold that adoration which is due unto him. But now, *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Preſence in any place, is not enough to make him be adored in it, he muſt command it, he muſt *declare his will in order to be adored in ſuch and ſuch a ſtate*; otherwiſe, as much God as he is, he will meet with no worſhip from us. More than this, he muſt ſhew himſelf: *if the Body of Jeſus Chriſt be in a place inviſibly, and in a manner imperceptible to all the ſenſes, he does not oblige us to worſhip him in ſuch a place.* His word does not ſuffice, it is neceſſary he ſhould be ſeen: you may hear the voice of the King never ſo much; if you ſee him not with your

your own eyes, you owe him no reſpect, or at leaſt, he muſt declare expreſly, 'tis his intention to be honour'd; otherwiſe you ſhould behave as in his abſence. Were it the caſe of an earthly King, none would queſtion paying him what is his due the moment it is known where he is: but thus to honour the King of heaven would be Idolatry, and it would be to be fear'd, leſt he ſhould take the worſhip as given to another than himſelf.

CIV. Interior acts of adoration are tolerated in the *Lutherans*, and the exterior which are but the tokens of them rejected.

But here is a device that is new and ſurpriſing. The *Lutheran*, who believes *Jeſus Chriſt* preſent, ſhall receive him as his God: ſhall put his truſt in him, ſhall invocate him; and the Synod of *Charenton* decides, *there is neither Idolatry, nor Superſtition in his worſhip:* but if he make any perceptible act of adoration, he idolizes, that is to ſay, it's allowable to have the Subſtance of adoration, which is the interior ſentiment; but not allowable to teſtify it, and you become an Idolater in making appear, by ſome poſture of reſpect, the ſenſe of that truly ſacred veneration you have in your heart.

CV. Frivolous anſwer. *Ibid.* 24.

But the reaſon of this is, ſay they, becauſe, ſhould the *Lutheran* adore *Jeſus Chriſt* in the *Euchariſt*, who is there together with the Bread, there would be danger, leſt the adoration ſhould be referr'd to the Bread alike as to *Jeſus Chriſt*; or however, leſt ſome ſhould think, the intention was to refer it ſo: no queſtion, when the *wiſe men* adored *Jeſus Chriſt*, either in his crib, or in a cradle, it was to be fear'd, leſt they ſhould worſhip, together with *Jeſus Chriſt*, either the crib, or the cradle; or infine, leſt the *Bleſſed Virgin* and St. *Joſeph* ſhould take them for worſhippers of the cradle rather than of the divine Infant lying in it. Theſe were the ſubtleties introduced by the Decree of *Charenton*.

Moreover,

CVI. Ubiquity tolerated.

Moreover, the Doctrine of *Ubiquity* which had been accounted, and with reaſon, alike by the *Sacramentarians* and by *Catholicks*, a moſt monſtrous Doctrine confounding both Natures of *Jeſus Chriſt*, becomes the Doctrine of the Saints.

For you are not to imagine that the defenders of this Doctrine were excepted out of the union: the Synod ſpeaks in general of the Churches of the *Ausburg-Confeſſion*, whereof, it's well known, the greateſt part are *Ubiquitarians*, and the Miniſters aſſure us, *Ubiquity* hath nothing mortal in it, tho' it deſtroys, more expreſly than ever *Eutychianiſm* did, the human Nature of our Lord.

Boch. Ibid. 15. *Dial.* 2. *p.* c. 7.

CVII. Nothing but the external worſhip is look'd upon as important.

In a word, little account is made of all whatſoever cauſes no alteration in the worſhip, even in the external worſhip: for the belief, which you may have interiorly, is no obſtacle to Communion; nothing but the reſpect you ſhew *externally* makes the ſin; and this is what we are brought to by thoſe who are always preaching to us adoration in *Spirit* and in *Truth*.

CVIII. The foundation of piety formerly acknowledged by them, is changed.

It plainly appears, without needing my intimation, that after the Synod of *Charenton*, neither the *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, nor the *Certainty* of Salvation, are any longer a neceſſary foundation of piety, ſince the *Lutherans* are admitted to Communion with the contrary Doctrine.

CIX. The diſputes about Predeſtination concern not the Subſtance of Religion.

No more muſt they ſpeak to us of *Abſolute* Predeſtination and *Abſolute* Decrees as of a *Fundamental* Article, ſince they can't deny, according to Mr. *Jurieu*, *but there is piety in thoſe great Communions of Proteſtants, wherein both abſolute Decrees, and Grace of itſelf efficacious, are ſo roughly handled.* The ſame Miniſter is agreed, that the *Proteſtants* of *Germany* make *the foreknowledge of our Faith* enter *into that gratuitous love, whereby God hath loved us in Jeſus Chriſt.*

Thus

Thus the Decree of Predeſtination will not be an abſolute Decree and independent of all foreknowledge, but a *conditional Decree*, including the condition of our future Faith; and 'tis what Mr. *Jurieu* does not condemn. *Jugement ſur les Meth. Sect.* xiv. *p.* 113. *Ibid. ſect.* xviii. *p.* 158.

But here are the two moſt remarkable novelties which the Decree of *Charenton* hath introduced into the pretended *Reformation*: firſt the diſpute on *fundamental* points, and ſecondly, the diſpute on the nature of the *Church*.

CX. Two other remarkable novelties enſuing from the Decree of *Charenton*.

As to *fundamental* points, the *Catholicks* thus argued with them. If the *Real Preſence*, if *Ubiquity*, if ſo many other important points, conteſted more than an age betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, be not *fundamental*, why ſhould thoſe be more ſo, on which you diſpute with the Church of *Rome*? Does not ſhe believe the *Trinity*, the *Incarnation*, the whole *Creed*? Hath ſhe laid any other foundation than *Jeſus Chriſt*? All you object againſt her, on this head, in order to ſhew ſhe hath another, are ſo many conſequences which ſhe denies, and which, according to your own principles, ought not to be imputed to her. Wherein then do you place preciſely, what is *fundamental* in *Religion*? To relate here all they have ſaid concerning *fundamental* points, ſome one way, ſome another, and the greateſt part confeſſing that it's all a myſtery to them, and a thing rather to be felt than explain'd, were an endleſs task, and involving ones ſelf with them in a labyrinth from whence there is no exit.

CXI. Diſtinction of fundamental points, and the inevitable perplexity of our *Reformed*.

The other diſpute was not leſs important: for this principle being once eſtabliſh'd by them, that thoſe who retain the principal *foundations* of Faith, however ſeparated in Communion, are in the main, the ſame Church and the ſame Society of God's children worthy of his holy table

CXII. They are forced to own that the Church of *Rome* is a true Church,

wherein one may be ſaved.

table and his kingdom: the *Catholicks* demand, how they can be excluded from this Church and from eternal Salvation? For now it will no longer ſerve their turn to ſay, the Church of *Rome* is a Church excluding the whole world, and which the whole world ought to exclude; for you ſee the *Lutherans*, who exclude the *Calviniſts*, are not excluded. 'Tis this which has produced this new ſyſtem of the Church which makes ſo great a noiſe, and wherein, after all, they cannot but comprehend the Church of *Rome*.

CXIII. The Conference of *Caſſel*, where the *Lutherans* of *Rintel* come to an agreement with the *Calviniſts* of *Marpurg*. MDCLXI.

The *Proteſtants* of *Germany* have not been in all places alike inexorable in regard of the *Calviniſts*. In 1661, a Conference was held at *Caſſel* betwixt the *Calviniſts* of *Marpurg* and the *Lutherans* of *Rintel*, where both Parties enter'd into a brotherly fellowſhip. I own, this union was without conſequence in the other parts of *Germany*, and I have not been able to diſcover what even was the conſequence of it betwixt the contracting Parties: but in the agreement there was one important Article not to be forgotten.

CIXV. Important article of this agreement relating to the breaking of the *Euchariſtick* Bread. *Coll. Caſſ. q. de fract. pan.*

The *Calviniſts* reproach'd the *Lutherans*, that in the celebration of the *Euchariſt* they omitted the breaking of the Bread which had a Divine inſtitution. 'Tis the current Doctrine of *Calviniſm*, that the *breaking* makes part of the Sacrament as being a Symbol of that Body broken which *Jeſus Chriſt* would give to his Diſciples; that for this reaſon 'twas practiſed by *Jeſus Chriſt*; that it is of precept, and comprehended by our Saviour in this ordinance, *do ye this*. This is what was maintain'd by the *Calviniſts* of *Marpurg*, and denied by the *Lutherans* of *Rintel*. They nevertheleſs united, each ſide perſiſting in their ſentiments: and it was ſaid by thoſe of *Marpurg*, *That the breaking did not appertain to the eſſence, but only to the integrity of the Sacrament*,

ment, as being neceſſary thereto by the example and commandment of Jeſus Chriſt: ſo that the Lutherans, *without breaking the Bread, had nevertheleſs the Subſtance of the Supper, and both Parties might mutually tolerate each other.*

CXV. Demonſtration in favour of Communion under one kind. *Traitè de Communion ſous les deux Eſpeces. 2. p. ch.* xii. *La Roq. Rep. 2. p. ch.* xvii. *p.* 307.

A Miniſter, who anſwer'd a Treatiſe concerning Communion under both Kinds, hath examin'd this Conference which was objected againſt them: the fact paſs'd for unqueſtionable, and the Miniſter agreed that the *breaking* of the Bread, altho' commanded by *Jeſus Chriſt*, did not appertain to the *Eſſence*, but only to the *Integrity* of the Sacrament. Here then have we the *Eſſence* of the Sacrament manifeſtly ſeparated from the *Divine* Precept, and reaſons have been found to diſpenſe with that which they ſaid was commanded by *Jeſus Chriſt*: after which, I do not ſee how they can urge the Precept of receiving under *both Kinds*, foraſmuch as, tho' we were agreed, *Jeſus Chriſt* had commanded the receiving of them, we ſhould ſtill be admitted to examine, whether this Divine commandment regarded the *Eſſence* or only the *Integrity*.

CXVI. Preſent ſtate of controverſies in *Germany*. *Theſ. de q. An. hom. in ſtat. pecc. ſolis nat. viribus, &c. Th.* 31. *& ſeq. S. n.* 109. *S. l.* VIII. *n.* 48. *& ſeq.*

The preſent ſtate of controverſies in *Germany* betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* may be likewiſe ſeen in the ſame Conference; where will be perceived, that the conſtant Doctrine of the Divines of the *Ausburg-Confeſſion* is, that Grace is univerſal; that it is *reſiſtible*; that it is *amiſſible*; that Predeſtination is conditional, and preſuppoſes the fore-knowledge of our Faith; laſtly, that the Grace of Converſion is annext to an action purely natural, and depending on our own ſtrength, namely, on our carefulneſs to hear Sermons: which the learned *Beaulieu* confirms by many teſtimonies, to which we could add many others, were not the thing paſs'd diſpute, as might have been ſeen by the teſtimony

of

of Mr. *Jurieu*, and had we not ſpoken of this matter already.

CXVII. The relaxation of the principles of the *Lutherans* give occaſion to thoſe of *Cameron* and of his diſciples touching univerſal Grace.

Accordingly, one may have ſeen in this Hiſtory, how *Melanchon* had ſoftned, among the *Lutherans*, that extream rigour wherewith *Luther* maintain'd abſolute and particular Decrees, and how unanimouſly it is taught amongſt them, that God wills ſeriouſly and ſincerely the Salvation of all Men; that he offers them *Jeſus Chriſt* as their Redeemer; that he calls them to him by preaching and the promiſes of his Goſpel, and that his Spirit is ever ready to be efficacious in them, if they do but hearken to his word: that finally, 'tis attributing to God two contrary Wills, to ſay on one ſide, he propoſes his Goſpel to all mankind; and on the other, that he will ſave but a very ſmall number of them. In conſequence of that condeſcendence ſtill continued in behalf of the *Lutherans*, *John Cameron* of *Scotland*, a famous Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Academy of *Saumur*, there taught an univerſal Vocation and Grace, declared in behalf of all mankind by the wonders of God's works, by his word and the Sacraments. This Doctrine of *Cameron* was ſtrenuouſly and ingeniouſly defended by his Diſciples *Amiraud* and *Teſtard*, Profeſſors of Divinity in the ſame town. This whole Academy embraced it: *Du Moulin* put himſelf at the head of the contrary Party, and engaged in this ſentiment the Academy of *Sedan* where he ruled uncontrolled; and in our days we have ſeen the whole *Reformation* divided in *France*, with much warmth, betwixt *Saumur* and *Sedan*. Spite of the cenſures of the Synods, which ſuppreſs'd the Doctrine of *Univerſal* Grace, yet without qualifying it as heretical or erroneous, the learneſt Miniſter undertook to defend it. *Daillé* made it's Apology, to which *Blondel* put

S. l. VIII. *n.* 22. & *ſeq.* *Epit. Tit. de præd. Conc. p.* 617. *Solida repetit. Cod. Tit. p.* 804.

a Preface very much to the advantage of the abettors of this ſentiment; and *Univerſal* Grace triumph'd even in *Sedan*, where the Miniſter *Beaulieu* taught it in our days.

CXVIII. Whether univerſal Grace be contrary to the Synod of *Dort*. *Dall. Apol. tract. 2. p. Blond. Act. auth.* VIII. *& ſeq. p.* 77. *Jud. The. Mag. Brit. de Art. 2. inter. Act. Syn. Dord. 2. p. p.* 287. *Jud. Brem. Ibid. p.* 113. *& ſeq.*

It had not equal ſucceſs out of this kingdom, chiefly in *Holland*, where 'twas judged oppoſite to the Synod of *Dort*. But on the contrary, *Blondel* and *Daillè* ſhew'd, that the Divines of *Great-Britain* and *Bremen* had maintain'd in the Synod *an univerſal will and intention* of ſaving all mankind, *a ſufficient* Grace given to all; a Grace *without which* one could not renew in himſelf God's image. 'Tis what theſe Divines had publickly declared in the Synod, nor merited the leſs for it the praiſes and congratulations of this whole aſſembly.

Geneva, ever attach'd to *Calvin*'s rigorous propoſitions, was very averſe to this *Univerſality*, which nevertheleſs was carried into its very bowels by the *French* Miniſter. Every family was now in contention for, or againſt it, when the *Magiſtrate* interpoſed. From the Court of *twenty five*, it was carried to that of the *two hundred*. Theſe Magiſtrates had the face to make their Paſtors and Profeſſors enter into diſpute before them, and ſet themſelves up as Judges in a queſtion of the moſt nice Theology. Powerful recommendations came from the *Swiſs* in behalf of particular Grace againſt *Univerſal* Grace: a rigorous Decree was iſſued in condemnation of the latter. They publiſh'd the Formulary of a Divine which the *Swiſs* had approved, wherein the ſyſtem of *Univerſal* Grace was declared *not a little remote from the ſound Doctrine reveal'd in Scripture*; and that nothing might be wanting to it, the ſovereign *Magiſtrate* commanded that all *Doctors*, *Miniſters* and *Profeſſors* ſhould ſubſcribe the Formulary in theſe words: *Thus do I believe*; *thus do*

CXIX. Decree paſs'd at *Geneva* againſt univerſal Grace, and the queſtion reſolved by the Magiſtrate. *Helvetick* formulary. M DC LXIX. M DC LXXI.

of Mr. *Jurieu*, and had we not ſpoken of this matter already.

CXVII. The relaxation of the principles of the *Lutherans* give occaſion to thoſe of *Cameron* and of his diſciples touching univerſal Grace. *S. l.* VIII. *n.* 22. & *ſeq. Epit. Tit. de præd. Conc. p.* 617. *Solida repetit. Cod. Tit. p.* 804.

Accordingly, one may have ſeen in this Hiſtory, how *Melanchthon* had ſoftned, among the *Lutherans*, that extream rigour wherewith *Luther* maintain'd abſolute and particular Decrees, and how unanimouſly it is taught amongſt them, that God wills ſeriouſly and ſincerely the Salvation of all Men; that he offers them *Jeſus Chriſt* as their Redeemer; that he calls them to him by preaching and the promiſes of his Goſpel, and that his Spirit is ever ready to be efficacious in them, if they do but hearken to his word: that finally, 'tis attributing to God two contrary Wills, to ſay on one ſide, he propoſes his Goſpel to all mankind; and on the other, that he will ſave but a very ſmall number of them. In conſequence of that condeſcendence ſtill continued in behalf of the *Lutherans*, *John Cameron* of *Scotland*, a famous Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Academy of *Saumur*, there taught an univerſal Vocation and Grace, declared in behalf of all mankind by the wonders of God's works, by his word and the Sacraments. This Doctrine of *Cameron* was ſtrenuouſly and ingeniouſly defended by his Diſciples *Amiraud* and *Teſtard*, Profeſſors of Divinity in the ſame town. This whole Academy embraced it: *Du Moulin* put himſelf at the head of the contrary Party, and engaged in this ſentiment the Academy of *Sedan* where he ruled uncontrolled; and in our days we have ſeen the whole *Reformation* divided in *France*, with much warmth, betwixt *Saumur* and *Sedan*. Spite of the cenſures of the Synods, which ſuppreſs'd the Doctrine of *Univerſal* Grace, yet without qualifying it as heretical or erroneous, the learneſt Miniſter undertook to defend it. *Daillè* made it's Apology, to which *Blondel* put

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a Preface very much to the advantage of the abettors of this ſentiment; and *Univerſal* Grace triumph'd even in *Sedan*, where the Miniſter *Beaulieu* taught it in our days.

CXVIII. Whether univerſal Grace be contrary to the Synod of *Dort*. *Dall. Apol. tract.* 2. *p.* *Blond. Act. auth.* VIII. *& ſeq.* *p.* 77. *Jud. The. Mag. Brit. de Art.* 2. *inter. Act. Syn. Dord.* 2. *p. p.* 287. *Jud. Brem. Ibid. p.* 113. *& ſeq.*

It had not equal ſucceſs out of this kingdom, chiefly in *Holland*, where 'twas judged oppoſite to the Synod of *Dort*. But on the contrary, *Blondel* and *Daillè* ſhew'd, that the Divines of *Great-Britain* and *Bremen* had maintain'd in the Synod *an univerſal will and intention* of ſaving all mankind, *a ſufficient* Grace given to all; a Grace *without which* one could not renew in himſelf God's image. 'Tis what theſe Divines had publickly declared in the Synod, nor merited the leſs for it the praiſes and congratulations of this whole aſſembly.

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CXIX. Decree paſs'd at *Geneva* againſt univerſal Grace, and the queſtion reſolved by the Magiſtrate. *Helvetick* formulary. M DC LXIX. M DC LXXI.

do I profeſs; thus will I teach. This is no ſubmiſſion of polity and order; 'tis a pure Act of Faith injoin'd by the ſecular authority: this is what the *Reformation* ends in, ſubjecting the Church to the World, Learning to Ignorance, and Faith to the Magiſtrate.

CXX. Another Deciſion of the *Helvetick Formulary* concerning the *Hebrew* text, which the learned of the Party laugh at. Variation in regard to the *Vulgate.*

This *Helvetick* Formulary had alſo another clauſe, wherein, not concerning themſelves with the *Septuagint*, nor the *Targums*, nor the original *Samaritan*, nor with any of the old Interpreters, nor any of the ancient readings, they canonized even the points of the *Hebrew* text, ſuch as we now have it, declaring it untainted with any even the leaſt faults of the tranſcriber, and clear from all injuries of time. The Authors of this Decree were not ſenſible how egregiouſly they expoſed themſelves to the laughter of all learned men, even of their own Communion; but they ſtuck to the old maxims of the *Reformation* then but ignorant. They were vex'd that the *Vulgate* readings, formerly taken by them for ſo many falſifications, were daily more and more approved by the learned of the Party: and by fixing the original text, ſuch as it is at this time, they thought to rid themſelves of the neceſſity of *Tradition*; never reflecting, that under the name of the *Hebrew* text, inſtead of eccleſiaſtick *Traditions* and that of the ancient *Synagogue*, they conſecrated thoſe even of the *Rabbins.*

CXXI. Other Deciſions of *Geneva* and the *Swiſs* how much condemn'd by Mr. *Claude.*

Another Decree paſs'd alſo at *Geneva* concerning Faith in 1675, wherein was confirm'd that of 1649, whereby they added *two new Articles to the Confeſſion of Faith*; the firſt, *importing that the imputation of* Adam's *ſin was anterior to corruption*; the ſecond, *that, in the oeconomy of the divine decrees, the ſending of Jeſus Chriſt is after the decree of election.* They order'd that

M DC XLIX. M DC LXXV.

all

all thoſe, who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe theſe two new articles of Faith, ſhould be excluded and depoſed from the Miniſtry and all Eccleſiaſtical functions.

This Deciſion was judged very odd even in the Party, and *Turretin*, Miniſter and Profeſſor at *Geneva*, was greatly upbraided for it by Mr. *Claude*, as appears by a Letter of this Miniſter dated the twentieth of *June*, 1675, which *Lewis Du Moulin*, Son to the Miniſter *Peter Du Moulin*, and Uncle to the Miniſter *Jurieu*, cauſed to be printed. *Faſcic. Ep.* 1676. *p.* 83. 94.

Mr. *Claude* complains in this Letter, that the *Swiſs* were ſollicited to *draw up a Formulary* conformable to that of *Geneva*, *containing the ſame points and the ſame reſtrictions*, *in order to be added to their Confeſſion of Faith:* and it's plain from a remark of *Du Moulin* inſerted in the ſame Letter, that the *Swiſs* had in fact *ſtruck this ſtroke*, which Mr. *Claude* judged *ſo terrible*. *Ibid. p.* 95. *P.* 101.

Nevertheleſs, the ſame Miniſter maintains, it is not lawful to add *thus*, *new articles of Faith to thoſe of his Confeſſion*; *and that it's dangerous to remove the ancient land-marks which have been ſet by our Fathers*. I would to God our *Reformed* had always had before their eyes this maxim of the wiſe man, which they ſo frequently are obliged to return to, in order to terminate the diviſions they ſee daily breeding in the midſt of them! Mr. *Claude* propoſes it to thoſe of *Geneva*, and is aſtoniſh'd that this Church *ſhould thus make new articles of Faith and new laws of preaching*: he makes bold to ſay, that acting in this manner, is ſetting up Gods of their own, and breaking Unity with all the Churches which are not of their own opinion: to wit, *with thoſe of* France, *with thoſe of* England, *with thoſe of* Poland, *of* Pruſſia *and* Germany; that the matter *Ibid. p.* 15. *Prov.* xxii. 28. *Ibid. p.* 89. *Ibid. p.* 90. 91. 98. 103.

in hand is not of meer diſcipline in which Churches may be allow'd to vary, but that it is
Ibid. 93. 100. ſeparating themſelves, in *points of Doctrine unalterable in their nature*, which *they cannot, with a good conſcience, teach differently:* ſo that, this is not only *ſetting up for themſelves a particular miniſtry*, but alſo, ſowing *the ſeeds of a fatal diviſion* in Faith itſelf, and in ſhort, *ſhutting their hearts* againſt other Churches.

If now one ſhould be deſirous to know, to what pitch *Geneva* ſtretch'd her rigour, he will
P. 94. 95. be inform'd from the ſame Letter; for it ſpecifies that *the ſigning of the articles was exacted with an inconceivable ſeverity; and exacted even from thoſe who came to* Geneva *to be ordain'd with the deſign of ſerving elſewhere; that the ſame neceſſity of ſubſcription was laid on them, as on thoſe of* Geneva *itſelf; that it was exacted with the ſame rigour from Paſtors already received, notwithſtanding they had already grown old in the labours of the miniſtry:* and this, ſays Mr. *Claude*,
P. 97. is, *as much as in them lies, wreſting every where*
P. 100. *the Cure from thoſe that are of different opinions*, namely, from all the reſt of the Churches, and *condemning their own ſelves, as having hitherto maintain'd an unjuſt peace with people, againſt whom they ought to have declared war.*

All theſe remonſtrances were of no effect: the Church of *Geneva* ſtood firm, no leſs than that of the *Swiſs*, both of them in the notion that their determinations were grounded on the word of God: which ſtill continues to make appear, that under the covert of this *Word*, 'tis his own conceits every man pays worſhip to; and if they have no other principle whereby to agree in the ſenſe of this *Word*, there never will be amongſt their Churches any other than a political and exterior union, ſuch as ſubſiſts with thoſe of

Geneva,

Geneva, who in the main have broken off from all the reſt; and in order to find ſomething fix'd, it is neceſſary, after Mr. *Claude*'s example, they ſhould be brought back to this maxim of the wiſe man, *not to remove the land-marks ſet them by their fore-fathers*; namely, they muſt hold to the Deciſions already made by thoſe in matters of Faith.

Prov. xxii. 28.

CXXII. The Teſt-Act in *England*: therein the *Engliſh* approach to our ſentiments, and only, thro' manifeſt error, condemn the Church of *Rome*. M DC LXXVIII.

The famous *Teſt* well deſerves a place in this Hiſtory, foraſmuch as it was one of the principal Acts of Religion in *England*. The *Parliament* held at *London* in 1678, paſs'd an Act enjoining the following declaration. *I* A. B. *do ſolemnly and ſincerely, in the preſence of God, profeſs, teſtify, and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Tranſubſtantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, at or after the Conſecration by any perſon whatſoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the* Virgin Mary, *or any other Saint, and the ſacrifice of the Maſs, as they are now uſed in the Church of* Rome, *are ſuperſtitious and idolatrous.* &c. The particulars to be obſerved in this *Profeſſion* of Faith are, firſt, that it only attacks *Tranſubſtantiation* and not the *Real* Preſence, wherein it follows the amendment which *Elizabeth* had made in *Edward* the ſixth's Reformation. There are only added to it theſe words, *at or after the Conſecration*, which manifeſtly allow the belief of the *Real* Preſence before the manducation, ſince they exclude nothing, as is plain, but the ſole change of *Subſtance*.

Thus, a good *Engliſh* Proteſtant, without blemiſh to his Religion or Conſcience, may believe that the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are *Really* and *Subſtantially* preſent in the Bread and Wine immediately after Conſecration. Did

the *Lutherans* believe as much, 'tis certain, they would adore him. Neither do the *Engliſh* any wiſe obſtruct it in their *Teſt:* and as they receive the *Euchariſt kneeling*, nothing hinders their acknowledging and worſhipping *Jeſus Chriſt* there preſent, in the ſame ſpirit that we do: after this, to cavil with us about *Tranſubſtantiation*, is a proceeding little worthy of them.

In the following words of the *Teſt*, the *Invocation*, or as they call it, the *Adoration* of the Bleſſed Virgin and the Saints, with the *Sacrifice* of the Maſs, are condemn'd as Acts of *Superſtition and Idolatry:* not abſolutely, but *as they are now uſed in the Church of* Rome. But the reaſon of this was, that the *Engliſh* are too well verſed in antiquity to be ignorant, that the Fathers of the fourth Century (to aſcend no higher at preſent) did invocate the *Bleſſed Virgin* and the *Saints*. They know that St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* approves expreſly, in the mouth of a *Martyr*, that piety which moved her to beg of the Bleſſed Virgin, *'that ſhe would aſſiſt a Virgin engaged in danger*. They know that all the Fathers have made, and ſolemnly approved in their Homilies, the like *Invocations* addreſs'd to Saints: nay, in reſpect of them, have even uſed the word *Invocation*. As for that of *Adoration*, they know likewiſe, it is equivocal no leſs among the holy Fathers than in Scripture; and does not always ſignify, rendering to a perſon divine honours; and for this reaſon alſo St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* made no difficulty, in many places, of ſaying that the Relicks of the *Martyrs* were adored, and that God did not diſdain to confirm ſuch an adoration by miracles. The *Engliſh* are too well-read in antiquity to be ignorant of this Doctrine and theſe practices of the ancient Church, and bear her too great a veneration to

Orat. in Cyp.

Baſil. Orat. in Mam. Greg. Nyſſ. Orat. in Theo. Amb. Serm. de S. Vit. Greg. Naz. Orat. in Jul. 1. in Machab. &c.

accuſe

accuſe her of *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*: 'tis this which makes them uſe this reſtriction, which we obſerve in their *Teſt*, and ſuppoſe, in the Church of *Rome*, a kind of *Invocation* and *Adoration* different from that of the Fathers, becauſe they were very ſenſible, without this precaution, the *Teſt* would be no more ſubſcribed with a good conſcience by the learned *Proteſtants* than by *Catholicks*.

Nevertheleſs it is certain, as to the fact, that we demand nothing of the Saints, but the partnerſhip of their prayers, no more than the ancients did; and that we honour nothing in their Relicks, but what they honour'd in them. If we ſometimes intreat the *Saints*, not to pray, but to give and act; the learned among the *Engliſh* will agree, the ancients have done it like us, and like us have underſtood it in that ſenſe which attributes favours received, not only to the Sovereign that diſtributes them, but alſo to the Interceſſors who obtain them; ſo that there never will be found any real difference betwixt the ancients, whom the *Engliſh* will not condemn, and us, whom they do condemn, but thro' miſtake, and by laying to our charge what we don't believe. *Greg. Naz. Orat. funeb. Ath. & Baſil. &c.*

I ſay the ſame of the *Sacrifice* of Maſs. The *Engliſh* are better skill'd in antiquity than to be ignorant that in all times, the ſame gifts were offer'd to God, in the ſacred *Myſteries* and the celebration of the *Euchariſt*, as were afterwards diſtributed to the people, and that theſe were offer'd to him no leſs for the *Dead* than for the *Living*. The ancient *Liturgies* containing the form of this *Oblation*, as well in the *Eaſt* as *Weſt*, are in every bodies hands, and the *Engliſh* are far from accuſing them either of *Superſtition* or *Idolatry*. There is then a way of offering to

God the *Euchariſtick* Sacrifice for the *Living* and the *Dead*, which the Proteſtant Church of *England* judges neither *Superſtitious* nor *Idolatrous*; and if they reject the *Roman* Maſs, 'tis by ſuppoſing that it is different from that of the ancients.

But this difference is none at all: one drop of water is not more like another, than the *Roman* Maſs is like, as to its eſſence and ſubſtance, to the *Maſs* which the *Greeks* and the reſt of Chriſtians received from their fore-fathers. For which reaſon the Church of *Rome*, when ſhe admits them to her Communion, does not preſcribe another *Maſs* to them. Thus the *Roman* Church has not, in the main, another Sacrifice than that, which by the *Engliſh* Proteſtants own Confeſſion, was offer'd in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* ever ſince the beginning of Chriſtianity.

Hence enſues manifeſtly that the *Roman* Doctrine, as well concerning *Invocation* and *Adoration*, as the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, is no otherwiſe condemn'd in the *Teſt*, than by preſuppoſing that *Rome* receives theſe things in another ſenſe, and practiſes them in another ſpirit, than that of the Fathers: which viſibly is not ſo: ſo that, readily and without alledging further reaſons, we may ſay, that abrogating the *Teſt* would be nothing elſe but abrogating a notorious calumny fix'd on the Church of *Rome*.

THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XV.

VARIATIONS *in the Articles of the* CREED: I believe the Holy Catholick Church. *The unſhaken ſteddineſs of the Church of* ROME.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

An account of the Variations relating to the ſubject of the Church. She is naturally own'd to be Viſible. *The difficulty of ſhewing where the Church was, forced men upon the device of an* Inviſible *one. The perpetual* Viſibility *of it neceſſarily confeſſed. Divers means of ſaving the* Reformation *under this ſuppoſition. The ſtate of the queſtion, as, by the diſputes of the Miniſters* Claude *and* Jurieu, *it ſtands at preſent. They are at length forced to own that ſalvation may be ſtill had in the Church of* Rome, *as well as before the pretended* Reformation. *Strange Variations, and the* Confeſſions *of Faith deſpiſed. Advantages yielded to* Catholicks *on*

the neceſſary foundation of Jeſus Chriſt's *promiſes in favour of perpetual* Viſibility. *The Church own'd to be* Infallible. *Her ſentiments acknowledged to be an* Infallible *rule of Faith. Vain exceptions. All the proofs, againſt the* infallible *authority of the Church, brought to nothing by the Miniſters. Evidence and ſimplicity of the* Catholick *Doctrine with regard to the Church. The* Reformation *forſakes her firſt ground-work, by owning that Faith is not formed on the Scriptures. Conſent of the Miniſters* Claude *and* Jurieu *in this tenet. Unheard of abſurdities of the new ſyſtem concerning the Church, but neceſſary to defend themſelves againſt the objections of the* Catholicks. *The uniformity and conſtancy of the* Catholick *Church oppoſed to the Variations of the* Proteſtant *Churches. Abridgement of this fifteenth book. Concluſion of the whole work.*

I. The cauſe of Variations, in *Proteſtant* Churches, is their want of a true notion of what the Church is.

AS, after obſerving the pernicious effects of a diſtemper on man's body, the cauſe of it is diligently inquired into, in order to apply ſpecifick remedies: in like manner, after ſeeing that perpetual inſtability of *Proteſtant* Churches (*Chriſtendom*'s ſore grievance) the prime ſource thereof ought to be traced out, to the end that a ſuitable relief, if poſſible, may be afforded. The cauſe of thoſe Variations, which we have obſerved in ſeparate ſocieties, is their not having known the authority of the *Church*, the promiſes ſhe hath received from Heaven, nor, in ſhort, ſo much as what the *Church* is. For that was the fix'd point, in which all the ſteps they were to take, ought to center; and by deviating from this

this, Hereticks, either curious or ignorant, have been bewilder'd in the mazes of human reaſoning, abandoned to their reſentments, to their particular paſſions; the very reaſon they did but walk groping even in their *Confeſſions* of Faith, and could not ſhun falling under the two inconveniences ſpecified by St. *Paul* concerning falſe teachers; one of which is *to be condemn'd by their own judgment*; and the other, *to be ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.* *Tit.* iii. 11. 2 *Tim.* iii. 7.

II. The *Catholick* Church ever knew herſelf, and never varied in her Deciſions

This original cauſe of the pretended *Reformation*'s inſtability hath appear'd thro' the whole ſeries of this work: but it's time to obſerve it with particular attention, by ſhewing, in the confuſed ſentiments of our ſeparated Brethren, relating to the article of the *Church*, the Variations which have cauſed all the reſt: after that, we ſhall finiſh this diſcourſe, by making appear a quite contrary procedure in the *Catholick* Church, which from well knowing what ſhe was thro' the Grace of *Chriſt Jeſus*, hath always ſo well deliver'd herſelf at the very firſt in all queſtions that aroſe, in order to aſcertain the Faith of Chriſtians, that there never happen'd a neceſſity, I don't ſay of varying, but of deliberating a-new, or of departing in the leaſt tittle from the firſt plan.

III. Doctrine of the *Catholick Church* concerning the Article of the Church. Four points eſſential and inſeparable

The Doctrine of the *Catholick* Church conſiſts in four points whoſe connexion is inviolable: the *firſt*, that the Church is *viſible*; the *ſecond*, that ſhe is perpetual; the *third*, that the truth of the Goſpel is always profeſſed therein by the whole Society; the *fourth*, that it's unlawful to depart from her Doctrine: which is as much as to ſay in other terms, that ſhe is *infallible*.

The firſt point is grounded on a certain fact: which is, that the word *Church* always ſignifies in

one from the other. *Conf. avec M. Cl. p.* 13. *& ſeq.*

in Scripture, and therefore in the common language of the faithful, a *viſible* Society: *Catholicks* take this for granted, and neceſſary it was for *Proteſtants*, to aſſent to it, as will appear hereafter.

The ſecond point, that the *Church* is perpetual, is not leſs certain, it being grounded on *Jeſus Chriſt*'s promiſes agreed on by all Parties.

Hence the third point is inferr'd moſt clearly, that the truth is profeſſed always by the Society of the *Church*; for the *Church* being no otherwiſe *viſible* than by the *Profeſſion* of the truth, it follows that if ſhe is always, and always is viſible, ſhe cannot but always teach and profeſs the truth of the Goſpel: from whence the fourth point is as clearly deduced, that it is not allowable to ſay, the Church is in error, nor to forſake her Doctrine; and all this is founded on the promiſe allow'd by all Parties, ſince in fine the ſame promiſe, which makes the *Church* be always, makes her always be in that ſtate which the word *Church* implies; conſequently, always *viſible*, and always teaching the truth. Nothing is more ſimple, more clear, nor more coherent than this Doctrine.

IV. Sentiments of the *Proteſtants* touching the perpetual *viſibility* of the Church.

So clear is this Doctrine, that *Proteſtants* could not deny it; ſo clearly does it condemn them, that they durſt not own it: wherefore, their whole thoughts were bent on perplexing it, nor were they able to ſhun falling into the contradictions I am about to relate.

The Confeſſion of *Ausburg*. *Conf. Aug. Art.* VII.

Let us, in the firſt place, look into their *Confeſſions* of Faith; and to begin with that of *Ausburg* which is the firſt, and as it were the foundation of all the reſt, the Article concerning the *Church*, was thus deliver'd by it: *we teach that there is a holy Church which muſt eternally ſubſiſt*. What now is that Church, whoſe duration is eternal? The following words explain it:

the

the Church is the aſſembly of Saints, wherein the Goſpel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred.

Here may be ſeen three fundamental truths. Firſt, *that the Church ſubſiſts always:* there is then an inviolate ſucceſſion. Second, that ſhe is eſſentially compounded of Paſtors and People, the adminiſtration of the Sacraments and preaching of the Word entering into her very definition. Third, that the Word and Sacraments are not only therein adminiſter'd, but *rightly* adminiſter'd, *rectè*, *as they ought to be:* the which alſo enters into the eſſence of a Church, ſince it is placed, as we ſee, in her definition.

V. This Doctrine own'd by Proteſtants is the ſubverſion of their Reformation, and the ſource of their perplexities.

Now, this allow'd, the queſtion is, how they can poſſibly accuſe the *Church* of Error, either in Doctrine, or in Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; for, could that happen, the definition of the Church wherein is placed not only preaching, but *true* preaching of the Goſpel, and not only adminiſtration, but *the right* adminiſtration of the Sacraments, would be falſe; and if that cannot happen, the *Reformation*, which accuſed the *Church* of Error, carried in her very title her own condemnation.

Obſerve well the difficulty, for this was the firſt ſource, in the *Proteſtant* Churches, of thoſe contradictions we ſhall diſcover in them: but contradictions, which the remedies they thought to find for the defect of their original, made them but plunge the deeper into. In the mean while, till the ſeries of facts lead us to theſe fruitleſs remedies, let us endeavour thoroughly to make known the evil.

VI. What it was preciſely that the *Proteſtants* did oblige

On this foundation of the ſeventh Article of the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*, the *Lutherans* were ask'd, what it was they came to reform? The Church of *Rome*, ſaid they. But have you any other

themſelves to by this Doctrine.

other *Church* wherein the Doctrine you would eſtabliſh, is profeſſed? 'Twas a fact inconteſtable that they could ſhew none. Where was then that *Church*, in which by your ſeventh Article, the true preaching of God's word, and the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments were always to ſubſiſt? To name ſome Doctors here and there, and from time to time, who, as you pretend, have taught your Doctrine; allowing the fact proved, yet would be nothing to the purpoſe: for it was a Body of a *Church* you were to ſhew, a Body, wherein truth was preach'd, and wherein the Sacraments were adminiſter'd: by conſequence, a Body compounded of Paſtors and of People; a Body, in this reſpect, always viſible. This is what muſt be ſhew'd, and conſequently, ſhew'd, in this Body, a manifeſt ſucceſſion both of Doctrine and of Miniſtry.

VII. Perpetual viſibility of the Church confirm'd by the Apology of the *Ausburg-Confeſſion.*

At the recital of the ſeventh Article of the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*, the *Catholicks* found fault with their defining the Church, *the aſſembly of Saints*; and ſaid, that Sinners and Hypocrites, who are united to the *Church* by the external bands, ought not to be excluded from their unity. *Melanchthon* accounted for this Doctrine in the Apology, and it is not impoſſible that might be a diſpute as much about words as things: but without ſtopping at this, let us but obſerve, they perſiſted to ſay, that the Church *was always to laſt*, and to laſt always *viſible*, Preaching and the Sacraments being eſſential to her; for let us hear how they ſpeak: *the Catholick Church is not an exterior ſociety of certain nations, but 'tis men diſperſed over all the univerſe, who have the ſame ſentiments with regard to the Goſpel, who have the ſame Chriſt, the ſame Holy Ghoſt, and the ſame Sacraments.* And ſtill more expreſly a little after: *we never have dreamt that*

Apol. Tit. de Ecc. p. 144.

Ibid. 145. 146.

Ibid.

Ibid. 48.

the

the Church was a Platonick *City* not to be found on earth: *we ſay that the Church exiſts; that in it there are true Believers and men truly juſt ſpread over all the univerſe: we add to this, its marks, the pure Goſpel, and the Sacraments, and it is ſuch a Church that's properly the pillar of the truth.* Here then at leaſt unqueſtionably is a Church very really exiſting; very really viſible, wherein ſound Doctrine is very really preach'd, and the Sacraments very really adminiſtered as they ought to be: for, as they ſubjoin, the kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt* cannot ſubſiſt but with *the Word and Sacraments*, ſo that where they are not, *there can be no Church.* *Ibid.* 156.

VIII. How it was endeavour'd to make this Doctrine conſiſt with the neceſſity of a Reformation.

This notwithſtanding, many human traditions, ſaid they, had crept into the Church, whereby ſound Doctrine and the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments was changed; and this was what they would reform. But if theſe human traditions were turn'd in the *Church* into articles of Faith, where could be that purity of the Word and Doctrine, without which ſhe could not ſubſiſt? Here the thing was to be palliated, and accordingly they ſaid, as hath been ſeen, that their deſign was not to combat againſt *the Catholick Church, nor even the Church of* Rome, *nor to maintain opinions which the Church had condemn'd*; that the matter in debate was no more than *ſome few abuſes* brought into the Church *without any certain authority*; nor was that to be taken for the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which was approved of only by the *Pope*, ſome *Cardinals*, ſome *Biſhops*, and ſome *Monks*. *S. l.* 111. *n.* 59.

To hear the *Lutherans* ſpeak thus, one might think, they did not impugn the received *Dogmata*, but ſome particular opinions only, and ſome few abuſes lately crept in without authority.

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This but little ſuited with thoſe outrageous invectives of Sacrilege and Idolatry, with which they fill'd the whole univerſe, much leſs with an open rupture. But the fact is certain, and by theſe ſmooth words they endeavour'd to ſalve the inconſiſtency of owning corruption in the tenets of the *Church*, after having made a pure preaching of the truth, eſſential to her.

IX. The perpetual viſibility confirm'd in the Articles of *Smalkald* by the promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt. *Art. Smal. Concord. p.* 345.

This immutability and perpetual duration of ſound Doctrine was confirm'd in the Articles of *Smalkald* ſubſcribed by the whole *Lutheran* Party, explaining thoſe words of our Saviour: *On this rock will I build my Church*, namely, ſaid they, *on this miniſtry of the profeſſion made by* Peter. Thereunto preaching, and true preaching, was therefore neceſſary, without which, they own'd, the *Church* could not ſubſiſt.

X. The *Saxonick* Confeſſion, in which they begin to ſpy out the difficulty, without departing from the precedent Doctrine. *Cap. de Ecc. Syn. Gen* 2. *p. p.* 72.

Now we are upon the ſubject of the *Lutheran Churches* Doctrine, the *Saxonick* Confeſſion, known to be *Melancthon*'s, opportunely comes in my way. In it is acknowledged that there is always ſome true Church; *that the promiſes of God*, who hath promiſed her duration, *are immutable*; *that they ſpeak not of the Church as of a* Platonick *idea*, *but point out a Church which is ſeen and heard*; *and that ſhe is viſible in this life, and is the aſſembly which embraces the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, and which hath the true uſe of the Sacraments, in which God operates efficaciouſly by the miniſtry of the Goſpel, and wherein many are regenerated.*

They add, ſhe may be reduced to a *ſmall number*; yet however, there is always a remnant of the faithful, *whoſe voice makes itſelf be heard on earth, and of which God, from time to time, renews the miniſtry.* They muſt mean that he continues it; for the definition of the Church which, as juſt ſaid, cannot ſubſiſt without the Miniſtry, doth not allow its interruption even for

for a moment; and immediately after, it's ſubjoin'd, *that God will have the miniſtry of the Goſpel be publick; he will not have preaching ſhut up in darkneſs, but heard by all mankind; and that there be aſſemblies where it may reſound, and where his name may be praiſed and invocated.* *Cap. de Cæn. p. 72.*

Here then you ſee the *Church* always viſible. True it is, they begin to ſpy the difficulty, when ſaying, *ſhe may be reduced to a ſmall number:* but after all, the *Lutherans* are not leſs put to it to ſhew, at *Luther*'s firſt appearance, a ſmall Society of their ſentiments than a great one, and yet without that, there is neither *Miniſtry* nor *Church*.

XI. Doctrine or the Confeſſion of *Wirtemberg*, and the perpetual Viſibility always maintain'd.

The Confeſſion of *Wirtemberg*, which was pen'd by *Brentius*, does not degenerate from this Doctrine, it being there acknowledged, that *there is a Church ſo well govern'd by the Holy Ghoſt, that, altho' weak, ſhe laſts forever; that ſhe judges of Doctrine; and is, where the Goſpel is ſincerely preach'd, and where the Sacraments are adminiſter'd according to Chriſt's inſtitution.* The difficulty ſtill remain'd of ſhewing us a *Church* and a Society of Paſtors and People wherein ſound Doctrine had always been preſerved to *Luther*'s days. *Cap. de Ecc. Ibid. p. 132.*

The next chapter relates how Councils may err; by reaſon that, altho' *Jeſus Chriſt* hath promiſed his *Church* the perpetual Preſence of his holy Spirit, nevertheleſs, *every aſſembly is not the Church*; and it may happen in the Church, *as in bodies politick*, that the greater number of bad men may prevail over the good. This is what I ſhall not diſpute at preſent: but ſtill inſiſt that they ſhew me a *Church*, little or great, which, before *Luther*'s coming, was of his ſentiments. *Ibid. c. de Conc. p. 134.*

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XII. The Confeſſion of *Bohemia*.

Art. VIII. *Ibid.* 186.

The Confeſſion of *Bohemia* is approved by *Luther*. Therein isconfeſſed *a Holy and Catholick Church, which comprehends all Chriſtians diſperſed throughout all the earth, which are aſſembled by preaching of the Goſpel in the Faith of the Trinity and of Jeſus Chriſt; whereſoever Jeſus Chriſt is preach'd and received, and whereſoever are the Word and Sacraments according to the rule by him preſcribed, there is the Church.* Theſe men at leaſt were fully ſatisfied, that when they were born, there was no Church in the whole univerſe of their belief; for the Deputies diſpatch'd by them every where on that errand, had well aſſured them of it. And yet they durſt not ſay, *their aſſembly, ſuch as it was*, little or great, was the holy univerſal *Church*; but only that *ſhe was a member and a part thereof*. But what then was become of all the other parts? They had ſurvey'd all corners of the world, and no tidings of them: ſad extremes indeed! not to dare to ſay, they were the *Univerſal Church*, and dare ſtill leſs to ſay, that they had met with Brethren and Partners of their Faith in any whatſoever part of the whole Univerſe.

S. l. xi. *n.* 176.

Ibid. 187.

Be that as it will, theſe are the firſt that ſeem to inſinuate in a *Confeſſion* of Faith, that true Chriſtian *Churches* might be ſeparated from one another, ſince they dare not exclude from *Catholick* Unity, thoſe Churches with whom they knew they had no Communion; which I beg may be remark'd by reaſon that this Doctrine will at length be the laſt reſource of *Proteſtants* as ſhall appear hereafter.

XIII. The Confeſſion of *Strasburg*.

We have ſeen the *Lutherans* Confeſſion touching the *Church*: we ſhall now hear the other Party. The Confeſſion of *Strasburg* preſented, as above obſerved, to *Charles* V. at the ſame time

time with that of *Ausburg*, defines the *Church*, *the Society of thoſe who have liſted themſelves ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, amongſt whom are mixed many hypocrites.* There is no doubt that ſuch a Society is *viſible:* that ſhe muſt always abide in this ſtate of *viſibility*, it being added, *that Jeſus Chriſt does never abandon her; that thoſe who do not hear her, ought to be held for* Heathens *and* Publicans; *that, indeed, there is no ſeeing what conſtitutes her a Church, namely, her Faith; yet ſhe makes herſelf be ſeen by her fruits, amongſt which one is Confeſſion of the truth.*

Conf. Argent. c. xv. *de Eccl. Synt. Gen. 1. p. p.* 191.

The following Chapter ſets forth how that *the Church being on earth in the fleſh, God alſo will inſtruct her by the exterior word, and make her faithful members preſerve an exterior Society by means of the Sacraments.* There are then neceſſarily both Paſtors and People, nor can the *Church* ſubſiſt without this miniſtry.

Cap. xvi. *Ibid.*

XIV. Two Confeſſions of *Baſil.*

The Confeſſion of *Baſil* in 1536, ſays that *the Catholick Church is the holy Congregation of all the Saints; and altho' unknown to any but God, nevertheleſs is ſhe ſeen, is ſhe known, is ſhe conſtituted by external rites of God's appointment*, to-wit, by the Sacraments, *and by the publick and lawful preaching of his word:* wherein is ſeen manifeſtly, that Miniſters lawfully called are comprehended, by whom, it's alſo added, God *makes himſelf known to his faithful, and adminiſters to them the remiſſion of their ſins.*

Ibid. Art. 14. 15.

In another *Confeſſion* of Faith made at *Baſil* in 1532, *The Chriſtian Church is likewiſe defined, the Society of the Saints, whereof all thoſe, who confeſs Jeſus Chriſt, are the* Citizens; thus, the profeſſion of Chriſtianity is eſſential to her.

XV. The *Helvetick* Confeſſion

Whilſt we are upon the *Helvetick* Confeſſions, that of 1566, which is the great and ſolemn one, defines alſo the Church *which hath been always,*

of 1566, and the perpetual visibility thoroughly estabilish'd.

Cap. xvii. *Ibid. p.* 31. *Ibid.* 33. *Ibid.* 34.

ways, which is, and which shall ever be, the assembly of the Faithful and of the Saints who know God, and serve him by the Word and the Holy Ghost. Here then is not only the interior band, namely the *Holy Ghost*, but the exterior also, which is the *Word* and *Preaching:* and therefore they say afterwards, *that lawful and true preaching is her chief mark*, to which must be added *the Sacraments as God hath instituted them.* Whence they conclude, that the Churches which are deprived of these marks, *altho' they boast the succession of their Bishops, their Unity, and their Antiquity, do not belong to the true Church of Jesus Christ, nor can Salvation any more be had out of the Church, than out of the Ark: if you will have life, you must not separate yourself from the true Church of Jesus Christ.*

I desire these words may be observed, which will be of main consequence when we shall come to the last answers of the Ministers: mean while, let us but remark that it is impossible to teach more clearly that the *Church* is *always visible*, and that she is necessarily compounded of Pastors and People, than is here done by this *Helvetick* Confession.

XVI. They begin to vary. The *invisible* Church begins to appear.

But as they were obliged, according to these ideas, always to find a Ministry and a *Church* wherein the truth of Christianity was preserved; the difficulty was no small one, because, say what they would, they were very sensible that there was no *Church*, little or great, composed of Pastors and People, wherein they could shew that Faith, which they would make to pass for the only true Christian Faith. They are then forced to subjoin, *that God hath had his friends out of the people of* Israel; *that, during the captivity of* Babylon, *the people were deprived sixty years of the sacrifice; that, thro' a just judgment of God, the*

the truth of his word and worſhip, and the Catholick Faith, are ſometimes ſo obſcured, that it ſeems almoſt as if they were extinct, and no Church at all ſubſiſting, as happen'd in the time of Eli *and at other times: ſo that, the Church may be call'd inviſible; not that the men ſhe is compoſed of, are ſo; but becauſe, ſhe is often hidden to our eyes, and being known to God alone, eſcapes from the ſight of men.* Here is the *Dogma* of an *Inviſible* Church as clearly eſtabliſh'd, as the *Dogma* of the *Viſible* Church had been before; that is to ſay, the *Reformation*, ſtruck at firſt with the true notion of the *Church*, defin'd it ſo as that her *Viſibility* came into her very eſſence; but, afterwards fell into other notions thro' the impoſſibility of finding a *Church* always *Viſible* of her Belief.

XVII. Church inviſible, why invented. Confeſſion of the Miniſter *Jurieu. Syſt. p.* 226.

That it was this inevitable perplexity, which caſt the *Calvinian* Churches upon this chimera of a *Church inviſible*, none can doubt, after hearing Mr. *Jurieu*. *That which moved*, ſays he, *ſome Reformed Doctors*, (he ſhould have ſaid, whole Churches of the *Reformation*) in their own *Confeſſions* of Faith, *to caſt themſelves into the* PERPLEXITY *they were intangled in upon their denying the perpetual viſibility of the Church, was becauſe they believed, by owning the Church always viſible, they ſhould find it difficult to anſwer the queſtion which the Church of* Rome *ſo often makes us: Where was our Church a hundred and fifty years ago? If the Church be always viſible, your* Calviniſt *and* Lutheran *Church is not the true Church, for that was not viſible.* This is fairly owning the cauſe of that perplexity which diſturb'd his Churches: he that pretends to have refin'd beyond them, will not extricate himſelf better, as we ſhall ſee; but let us con-

tinue to obſerve the confuſion of the Churches themſelves.

XVIII. *Belgick* Confeſſion, and ſequel of the perplexity.

The *Belgick* Confeſſion manifeſtly copies after the *Helvetick*, ſince it ſays, *that the Catholick or Univerſal Church is the aſſembly of all the faithful, that ſhe hath been, is, and will be eternally, by reaſon, that Jeſus Chriſt her eternal King cannot be without ſubjects: altho', for ſome time, ſhe ſeem little,* AND AS IT WERE EXTINCT *to the eyes of men; as in the time of* Achab *and of thoſe ſeven thouſand who had not bent their knees to* Baal.

Art. 27. *Ibid. p.* 140.

Ibid. Art. 28.

Nevertheleſs, they afterwards ſubjoin, *that the Church is the aſſembly of the Elect, out of which none can be ſaved; that it is not lawful to withdraw from her, or abide apart; but all muſt unite themſelves to the Church,* and ſubmit *to her diſcipline*; that one may ſee and know her, *by pure preaching, right adminiſtration of the Sacraments,* and a good diſcipline; *and it is* thereby, ſay they, *that we may certainly diſtinguiſh this true Church, from which it's not allowable to depart.*

Ibid. Art. 29.

It ſeems then on one ſide, as if they would ſay, one may eaſily and always know her ſince ſhe hath ſuch manifeſt tokens, and that it's never lawful to depart from her. And on the other ſide, if we preſs them to ſhew us a Church of their *Belief*, tho' never ſo minute, always viſible; they prepare themſelves a ſubterfuge by flying to this *Church* which does not appear, altho' they dare not ſpeak out boldly, nor ſay abſolutely that ſhe is extinct, but only, that ſhe ſeems, *as it were extinct.*

XIX. Church of *England.*

The Church of *England* ſpeaks ambiguouſly. *The viſible Church,* ſays ſhe, *is a Congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is*

Ibid. Art. 19. *p.* 103.

is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly miniſtred, according to Chriſt's ordinance; that is, ſuch is ſhe when *Viſible*, but this is not ſaying that ſhe is always *Viſible*: what follows is not more clear, *as the Church of* Hieruſalem, Alexandria, *and* Antioch, *have err'd, ſo alſo the Church of* Rome *hath err'd in matters of Faith*: the queſtion is, (they thus attainting theſe great, and as it were, mother Churches of all the reſt) whether the infection might have ſpread ſo univerſally, as that the profeſſion of truth was extinguiſh'd over all the earth: but they choſe rather to ſpeak nothing of it, than to incur this terrible dilemma which would oblige them, on one ſide, either to own there was no *Church* left on earth in which truth was confeſſed; or, allowing the impoſſibility of this, would oblige them, on the other ſide, to ſeek what they knew could not be found, to wit, a *Church* always ſubſiſting and believing as they did.

XX. Confeſſion of *Scotland*, and manifeſt contradiction. *Ibid. Art.* 16. *de Eccl. p.* 118. *Art.* 18. *p.* 119.

In the Confeſſion of *Scotland*, *the Catholick Church is defined the Society of all the Elect*: they ſay, *ſhe is inviſible, and known to God only, who alone knows his Elect*; and add, that the true Church hath *for its mark, Preaching and the Sacraments*; and wherever theſe marks be, tho' there ſhould be but *two or three men*, there is the Church of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the midſt of which he is, according to his promiſe; *which is underſtood*, proceed they, *not of the univerſal Church juſt ſpoken of, but of the particular Church of* Epheſus, *of* Corinth, *and ſo forth, wherein the Miniſtry had been planted by St.* Paul: prodigious! to make *Jeſus Chriſt* ſay, the Miniſtry may be, where but two or three men can be found. But they were forced into theſe ſtreights; for to find one only *Church* of their belief, wherein was a regulated Miniſtry, as at *Epheſus*

or *Corinth*, always ſubſiſting, was what they deſpair'd of.

XXI. Catechiſm of the pretended Reformed of *France*.

I have reſerved the *Confeſſion* of the pretended Reformed of *France* for the laſt, not only on account of the particular concern I ought to have for my own country, but alſo on account that in *France* eſpecially, the *Proteſtants* have for this long time ſought moſt diligently for the ſolution of this difficulty.

Catech. Dim. xv.

Let us begin by the *Catechiſm*, wherein on the fifteenth *Sunday*, upon this Article of the Creed, *I believe the Holy Catholick Church*, they teach, that this name is given her, *to ſignify that as there is but one Head of the faithful, ſo all are to be united in one Body; ſo that there are not many Churches, but one only, the which is diffuſed all the world over.* How the *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* Church *was diffuſed all the world over*, when ſcarce known in ſome corner of it; and, how Churches of this belief are to be found, in all times and in all the world; is what makes the difficulty. They ſaw, and obviate it in the

Dim. xvi.

following *Sunday*, where after having ask'd, whether this *Church may be otherwiſe known than by believing her*, they anſwer thus: *There is indeed a viſible Church of God conformably to the ſigns he hath given us to know her by; but in this place* (the Creed) *properly ſpeaking, is meant the Society of thoſe whom God hath elected for Salvation, the which cannot be diſcover'd fully by the eye.*

XXII. Sequel in which the difficulty appears. The Church in the Creed at length acknowledged viſible.

They ſeem to ſay two things: the firſt, that no mention is made of the *Church* in the Symbol of the Apoſtles: the ſecond, that for want of ſuch a *Church* which they might ſhew viſibly of their belief, it is ſufficient to have recourſe to that *Inviſible* Church *which cannot be ſeen fully by the eye.* But what follows, puts an obſtacle to the two points of this Doctrine, it being

ing there taught, *that no man obtains pardon of his ſins, unleſs he be firſt, incorporated with God's people, and perſevere in Unity and Communion with the Body of Chriſt, and ſo be a member of the Church:* whence they conclude, that, *out of the Church, there is nothing but Death and Damnation*; and that *all thoſe who ſeparate themſelves from the company of the faithful to make a Sect apart, ought not, whilſt divided, to hope Salvation. To make a Sect apart*, is, unqueſtionably, to break the exterior bonds of the *Church*'s Unity: they ſuppoſe therefore that the *Church*, wherewith it is neceſſary to be in Communion in order to obtain pardon of our ſins, hath a twofold Union, the internal and external; and that both of them are neceſſary, firſt to Salvation, and ſecondly to the underſtanding the Article of the Creed touching the *Catholick* Church: ſo that this *Church*, confeſſed in the Creed, is *Viſible* and diſtinguiſhable in her exterior; for which reaſon alſo they durſt not venture to ſay, that we could not ſee her, but, could not ſee her *fully*, to wit, as to that which is internal: a thing no man diſputes.

XXIII. *Calvin*'s ſentiment. *Inſtit. l.* IV. *c.* 1. *n.* 2.

All theſe notions in the *Catechiſm*, came from *Calvin* who compoſed it: for, explaining the Article, *I believe the Catholick Church*, he diſtinguiſhes the Church *Viſible*, from the *Inviſible* known to God alone, the which is the Society of all the Elect, and it ſeems as if he would ſay, it is this the Creed ſpeaks of: *altho'*, ſays he, *this Article regards, in ſome meaſure, the external Church*, as if they were two *Churches*, and it were not, on the contrary, moſt evident, that the ſame *Church*, which is *Inviſible* in her internal gifts, doth manifeſt herſelf by the Sacraments and Profeſſion of her Faith. But ſo it is that the *Reformation* is always in a panick

N. 3.

when the Church's *Viſibility* is to be acknowledged.

XXIV. Confeſſion of Faith of the *French Calviniſts. Conf. avec M. Cl. p. 9. & ſeq.*

They act more naturally in their *Confeſſion* of Faith, and elſewhere it hath been proved unanſwerably, that they there own no other *Church* but that which is *Viſible*. The fact ſtands inconteſtable, as will be ſeen hereafter. Nor was there indeed any thing that could leſs bear a diſpute; for, from the twenty fifth Article, where this matter begins, to the thirty ſecond Article, where it ends, they all along evidently ſuppoſe the Church *Viſible*; and in the twenty fifth Article, they lay it down as a fundamental point, that *the Church cannot ſubſiſt, unleſs there be Paſtors in her that have the charge of teaching.* It is therefore a thing abſolutely neceſſary; and thoſe who oppoſe this Doctrine *are deteſted as fantaſtical.* Whence they conclude, in the twenty ſixth Article, *that no man ought to withdraw apart, nor reſt on ſelf-ſufficiency*; ſo that it is neceſſary to be united externally with ſome *Church:* a truth inculcated in every place, without the appearance of ſo much as one word of a Church *Inviſible.*

It ought, however, to be obſerved, that in the twenty ſixth Article where it's ſaid, *no man ought to withdraw apart nor reſt on ſelf-ſufficiency, but ſhould join himſelf to ſome Church*, they add, *and this in whatever place God ſhall have eſtabliſh'd a true form of a Church*; whereby is left undecided, whether or no they mean that ſuch a form always does ſubſiſt.

XXV. Sequel wherein the perpetual Viſibility is always manifeſtly ſuppoſed.

In the twenty ſeventh Article caution is given to diſtinguiſh carefully, which is the true *Church:* words that plainly ſhew, they ſuppoſe her *Viſible*; and after having decided that ſhe is *the Congregation of true faithful men*, they add, *amongſt the faithful there be hypocrites and reprobate, whoſe*

whoſe wickedneſs cannot deface the Title of a Church, wherein the *Church*'s Viſibility is clearly ſuppoſed anew.

XXVI. The Church of *Rome* excluded from the Title of a true Church by the twenty eighth Article of the *French* Confeſſion.

By the principles laid down in the twenty eighth Article, the Church of *Rome* ſtands excluded from the Title of a true Church, foraſmuch as, after laying this foundation, *that, where the word of God is not preach'd, and no profeſſion is made of bringing oneſelf under ſubjection to it, and where there is no uſe of Sacraments properly ſpeaking, we cannot judge that there is any Church:* they declare, they *condemn the aſſemblies of the Papacy, conſidering that the pure truth of God is baniſh'd thence, and the Sacraments are there corrupted, adulterated, falſified, or wholly annihilated; and all Superſtitions and Idolatries are in vogue amongſt them:* whence they draw this conſequence: *We hold that all thoſe who join in ſuch deeds, and communicate in them, do ſeparate and cut themſelves off from the Body of Chriſt Jeſus.*

It is impoſſible to decide more clearly, that there is no Salvation in the Church of *Rome*. And what is ſubjoin'd by them that there are ſtill ſome *foot-ſteps of a Church amongſt us*, ſo far from mitigating the precedent expreſſions, even ſtrengthens them; in that, this term implies rather ſome remains and traces of a *Church* that had formerly paſs'd that way, than a token of her being there. Thus was it underſtood by *Calvin* when he aſſerted, that *the eſſential Doctrine of Chriſtianity was intirely forgotten by us*. But the difficulty of diſcovering a Society, in which God could be ſerved before the *Reformation*, hath made them elude this Article, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Inſtit. IV. *c.* II. *n.* 2.

XXVII. The thirty firſt Article in which the

The ſame reaſon obliged them alſo to elude the thirty firſt which regards the vocation of Miniſters. However trite may have been this ſubject,

interruption of the Miniſtry and the Ceſſation of the viſible Church is acknowledged.

ſubject, it muſt nevertheleſs of neceſſity be reſumed, and ſo much the more, as it has given occaſion to notorious Variations even in our days. It begins by theſe words: *We believe* ('tis an Article of Faith, conſequently reveal'd by God, and reveal'd clearly in his Scripture according to the principles of the *Reformation*) *we believe then that no man may intrude himſelf of his own proper authority into the government of the Church*; allow'd, the thing is certain; *but that this ought to be done by election*; this part of the Article is not leſs ſure than the other. You muſt be choſen, deputed, authoriz'd by ſome body; otherwiſe you are an intruder, *and by your own particular authority*, the thing juſt now prohibited. But here is what pinches the *Reformation*; they knew not who had choſen, deputed, authoriz'd the *Reformers*, and 'twas neceſſary to find out here ſome cloak for ſo viſible a defect. Wherefore, after having ſaid, you ought to be elected and deputed after ſome form or other, without ſpecifying any, they add; *ſo far forth as is poſſible, and God permits it:* whereby an exception is manifeſtly prepared in behalf of the *Reformers*. And accordingly, they immediately ſubjoin, *the which exception we add expreſly, becauſe it hath been neceſſary ſometimes, nay in our days when the ſtate of the Church was interrupted, that God ſhould raiſe men in an extraordinary manner to ſet up the Church anew which was fallen into ruin and deſolation.* They could not denote, in more clear and more general terms, the interruption of the ordinary Miniſtry eſtabliſh'd by God, nor carry it further, than to be obliged to have recourſe to an extraordinary Miſſion which God himſelf diſpatches, and accordingly furniſhes with the particular proofs of his immediate Will. For they acknowledge frankly

frankly in the preſent caſe, that they can neither produce Paſtors that did conſecrate, nor people that could elect; which implied neceſſarily the intire extinction of the Church in her *Viſibility*; and remarkable it was that from the interruption of the Viſibility and Miniſtry, they came to own in plain terms, that the *Church was fallen into ruin*; without diſtinguiſhing the *Viſible* from the *Inviſible*, becauſe they had got into a train of ſimple notions by which the Scripture naturally leads us to own no *Church* but ſuch as is *Viſible*.

XXVIII. Perplexity in the Synods of *Gap* and *Rochelle*, on account that the inviſible Church had been forgotten in the Confeſſion. *Synod. de Gap. ch. de la Conf. de foi.*

This difficulty was at length perceived by the *Reformation*; and in 1603, five and forty years after the *Confeſſion* of Faith had been publiſh'd, was propoſed to the national Synod of *Gap* in theſe terms. *The Provinces are exhorted to examine thoroughly in the Provincial Synods, in what terms the twenty fifth Article of the Confeſſion of Faith, ought to couched, ſo much the more, as our belief, touching the Catholick Church whereof mention is made in the Creed, being to be expreſſed, there is nothing in the ſaid Confeſſion that can be underſtood of any other than the Church Militant and Viſible.* A general command is ſubjoin'd, *that all come prepared on queſtions concerning the Church.*

This is therefore a fact well avow'd, that when they were to expound their Doctrine touching the *Church*, ſo eſſential an Article of Chriſtianity as to have been expreſſed in the *Creed*, the idea of a Church *Inviſible* did not ſo much as enter into the minds of the *Reformers*; ſo diſtant was it from good ſenſe, and ſo unnatural. However, they bethink themſelves afterwards that it's neceſſary for their turn, it being impoſſible for them to find out a *Church* which had always viſibly perſiſted in the Faith they profeſs,

and

and a remedy is therefore ſought for this omiſſion. What ſhall they ſay? That the Church might be wholly *Inviſible?* This were introducing into a *Confeſſion* of Faith ſo crude a fancy, ſo repugnant to good ſenſe, that it never ſo much as enter'd into the heads of thoſe that drew it up. It was therefore reſolved at laſt, to leave it as they found it; and four years after, in 1607, at the national Synod of *Rochelle*, when all the Provinces had thoroughly examin'd what was wanting to the *Confeſſion* of Faith, *they concluded, not to add to, or diminiſh any thing from the twenty fifth and twenty ninth Articles*, the very ſame in which the *Viſibility* of the Church was expreſs'd the moſt fully, *nor to meddle afreſh with the ſubject of the Church.*

Syn. de la Roch. 1607.

XXIX. Vain ſubtilty of the Miniſter *Claude* towards eluding theſe Synods. *Rep. au Diſc. de M. de Cond. p.* 220.

Mr. *Claude*, of all men, was the moſt ſubtle to elude the Deciſions of his Church when they incommoded him: but for this bout he jeſts but too openly; for he would make us believe, that all the difficulty the Synod of *Gap* met with in the *Confeſſion* of Faith, was that ſhe could have wiſh'd, that inſtead of ſpecifying only *the Militant and Viſible part* of the univerſal Church, *her Inviſible parts, which are the Church Triumphant and that which is ſtill to come, had alſo been ſpecified.* Was not that indeed a very important, a very difficult queſtion to order the diſcuſſion of in all the Synods, and over all the Provinces, towards bringing it to a Deciſion in the next national Synod? Did they ſo much as dream of ever moving ſo frivolous a queſtion? And to believe they troubled their heads about it, muſt not he have forgotten the whole ſtate of controverſies ever ſince the beginning of the pretended *Reformation?* But Mr. *Claude* was not for owning, that the Synod's perplexity proceeded from her not finding, in their *Confeſſion* of Faith, the

the *Inviſible* Church, whilſt his Brother Mr. *Jurieu*, in that more ſincere, agrees that they thought it was neceſſary in the Party in order to anſwer the query, *Where was the Church?* S. *n.* 17.

XXX. Remarkable Deciſion, which they ſtick not to, of the Synod of *Gap*, concerning extraordinary vocation.

The ſame Synod of *Gap* paſs'd an important Deciſion on the thirty firſt Article of the *Confeſſion* of Faith, which ſpoke of the extraordinary vocation of Paſtors: for the queſtion being propoſed, *Whether or no it were expedient, when they ſhould treat on the Vocation of Paſtors who reform'd the Church, to ground the authority they had to reform and teach, on the vocation which they had derived from the Church of* Rome; the Synod judged, *they ought to refer it, according to the Article, to the extraordinary Vocation only whereby God interiorly ſtirr'd them up to this Miniſtry, and not to the ſmall remains amongſt them of that corrupted ordinary Vocation.* Such was the Deciſion of the Synod of *Gap:* but, as before frequently obſerved, the *Reformation* never hits right at firſt. Whereas, ſhe injoins here to have recourſe *to an extraordinary Vocation only*, the Synod of *Rochelle* ſays, they muſt *principally* have recourſe to it. But no more will they abide by the expoſition of the Synod of *Rochelle*, than by the determination of the Synod of *Gap*, and the whole ſenſe of the Article, ſo carefully explain'd by two Synods, ſhall be changed by two Miniſters.

XXXI. The Miniſters elude the Decree concerning extraordinary Vocation. *Def. de la Rep.* 1. *p. ch.* 4. & 4. *p. ch.* 4.

The Miniſters *Claude* and *Jurieu* are no longer for an extraordinary Vocation by which Miniſters are ſent immediately from God; neither does a *Confeſſion* of Faith, or Synods terrify them: for as the *Reformed* in the main neither care for *Confeſſions* of Faith nor Synods, and anſwer objections from them only for form-ſake, even the ſlighteſt evaſions will ſerve their turn. For ſuch, Mr. *Claude* was never at a loſs; *the right*

to

Rep. a M. de Cond. p. 313. 333. *to teach*, ſays he, *and to perform the paſtoral functions is one thing*: the right to *labour towards a Reformation, is another*. As for the laſt, the Vocation was extraordinary, on account of the extraordinary talents the *Reformers* were endow'd with: but there was nothing extraordinary as for the Vocation to the Paſtoral Miniſtry, ſince theſe firſt Paſtors were appointed by the people, in whom the ſource of Authority and Vocation naturally reſides.

Ibid. p. 307. 313.

XXXII. Extraordinary Vocation, eſtabliſh'd in the Confeſſion and two national Synods, is abandon'd.

They could not ſhift off the thirty firſt Article in a more groſs manner. For it is manifeſt, the queſtion there regarded in no manner of way either the extraordinary labour towards a *Reformation*, or the rare talents wherewith the *Reformers* were endow'd; but merely the Vocation *for governing the Church*, into which it was not lawful *for any one to intrude himſelf of his own proper authority*. Now it was in this regard that they had recourſe to an extraordinary Vocation; conſequently, it was in regard of the Paſtoral functions.

The Synod explains itſelf no leſs clearly: for without the leaſt thought of diſtinguiſhing betwixt the power of *Reforming* and that of *Teaching*, which in reality are ſo link'd together that the ſame power which authorizes to teach, authorizes likewiſe to reform abuſes: the queſtion was whether the power, as well of *Reforming* as of *Teaching*, ought to be founded on Vocation derived from the Church of *Rome*, or on an extraordinary commiſſion iſſuing immediately from God, and the Synod concludes for the latter.

But no longer were there any means left of maintaining it, they not having any one mark thereof: nay, two Synods could find no other warrant to authorize theſe extraordinarily commiſſion'd

miſſion'd Paſtors, except what they ſaid for themſelves, that they had an *interior impulſe to their Miniſtry*. The chiefs of the *Anabaptiſts* and *Unitarians* ſay the ſame, nor is there a more ſure method of introducing into the Paſtoral charge all manner of *Fanaticks*.

XXXIII. How important is the preſent ſtate of the controverſy about the Church.

Here was a fine field open'd to *Catholicks*. Nor have they been failing ſo to preſs the arguments touching the *Church* and Miniſtry, that inteſtine diviſion began to diſorder the camp of the enemy; and the Miniſter *Claude*, after ſubtilizing to a higher pitch than any one had ever done before him, was not able to content the Miniſter *Jurieu*. What they both have ſaid on this ſubject, the ſteps they have taken towards the truth, the abſurdities they fell into for not having ſufficiently purſued their principle, have placed the queſtion concerning the Church in ſuch a ſtate as not to be diſſembled without omitting one of the moſt material occurrences of this Hiſtory.

XXXIV. They no longer conteſt with us the Church's Viſibility.

Theſe two Miniſters ſuppoſe the Church *Viſible* and always *Viſible*, nor is it in this point they are divided. In order to put it beyond all doubt that Mr. *Claude* perſiſted in this ſentiment to the very laſt, I will produce the laſt Work of his on this ſubject. He there declares, that the queſtion betwixt *Catholicks* and *Proteſtants* is not whether the Church be *Viſible*: that it is not denied in his Religion that the true *Church* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Church which his promiſes relate to, is ſo; he very clearly decides that the Text of St. *Paul*, in which the Church is repreſented without ſpot or wrinkle, *regards not only the Church in Heaven*, but *alſo the viſible Church that is on Earth*: inſomuch, that *the viſible Church is the Body of Chriſt Jeſus*, or what comes to the ſame thing, *the Body of Chriſt Jeſus, which alone*

Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond. p. 73. *Ibid.* 82. 83. *& ſeq.*

alone is the true Church, is viſible: that this is the ſentiment of Calvin *and* Meſtreſat, *and that the Church of God is not to be ſought out of the viſible ſtate of the Miniſtry and Word.*

XXXV. The promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt in behalf of the Viſibility, are allow'd. *Ibi. p.* 105. *Mat.* xvi 18.

This is moſt clearly owning, that ſhe cannot ſubſiſt without her *Viſibility* and the *Perpetuity* of her Miniſtry: accordingly hath this Author acknowledged it in many places, and particularly in expounding theſe words: the *gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt her*; where he ſpeaks thus: *if in theſe words be underſtood a perpetual ſubſiſtence of the miniſtry in a ſtate ſufficient for the ſalvation of God's elect, in ſpite of all the efforts of hell, and in ſpite of all the diſorders and confuſions of the Miniſters themſelves*; *'tis no more than what I own hath been promiſed by Jeſus Chriſt, and therein it is that we have a ſenſible and palpable token of his promiſe.*

The Perpetuity therefore of the Miniſtry is not a thing which happens accidentally to the *Church*, or is only ſuitable to her for a time; 'tis a thing which is promiſed her by *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf; and it is equally certain, that the *Church* will never be without a *Viſible* Miniſtry, as it is certain, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is the Eternal Truth.

XXXVI. Another promiſe equally confeſſed. *Conf. avec. M. Cl. p.* 36. *Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond. p.* 106. 107.

This Miniſter proceeds ſtill further, and expounding this promiſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Go ye, baptize, teach, and lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world*, he approves this comment made thereon: *with you teaching, with you baptizing*, and concludes it with theſe words: *I acknowledge that Jeſus Chriſt promiſes the Church to be with her, and to teach with her,* WITHOUT INTERRUPTION, *to the world's end:* an acknowledgment from whence I ſhall, in due time, conclude the *Infallibility* of the Church's Doctrine, with whom *Jeſus Chriſt* is always teaching:

teaching: but do only employ it here to eſtabliſh by his Scriptures and his promiſes, with the conſent of this Miniſter, the viſible perpetuity of the Church-Miniſtry.

XXXVII. The Viſibility enters into the definition which the Miniſter *Claude* hath given of the Church. *Ibid.* 119.

Accordingly alſo he proceeds thus to define the Church; *the Church is*, ſays he, *the true faithful who make profeſſion of the truth, of Chriſtian piety, of a true ſanctity under a Miniſtry which furniſhes her with the food neceſſary for a ſpiritual life, without ſubtracting from her any part thereof.* Where the profeſſion of the truth and the perpetuity of the viſible Miniſtry are ſeen manifeſtly to enter the definition of the *Church*: whence it clearly follows, that as much as he is aſſured that ſhe will be always, ſo much is he aſſured that ſhe always will be viſible, ſince viſibility appertains to her eſſence, and comes into her very definition.

XXXVIII. In what manner the Society of the faithful is viſible, in this Miniſter's opinion. *P.* 79. 95. 115. 121. 146. 243.

If it be ask'd this Miniſter, how he underſtands the Church to be viſible, ſince he will have her be the aſſembly of the true faithful known to God alone, and that the profeſſion of the truth, which might make her known, is common to her with wicked men and hypocrites, as well as the viſible and exterior Miniſtry: he anſwers, that 'tis ſufficient, to render the aſſembly of the faithful viſible, that we may point at the place where ſhe abides, to wit, *the body wherein ſhe is nouriſh'd*, and the viſible Miniſtry under which ſhe is neceſſarily contain'd: by which means we may even ſay, *there ſhe is*, as, viewing the field in which grow good corn and tares, we ſay, *there is the good corn*, and as, beholding the nets wherein are good and bad fiſh, *there are the good fiſh.*

XXXIX. Before the Reformation, the Elect of God ſaved

But what was that publick and viſible Miniſtry under which were contain'd, before the *Reformation*, the true faithful whom he will have alone to be the true Church? this was the grand

in the Communion, and under the Miniſtry of *Rome*. *Ibid.* 130. &c. 145. &c. 360. &c. 369. &c. 373. 378.

queſtion. No Miniſtry was to be found throughout the whole univerſe that had perpetually continued, except that of the Church of *Rome*, or of others, whoſe Doctrine was equally diſadvantageous to *Proteſtants*. Wherefore he was obliged at laſt to own, that this *Body in which the true faithful were nouriſh'd, and this Miniſtry whereby they received ſufficient food without ſubtraction of any part*, was the Body of the Church of *Rome*, and the Miniſtry of her Prelates.

XL. This Miniſter hath not recourſe to the *Albigenſes*, &c. *Def. de la Rep.* 3. *p. ch.* v. *p.* 289.

This Miniſter is here to be praiſed for his penetration, exceeding that of many others, and for not having confined the Church to Societies ſeparate from *Rome*, as were the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, the *Wickliffites* and the *Huſſites*: for altho' he conſiders them as the moſt *illuſtrious part of the Church, becauſe they were the moſt pure, the moſt knowing, and the moſt generous*, he well ſaw, it was ridiculous there to place the whole defence of his cauſe; and in his laſt work, without minding theſe obſcure Sects whoſe inſufficiency is now made viſible, he no where fixes the true *Church* and true faithful but in the *Latin* Miniſtry.

Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond.

XLI. Inevitable perplexity and contradicton.

But here lies the dilemma which it's impoſſible to evade: for the Catholicks return to their old Query: if the true Church be always *Viſible*; if the marks to know her by, according to all your *Catechiſms* and all your *Confeſſions* of Faith, be the pure preaching of the Goſpel and the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments: either the Church of *Rome* had theſe two marks, and you came in vain to reform her: or ſhe had them not; and you can no longer ſay, according to your principles, that ſhe is the Body in which is contain'd the true *Church*. For in contradiction to this, *Calvin* hath ſaid, that *the Doctrine eſſential to Chriſtianity* was there buried, *and ſhe was nothing but a ſchool of Idolatry and Impiety*. His

Inſt. l IV. *c.* 2. *n.* 2. *S. n.* 26.

ſentiments

ſentiments paſs'd into the *Confeſſion* of Faith, wherein we have ſeen *that the pure truth of God was baniſh'd from this Church; that the Sacraments were there corrupted, falſified, and adulterated; that all Superſtition and Idolatry were there in vogue.* Whence he concluded, that the Church *was fallen into deſolation and ruin, the ſtate of the Miniſtry interrupted*, and her ſucceſſion ſo annihilated, that there was no means of reviving it but by an extraordinary miſſion. And in reality, if *imputed* Juſtice was the foundation of Chriſtianity; if the *merit* of works, and ſo many other received Doctrines were mortally ruinous to piety, if both Kinds were eſſential to the *Euchariſt*, where was the Truth and Sacraments? *Calvin* and the *Confeſſion* were in the right to ſay, according to theſe principles, that no *Church* at all was left amongſt us. *Ibid.*

XLII. The anſwers whereby they fall into a greater perplexity.

On the other ſide, neither can it be ſaid that the Church hath ceaſed, nor ceaſed to be *Viſible:* the promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt* are too perſpicuous, and reconciled they muſt be, ſome way or other, with the Doctrine of the *Reformation.* Hence commenced the diſtinction of *Additions* and *Subtractions:* if by ſubtraction you take away ſome fundamental truths, no longer ſtands the Miniſtry: if you lay evil *Dogmata* on theſe foundations; nay, tho' they ſhould deſtroy this foundation by conſequence, the Miniſtry ſubſiſts, impure indeed, yet ſufficient: and by the diſcernment which the faithful make of the foundation which is *Jeſus Chriſt*, from that which is ſuperadded, they ſhall find all neceſſary nouriſhment in the Miniſtry. Here then ends that purity of Doctrine, and of Sacraments rightly adminiſtred, which had been ſet as marks of the true Church. Without having ſo much as preaching which you can approve of, or worſhip which

Rep. de M. Cl. au diſc. de M. de Meaux. P. 128. 149. 146. 247. 561. &c.

you can join in, or an intire *Euchariſt*, ſtill have you all neceſſary food without ſubtraction of any part thereof, ſtill have you the purity of the Word, and the Sacraments well adminiſtred: what is it to contradict one ſelf if this be not?

XLIII. According to the Miniſters principles all is intire in the Church of *Rome* that can be required for eternal Salvation.

But here occurs another difficulty. If together with all theſe points of Doctrine, all theſe practices, and all this worſhip of the Church of *Rome*, with the Adoration and Oblation of our Saviour's Body, with the ſubtraction of one kind, and all the other *Dogmata*, you have ſtill *all neceſſary food without ſubtraction of any part*, becauſe one God is by her confeſſed, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and one only *Jeſus Chriſt* as God and Saviour; it is therefore to be had there ſtill: ſtill have you in her the marks of a true Church, namely, purity of Doctrine, and the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments to a ſufficient degree: ſtill then the true Church is there, and ſtill therein may you ſave your ſoul.

XLIV. No difference betwixt us and our Fathers.

To this Mr. *Claude* would not agree; the conſequences of ſo conſiderable a conceſſion made him tremble for the *Reformation*. But Mr. *Jurieu* did not mince the matter, ſenſible as he was that the differences, which Mr. *Claude* alledged betwixt us and our Fathers, were too frivolous to boggle at.

Def. de la Ref. p. 265. Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond. p. 370. P. 358. &c.

And indeed, no more than theſe two are mention'd: the firſt is, that at preſent, there is a Body whoſe Communion we may embrace, *viz.* the Body of the pretended *Reformed*: the ſecond is that the Church of *Rome* hath made many *Dogmata* Articles of Faith, which, in our Fathers time, were undecided.

Def. de la Ref. 3. p. ch. 5. p. 289.

But nothing can be more frivolous; and to convince the Miniſter *Claude*, he needs only to remember what the Miniſter *Claude* hath but juſt told us: *viz.* that *the* Berengarians, *the* Vaudois, *the* Albigenſes, *the* Wickliffites, *the* Huſſites,

Huſſites, *&c.* had already appear'd in the world as *the moſt illuſtrious part of the Church, becauſe they were the moſt pure, the moſt knowing, the moſt generous.* Again, he hath but to remember that, even in his judgment, the Church of *Rome had already given cauſe ſufficient of with-drawing from her Communion by her* Anathematiſms *againſt* Berengarius, *againſt the* Vaudois *and* Albigenſes, *againſt* John Wickliff *and* John Huſs, *and by the perſecutions ſhe had exerciſed againſt them.* Yet he owns nevertheleſs, in all theſe places, that, in order to Salvation, it was not neceſſary to join with theſe Sects, and that *Rome* did ſtill contain the Elect of God.

Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond. p. 368.

To ſay that the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* outſhone them in brightneſs and luſtre, were only diſputing about more or leſs, the Subſtance of the thing ſtill continuing the ſame. The deciſions, paſs'd againſt theſe Sects, comprehended the principal part of what afterwards was defined againſt *Luther* and *Calvin*; and without ſpeaking of Deciſions, the conſtant and univerſal practice of offering the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, and making the moſt eſſential part of the divine worſhip to conſiſt in this Oblation, was no new thing, nor was it poſſible to remain in the *Church* without conſenting to this worſhip. We had therefore, with this worſhip and with all its dependencies, all neceſſary food without ſubtraction of any part thereof: therefore we may ſtill have it: Mr. *Claude* could not have denied this without too groſs an impoſition, nor was the conceſſion lately made of it by Mr. *Jurieu*, otherwiſe than forced.

Add to this that Mr. *Claude*, who would make us believe ſo great a difference betwixt the times preceding and thoſe ſubſequent to the *Reformation*, under pretext that Doctrines before un-

decided are ſince made Articles of Faith, hath himſelf deſtroy'd this anſwer, by ſaying, *that it was not a more difficult thing to the people to abſtain from believing and practiſing what had been made a* Dogma, *than to abſtain from believing, and practiſing what was taught by the Miniſtry, what was commanded by it, and what was become common*; ſo that this mighty matter of making new *Dogmata*, which he ſets up for ſuch a ſcare-crow to his Party, after all, is juſt nothing even in his own judgment.

Ibi. p. 357.

XLV. Falſhood aſſerted by the Miniſter *Claude*, that one might be in the *Romiſh* Communion without communicating in her *Dogmata* and practice. *P.* 360. 361. &c. 369. &c.

To theſe inconſiſtences of Mr. *Claude*'s Doctrine, I add alſo a palpable falſhood which he was bound to maintain by his ſyſtem: *viz.* that the true faithful, whom he owns in the Church of *Rome* before the Reformation, *therein ſubſiſted without communicating in her Doctrines, or her corrupted practices*; that is to ſay, without coming to *Maſs*, without confeſſing themſelves, without communicating all their lives, or at death, in a word, without ever performing any one action of a *Roman Catholick*.

He has been made to ſee a hundred times, what a new prodigy this would be: for, without ſpeaking of the great care that was taken all the Church over to make inquiries after the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites*: it is certain in the firſt place, that even thoſe, whoſe Doctrine was unſuſpected, were obliged, on a hundred occaſions, to ſhew tokens of their belief, and particularly when the holy *Viaticum* was given them. There needs but to look into all the *Rituals* antecedent to *Luther*'s times, to be convinced of the care then taken to make, whom they adminiſtred it to, firſt confeſs their ſins, and in giving it them, to make them own therein the *Truth* of the Body of our Lord, and adore it with a profound reſpect. A ſecond inconteſtable

conteſtable fact reſults from thence: which is, that the conceal'd *Vaudois* and others, who had a mind to ſhelter themſelves from the Church's cenſures, had no other means of compaſſing it, than by practiſing the ſame worſhip with the *Catholicks*, even by receiving Communion with them: 'tis what hath been moſt demonſtrably ſhewn by all kind of proofs that can be had in ſuch a matter. But there is a third and ſtill more certain fact, it being acknowledged even by the Miniſters: *viz.* that of all thoſe who embraced either *Lutheraniſm* or *Calviniſm*, not ſo much as one hath been found to ſay, that, in embracing ſuch Doctrines, he did not change his belief, but only declared, what he had always believed in his heart.

Sup. l. xi. *n.* 106. 107. 117. 149. &c.

XLVI. A certain fact, that before the Reformation, the Doctrine ſhe taught was unknown. Reflection on a book of Mr. *Cl.* after the Conference with this Miniſter *p.* 460. *Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond.*

To this fact diſtinctly ſtated, Mr. *Claude* is ſatisfied with anſwering inſultingly: Does M. *de Meaux imagine that the diſciples of* Luther *and* Zuinglius *ought to have made formal declarations of all they had thought before the Reformation, or that theſe declarations ſhould appear publickly in print?*

This is ſhuffling in too weak and palpable a manner, for I did not pretend, that all ought to be declared, or all printed; but that they never would have omitted to write that which decided one of the moſt material points of the whole cauſe, namely, the queſtion, whether or no before *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, there was any one perſon of their Faith, or whether their Faith then was abſolutely unknown. This queſtion was deciſive, ſince none being able to conceive that the truth had been wholly extinguiſh'd, it follow'd manifeſtly, that what Doctrine ſoever was undiſcoverable then on earth, could not be the truth. Examples would have clear'd all kind of doubt on this matter, and if any had been, it is

evident they would have made them publick: but none did they produce: it is therefore, because there were none, and the fact muſt ſtand for unconteſtable.

XLVII. Whether *Luther*'s quick ſucceſs be a proof that, before his diſputes, men thought as he did.

All that could be anſwer'd to this was, *that, had men been ſatisfied with the Doctrines and worſhip of* Rome, the *Reformation* would not have met with ſo ſpeedy a ſucceſs. But not to repeat here what elſewhere may be found with regard to this ſucceſs, and even throughout this whole Hiſtory, 'tis ſufficient to reflect on that ſaying of St. *Paul*, *That the word of Hereticks will ſpread like to a gangrene:* now the *gangrene* does not ſuppoſe a *gangrene* in the body it corrupts, nor by conſequence, do *Hereſiarchs* find their error already ſettled in thoſe minds which it depraves. It is true, *matters were diſpoſed*, as ſays Mr. *Claude*, by ignorance and other above-mention'd cauſes, for the moſt part little to the credit of the *Reformation:* but to conclude from thence with this Miniſter, that the diſciples, which novelty gain'd to *Luther*, were already of his ſentiments, is, inſtead of a poſitive fact whereof proof is demanded, ſubſtituting a conſequence that is not only doubtful, but even evidently falſe.

Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond. p. 363.

Rep. a la Let. Paſt. de M. de Meaux.

2 *Tim.* II. 17.

Ibid.

XLVIII. Abſurdity of Mr. *Claude*'s ſuppoſition, with reſpect to thoſe who, in his judgment, lived in the Communion of *Rome*.

Again: tho' it were granted Mr. *Claude* that, before the *Reformation*, all men were aſleep in the Church of *Rome*, even ſo far as to let every man act as he pleaſed: thoſe that were neither preſent at *Maſs* nor *Communion*, that never confeſs'd their ſins, never partook of the Sacraments, either living or dying, lived and died quite undiſturb'd: none ever dreamt of requiring from ſuch people a Confeſſion of their Faith, and reparation of the ſcandal they had given to their Brethren: after all, what does he gain by advancing ſuch prodigies? His drift therein was to prove, men might have ſaved their ſouls

whilſt

whilſt remaining with ſincerity in Communion with the Church of *Rome*. In proof of this, the firſt thing he does, is to take from thoſe he ſaves, all the exterior bands of Communion. The moſt eſſential part of the ſervice was the *Maſs*: they were to take no part in it. The moſt manifeſt token of Communion, was communicating at *Eaſter*: they were to abſtain from it; otherwiſe they muſt have adored *Jeſus Chriſt* as preſent, and partook but of one Kind. All Pulpits reſounded with this Worſhip, with this Communion, and infine, with theſe Doctrines deem'd ſo corrupt. Great heed was to be taken not to give the leaſt ſign of approving them: by this means, ſays Mr. *Claude*, Salvation might be had in *Communion* with the *Church*. He ought rather to have concluded, that by this means Salvation would be had *out of Communion* with the *Church*, ſince by this means, ſuch would have violated all the ties of Communion; for in ſhort, let him define to me what it is to be in *Communion* with a *Church*. Is it to dwell in the country where this *Church* is own'd, as *Proteſtants* did amongſt us, and *Catholicks* do now in *England* and *Holland*? Surely it can't be that; but perhaps 'tis to appear in the Churches, to hear the ſermons, and be preſent at the aſſemblies without any token of approbation, and much in the ſame diſpoſition with a curious traveller without ſaying, *Amen*, to their prayers, and eſpecially without ever communicating? This is bantering, you'll reply. Why then, to communicate with a *Church*, is at leaſt to frequent her meetings with the marks of conſent and approbation given thereto by others. To give theſe marks to a *Church* whoſe profeſſion of Faith is criminal, is giving conſent to a crime: and refuſing them, is no longer being in that exterior

rior Communion, wherein nevertheleſs you would have them be.

But if you ſay, the marks of approbation to be given muſt only fall on the truths which this *Church* preaches, and on the good ſhe practiſes; by the ſame way of reaſoning one might be in Communion with the *Socinians*, with the *Deiſts* could they make one Society, with the *Mahometans*, with the *Jews*, by receiving the ſeveral truths profeſſed in each Party, ſilent as to all the reſt, and living withal in every reſpect a complete *Socinian*, a complete *Deiſt*: what extravagance can compare with this?

XLIX. This Miniſter varies in what he had ſaid of the Church's Viſibility. *Def. de la Rep. p.* 47. 49. 314. *Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond. p.* 89. 92. 245. 247.

This is the ſtate wherein Mr. *Claude* hath left the controverſy touching the *Church*; a weak ſtate, as is plain, and manifeſtly indefenſible. And indeed he does not truſt to it, nor will he deprive his Party of the ſubterfuge, tho' never ſo pitiful, of an *Inviſible* Church, ſince he ſuppoſes, God may make his *Church* intirely vaniſh out of the ſight of men; and when he ſays, he may, 'tis not his meaning that he can do this abſolutely ſpeaking, and it implies no contradiction, for that is not the queſtion; nor are metaphyſical abſtractions here ſo much as thought of: but, he may do it in the *Hypotheſis*, and allowing the preſent plan of Chriſtianity. 'Tis in this ſenſe that Mr. *Claude* decides, that *God may, when he pleaſes, reduce the faithful to an intire external diſperſion, and preſerve them in this miſerable ſtate, and that there is great difference betwixt ſaying, the Church ceaſes to be Viſible, and ſaying, the Church ceaſes to be.* After a hundred times repeating, that he diſputes not with us the Church's *Viſibility*, after making the *Viſibility* of her Miniſtry enter into her very definition; after grounding her *Perpetuity* on theſe promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *lo, I am with*

P. 63. & *ſeq.*

you

you always, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail: to ſay, what we have juſt heard, is to forget his own Doctrine and make void the promiſes which are more durable than heaven and earth. But his caſe was this: after his utmoſt ſtraining to reconcile them with his *Reformation*, and to maintain the Scripture-Doctrine of the Viſibilty, he found it ſtill requiſite to leave himſelf a laſt refuge in the *Inviſible* Church to fly to in caſe of need.

L. The Miniſter *Jurieu* comes into the aſſiſtance of the Miniſter *Claude*, who had involved himſelf in an inextricable labyrinth. *Syſt. de l'Egl. l.* 1. *ch.* 20. 21. &c.

In this poſture was the queſtion when Mr. *Jurieu* publiſh'd his new Syſtem of the *Church*. No means were there of defending the difference which his Brother would have placed betwixt us and our Fore-fathers, nor of ſaving one, in damning the others. No leſs ridiculous was it, in owning that ſome *Elect* are born to God in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, to ſay, that theſe Elect of her Communion were ſuch as took no part in her Doctrine, nor in her Worſhip, nor in her Sacraments. Mr. *Jurieu* was very ſenſible, that theſe pretended *Elect* could be nothing but hypocrites, or impious men; and at length, tho' with much ado, he open'd Heaven's gate to thoſe who lived in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But leſt ſhe might glory in this advantage, he communicated it, at the ſame time, to all other *Churches* whereſoever *Chriſtianity* is ſpread, how much ſoever divided amongſt themſelves, tho' never ſo unmercifully excommunicating one another.

LI. He eſtabliſhes Salvation in all Communions. *Syſtem. Præf.* towards the end.

He carried this notion to ſuch a height, that he did not ſtick to call the contrary opinion, *inhuman*, *cruel*, *barbarous*, in a word, an *Executioner*'s opinion that is pleaſed with damning mankind, and the moſt tyrannical that ever was. He will not allow a truly charitable Chriſtian can have any other ſentiment than that which

which places the *Elect* in all Communions where *Jesus Christ* is known; and informs us that, if amongst his own people this Doctrine *hath not been hitherto much insisted on*, 'twas from the effect *of a policy* which he does not approve. Nay, he has found means to render his system so far plausible in his Party, that they no longer oppose any thing else to our instructions, and believe, they have therein so strong a hold as not to be forced from it; so that the last resource of the *Protestant* Party, is to give to *Jesus Christ* a kingdom like unto that *of Satan*; a kingdom *divided against itself*, *ready* by consequence *to be brought to desolation*, *and whose houses are falling one upon the other*.

Luke xi. 17. 18.

LII. The history of this opinion, beginning from the *Socinians*. Division in the Reformation betwixt Mr. *Claude* and Mr. *Pajon*.

If now one should desire to know the history and progress of this opinion, the glory of the invention belongs to the *Socinians*. These men, indeed, agree not with the rest of Christians in *fundamental* Articles, for they admit but two; the *Unity* of God, and the *Mission* of *Jesus Christ*. But say, all those, who profess them with manners suitable to this profession, are true members of the Church *universal*, and that the *Dogmata* superadded to this foundation hinder not Salvation: nor is the world ignorant of the notions and indifferency of *De-Dominis*, on this head. After the Synod of *Charenton*, where the *Calvinists* received the *Lutherans* to Communion, notwithstanding the separation of both Societies; there resulted a necessity of acknowledging one and the same *Church* in different Communions. The *Lutherans* were far from this sentiment: but *Calixtus*, one of the most renown'd and learned of them, hath in our days, brought it into vogue in *Germany*, and admits into the Communion of the universal Church all Sects preserving the foundation, not so much as the Church

Calixt. de fid. & stud. Conc. Ecc. n. 1. 2. 3. 4. &c. *Lugd. Bat.* 1651.

of

of *Rome* excepted. It is near thirty years ſince *Huiſſeau* Miniſter of *Saumur* puſh'd on the conſequence of this Doctrine to a great extent. This Miniſter, already famous in his Party for his publication of *Eccleſiaſtical* diſcipline compared with the Decrees of national Synods, made himſelf much ſpoken of by the plan of reuniting all Chriſtians of all Sects, which he propoſed in 1670, and Mr. *Jurieu* acquaints us that he had many ſticklers notwithſtanding the ſolemn condemnation which was paſs'd on his books and perſon. A little while ſince, Mr. *Pajon* the famous Miniſter of *Orleans*, in his anſwer to the *Paſtoral* letter of the *French Clergy*, did not think himſelf able to maintain the Church-ſyſtem, defended by Mr. *Claude*: the *Catholicity* or Univerſality of the *Church* appear'd to him much more extenſive than his Brother had made it; and Mr. *Jurieu* gives notice to Mr. *Nicole*, *that anſwering Mr.* Claude's *book will be doing nothing, unleſs he alſo anſwer that of Mr.* Pajon, *by reaſon that theſe two gentlemen having taken different paths, one and the ſame anſwer cannot ſatisfy them both.*

Avert. aux. Prot. de l'Eur. at the beginning of the *Preju. p.* 19.

Ibid. p. 12.

LIII. Sentiments of the Miniſter *Jurieu.*

In this diviſion of the *Reformation* driven to the utmoſt ſtreights on the queſtion touching the *Church*, Mr. *Jurieu* ſided with Mr. *Pajon*; and not affrighted with the ſeparation of Churches, decides, *that all Chriſtian Societies which agree in ſome tenets, inaſmuch as they agree, are united to the Body of the Chriſtian Church, tho' they be in Schiſm one againſt another* EVEN TO DAGGERS DRAWING.

Prejug. p. 4.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſo general expreſſions, he varies in regard of the *Socinians*: for at firſt in his *allowable Prepoſſeſſions*, where he ſpoke naturally what he thought, he begins, by enrolling them *amongſt the members of the Chriſtian Church.*

Prej. leg. p. 4.

Church. He ſeems a little puzzled at the queſtion, whether or no one may ſave his ſoul amongſt them: for on one hand, he ſeems to allow none capable of Salvation but thoſe who live in Sects, wherein *Jeſus Chriſt*'s divinity with other the fundamental Articles are acknowledged; and on the other, after compounding *the Body of the Church of all that great heap of Sects which make profeſſion of Chriſtianity in all provinces of the world* put together, wherein the *Socinians* viſibly are comprehended, he concludes in expreſs terms, *that the Saints and Elect are ſpread in all parts of this vaſt Body*..

P. 4. &c. *P.* 8.

The *Socinians* gain'd their cauſe, and Mr. *Jurieu* was blamed even in his own Party, for having been too favourable to them; which is the cauſe that he reſtrains in ſome meaſure his ideas in his ſyſtems: for whereas, in his *Prepoſſeſſions*, he placed naturally in the Body of the univerſal *Church* all Sects whatſoever without exception: in the ſyſtem, he commonly tacks to it this corrective, *at leaſt thoſe who preſerve the fundamental Articles*; which he explains in behalf of the *Trinity* and other points of like conſequence. Thereby he ſeem'd to limit his general propoſitions: but at laſt, led on by the force of his principle, he broke thro' all reſtraints laid on him by the policy of the Party, and loudly own'd that the true faithful may be found in the Communion of a *Socinian* Church.

P. 133. &c.

This is the hiſtory of that opinion which makes up the *Catholick* Church out of ſeparate Communions. In all likelihood, great would be its authority among *Proteſtants* did not policy obſtruct it. The Diſciples of *Calixtus* multiply in the *Lutheran* Party. As for the *Calviniſts*, it's plain, the new ſyſtem of the *Church* prevails among them; and as Mr. *Jurieu* ſignalizes himſelf

ſelf in that Party, by defending it, and none has better laid down the principles, nor better fore-ſeen the conſequences of it, its irregularity cannot be ſhewn better, than by relating the diſorder into which that Miniſter has caſt himſelf by this Doctrine, and the advantage he at the ſame time affords the *Catholicks*.

LIV. Salvation may be had in the Church of *Rome*, according to this Miniſter. *Prej. leg. ch.* 1. *Syſt. l.* 1. *ch.* 1.

To dive to the bottom of his notion, his diſtinction of the *Church* conſider'd as to its *Body*, and of the *Church* conſider'd as to its *Soul*, muſt be preſuppoſed. The profeſſion of Chriſtianity is ſufficient to make part of the *Body* of the Church; the which he advances againſt Mr. *Claude* who compounds the *Body* of the Church, of the true faithful only: but to have part in the *Soul* of the Church, it's neceſſary to be in the Grace of God.

This diſtinction ſuppoſed, the queſtion is, what Sects are ſimply in the *Body* of the Church, and what are thoſe in which one may attain to partake of her *Soul*, namely of Charity and the Grace of God: which he explains clearly enough by an abridgement he makes of Church-hiſtory. This he begins by ſaying, ſhe was corrupted after *the third Century:* this date muſt be obſerved. He paſſes over the fourth Century without either approving, or blaming it: *but*, continues he, *in the fifth, the ſixth, the ſeventh, and the eighth, the Church adopted Divinities of a ſecond rate, adored Relicks, made herſelf Images, and proſtrated herſelf before them even in the Churches: and then grown ſickly, deform'd, ulcerous, ſhe was alive nevertheleſs:* ſo that her *Soul* was in her ſtill, and what is worthy obſervation, it was in her, in the midſt of *Idolatry*.

P. 5.

Ibid.

He goes on ſaying, *that the univerſal Church divided itſelf into two great parties, the* Greek *Church, and the* Latin *Church. The* Greek *Church,*

P. 6.

before

before this great Schiſm, was already ſubdivided into Neſtorians, Eutychians, Melchites, *and divers other Sects: the* Latin *Church, into* PAPISTS, Vaudois, Huſſites, Taborites, Lutherans, Calviniſts, *and* Anabaptiſts; and he pronounces, that *it is an error to imagine, all theſe different Parties had abſolutely broken off from Jeſus Chriſt by breaking one from the other.*

LV. The Church of *Rome* comprehended amongſt the living Societies, wherein the fundamentals of Salvation are retain'd.

Who breaks not with *Jeſus Chriſt*, breaks not from Salvation and Life: accordingly, he counts theſe Societies amongſt the *living* Societies. The Socities that are *dead*, according to this Miniſter, are *thoſe which ruin the foundation, to wit, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the ſatisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt, and other the like articles: but this is not the caſe of the* Greeks, *the* Armenians, *the* Cophtes, *the* Abyſſins, *the* Ruſſians, *the* PAPISTS, *and* Proteſtants; *all theſe Societies*, ſays he, *have compoſed the Church, and therein does God preſerve his fundamental truths.*

Syſt. p. 147. *P.* 149.

It ſignifies nothing to object that they ſubvert theſe truths by conſequences drawn in good form from their principles, becauſe, as they diſown theſe conſequences, they ought not, ſays this Miniſter, to be imputed to them; for which reaſon, he acknowledges God's *Elect* even amongſt the *Eutychians*, who confounded the two Natures of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and amongſt the *Neſtorians*, who divided his Perſon. *There is no room to doubt*, ſays he, *but God preſerves a remnant in them according to the election of Grace*; and leſt it ſhould be imagined, there is more difficulty with reſpect to the Church of *Rome* than for others, on account that ſhe is, according to him, the kingdom of *Antichriſt*, he clears this doubt in expreſs terms, aſſerting that God's *Elect were preſerved even in the kingdom of Antichriſt*, and in *Babylon* itſelf.

Ibid. p. 155.

Prej. ch. 1. *p.* 16.

Ibid.

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The Miniſter proves it by theſe words: *come out of* Babylon, *my people.* Whence he concludes that the people of God, that is, his *Elect*, muſt neceſſarily have been in it: but, continues he, they were not in it as his Elect are in ſome manner amongſt the Heathens, from whom they are withdrawn; *for God does not call thoſe his people who are in the ſtate of damnation:* conſequently, the *Elect* who are found in *Babylon*, are abſolutely out of this ſtate, and in the ſtate of Grace. *It is*, ſays he, *more clear than day, that God, in theſe words*, come out of *Babylon*, my people, *alludes to the* Jews *of the* Babylonian *captivity*, who certainly, *in this ſtate, did not ceaſe to be* Jews *and the people of God.*

LVI. The *Anti-chriſtia-niſm* of the Church of *Rome* no hindrance to mens ſaving their ſouls in it. *Syſt. p.* 145.

After this manner, the ſpiritual *Jews* and the true *Iſrael of God*, that is, his true children, are to be found in the Communion of *Rome*, and will be found there to the end, it being evident that this ſentence, *come out of* Babylon, *my people*, is pronounced even in the fall and deſolation of that myſtical *Babylon*, which he will have to be the Church of *Rome.*

Gal. vi. 16.

Rev. xviii. 4.

In order to explain how men are ſaved in her, the Miniſter diſtinguiſhes two ways: the firſt, which he has taken from Mr. *Claude*, is the way of ſeparation and diſcernment, when one is in the Communion of a *Church* without partaking of her errors, and of whatever may be evil in her practices. The ſecond, added by him to that of Mr. *Claude*, is the way of toleration on God's ſide, when, in conſideration of fundamental truths retain'd in a Communion, God pardons errors ſuperadded to them.

LVII. Men may be ſaved amongſt us whilſt retaining our Faith and Worſhip.

That he comprehends us in this laſt way, he clearly gives to underſtand in his ſyſtem, where he declares the conditions upon which one may hope from God ſome toleration *in the Sects which*

Ibid. p. 173. 174.

ſap the foundation by their additions, yet without taking it away. By what has been now ſaid, it is plain, he means us and thoſe like to us; and the condition under which he allows men may be ſaved in ſuch a kind of Sect is, *that they communicate with it in ſincerity, believing that it hath preſerved the eſſence of the Sacraments, and obligeth to nothing againſt conſcience*; which ſhews, (ſo far from obliging thoſe who abide in theſe Sects to reject their Doctrine in order to be ſaved) that they who remain therein with the greateſt ſincerity, and are the moſt perſuaded as well of the Doctrine as of the practices in uſe amongſt them, may be the ſooneſt ſaved.

LVIII. One may be ſaved who is ſincere in his converſion from *Calviniſm* to the Church of *Rome*. *Ibid.* 158. 164. 259. *Ibid.* 174. 175. 195.

It is true, he ſeems to add two other conditions alſo: one, of having been engaged in theſe Sects from ones birth; and the other, of not having it in ones power to communicate with a more pure Society, either becauſe one knows none ſuch, or *is not in a condition of breaking* with the Society he happens to be in. But afterwards he paſſes beyond theſe bounds: for after having propoſed the queſtion, whether it be lawful *to be one while a* Greek, *another while a* Latin, *now a Reformed, then a* PAPIST, *ſometimes a* Calviniſt, *ſometimes a* Lutheran, he anſwers, no, when you make *profeſſion of believing what you do not believe in fact.* But, *if you paſs from one Sect to another by way of ſeduction, and becauſe you ceaſe to be perſuaded of certain opinions which you had formerly look'd upon as true,* he declares that *one may proceed to different Communions without hazard of Salvation, as well as remain in them; becauſe thoſe who paſs into Sects which neither ruin, nor ſubvert the foundations, are not in a different ſtate from thoſe who are born in them,* ſo that one may not only remain a *Latin* and *Papiſt* when born in this Communion,

nion, but alſo, come into it from *Calviniſm* without forſaking the way of Salvation; nor are they, who ſave their ſouls amongſt us, ſuch only, as ſaid Mr. *Claude*, who abide amongſt us without approving our Doctrine; but ſuch even as are ſincere in the profeſſion of it.

LIX. This Doctrine of the Miniſter deſtroys all he ſays againſt us and our Idolatries.

Our Brethren, the pretended *Reformed*, may thence be convinced, that all they are told of our *Idolatries*, is wretchedly extravagant. Never was it believed that an *Idolater* might be ſaved under pretence of his ſincerity: ſo groſs an error, ſo manifeſt an impiety, is incompatible with an upright conſcience. Wherefore the *Idolatry* imputed to us is of a particular ſpecies; 'tis an Idolatry invented to excite againſt us the hatred of the weak and ignorant. But it is high time they ſhould undeceive themſelves; for, to be converted is no ſuch great misfortune, ſince he who cries out the loudeſt againſt our *Idolatries*, and loads with moſt reproaches the *converters* and *converted*, is agreed that all of them may be true Chriſtians.

LX. The *Ethiopians* ſaved adding Circumciſion to the Sacraments of the Church. *Syſt. p.* 539. 548.

Neither is the preſumption imputed to us of having, on one ſide, augmented the number of the Sacraments, and on the other, mutilated the Supper by cutting off, as they ſay, a Part from it, any longer to be exaggerated by them: for this Miniſter declares it would be *a cruelty to turn out of the Church* ſuch as admit other Sacraments than thoſe two, which he pretends are only inſtituted by *Jeſus Chriſt*, namely *Baptiſm* and the *Supper*; and ſo far from excluding us thence for having added to them *Confirmation*, *Extreme-Unction*, and the reſt, he does not even exclude from it the *Ethiopick* Chriſtians, who, ſays he, receive *Circumciſion*, not by a politick cuſtom, but in quality of a Sacrament, altho' St. *Paul* *Gal.* v. 2.

hath declared: *if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing.*

LXI. Communion under one Kind contains, according to the Miniſters, the whole Subſtance of the Euchariſtick Sacrament. *Ibid. p.* 548. *S. n.* 37. 41.

As for what concerns Communion under one Kind, nothing is more common in the writings of the Miniſters, even of this Author himſelf, than to ſay, that by ſo giving the *Euchariſtick* Sacrament we corrupt the foundation and eſſence thereof; which, in matter of Sacraments, is ſaying *the ſame thing as if we no longer had them.* But ſuch propoſitions are not to be taken literally as they ſtand; ſince Mr. *Claude* hath already told us, that before the *Reformation*, our Fathers receiving but in one Kind, had nevertheleſs all neceſſary food *without ſubtraction of any part thereof*; and Mr. *Jurieu* ſpeaks ſtill more clearly the ſame thing, for as much as, after having defined the Church *the aggregate of all the Communions which preach the ſame Jeſus Chriſt, which* declare *the ſame Salvation, which give the ſame Sacraments in Subſtance, and which teach the ſame Doctrine*; he counts us expreſly in this collection of Communions, and in the *Church*: which neceſſarily ſuppoſes that we give the Subſtance of the *Euchariſt*, and by conſequence, that both Kinds are not eſſential to it. Let our Brethren therefore no longer defer coming over to us in ſincerity and truth, ſince their Miniſters have removed for them the greateſt obſtacle, if not the only one, they alledge againſt it.

Ibid p. 216.

LXII. The exceſſes of the Confeſſion of Faith ſoftned in our favour. *Prej. legit. p.* 24. *Art.* xxviii.

The truth is, there appears a manifeſt oppoſition betwixt this Syſtem and the *Confeſſions* of Faith of the *Proteſtant* Churches; for the *Confeſſions* of Faith all of them unanimouſly give two only marks of a true *Church*, *the pure Preaching of God's word, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments conformably to the inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt*; for which reaſon, the *Confeſſion* of Faith of

of our pretended *Reformed* hath concluded, that, in the *Roman* Church, whence *the pure truth of God was baniſh'd, and where the Sacraments were corrupted, or wholly annihilated, properly ſpeaking, there was no Church at all.* But our Miniſter aſſures us, theſe expreſſions are not to be underſtood in their ſtrict ſenſe; as much as to ſay, there is a great deal of exaggeration and exceſs in what the *Reformation* lays to our charge. *S. n.* 26. *Prej. Ibid.*

LXIII. The two marks of a true Church given by *Proteſtants* are ſufficiently to be ſeen amongſt us.

However, 'tis ſomething curious to behold, how the Miniſter will acquit himſelf as to theſe two marks of the true *Church* ſo ſolemn in the whole *Proteſtant* Party. It is true, ſays he, *we lay them down: we*, that is to ſay, we *Proteſtants:* but for my part, *I would give the thing*, proceeds he, *another turn, and would ſay, that to know the Body of the Chriſtian and univerſal Church in general, there is but one mark requiſite*; viz. *the Confeſſion of the name of Jeſus Chriſt the true* Meſſias *and Redeemer of Mankind.* *Ibid. p.* 25.

This is not all; for after having found the marks of the Body of the univerſal Church, *it is neceſſary to find thoſe of the ſoul, to the end you may know, in what part of this Church God preſerves his Elect.* Here it is, anſwers the Miniſter, that we muſt *return to our two marks, pure Preaching and pure Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.* But beware you be not deceived; *this is not to be taken in a ſtrict ſenſe.* To ſave the eſſence of a *Church*, the preaching is ſufficiently pure when the fundamental truths are preſerved, what error ſoever be ſuperadded; the Sacraments are ſufficiently pure, notwithſtanding *the additions:* let us add, following the aforeſaid principle, notwithſtanding the ſubtractions *which ſpoil them:* foraſmuch as, in the midſt of all this, the foundation ſubſiſts, and *God applies to his Elect what good there is, hindering whatſoever* *Syſt. p.* 214. *Ibid.* *Prej. p.* 25. *Ibid.*

of human inſtitution, from turning to their preju-dice and deſtruction. Conclude we therefore with this Miniſter, that nothing of whatever has been ſaid on this ſubject in the *Confeſſion* of Faith, muſt be taken in a ſtrict ſenſe; and moreover, that the Church of *Rome* (*Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* calm your hatred) the Church of *Rome*, I ſay, ſo much hated and ſo much condemn'd, inſpite of all your *Confeſſions* of Faith and all your reproa-ches, may glory in having, in a very true ſenſe as far as is neceſſary to form the children of God, *the pure Preaching of the Word, and the right Ad-miniſtration of the Sacraments.*

LXIV. The Confeſſion of Faith hath no longer any authority amongſt the Miniſters. *Art.* xxviii.

If it be ſaid, theſe favourable interpretations of the *Confeſſions* of Faith are quite oppoſite to, and deſtroy the Text; that for inſtance, what is there ſaid of the Church of *Rome*, that truth is *baniſh'd from her, the Sacraments either falſified or wholly annihilated*, and properly ſpeaking, *that we have no ſuch thing as a Church amongſt us*; are far different things from what we have juſt heard from our Miniſters: I own as much; but the reaſon in ſhort is, they have found by experience that there is no longer any poſſibility of maintaining their *Confeſſions* of Faith, to wit, the foundations of the *Reformation.* Nor indeed is it a leſs truth, that in the main, little are the Miniſters concern'd about them, and 'tis only from a point of honour that they give themſelves any pains to anſwer in their behalf; which was the cauſe of the Miniſter *Jurieu*'s inventing the aforeſaid anſwers, more mannerly and better ſuited to his turn, than ſincere and ſolid.

LXV. This Syſtem changes the language of Chriſtians

Now to maintain this new Syſtem, a courage is requiſite capable of withſtanding any difficulty, and not to be ſtartled at any novelty. Altho' men be animated againſt one another *even to daggers drawing*, it muſt be ſaid, they are but one

one Body in *Jeſus Chriſt*. If any one rebel againſt the Church, and ſcandalize her, either by his crimes or his errors, one would think by excommunicating him, he is cut off from the Body of the *Church* in general, and thus have *Proteſtants* ſpoken as well as we: 'tis a miſtake; this ſcandalous and this heretical perſon is cut off but from one particular flock, and do what you will, remains a member of the *Catholick* Church by the ſole profeſſion of the Chriſtian name: notwithſtanding that *Jeſus Chriſt* hath pronounced, *If any one neglect to hear the Church, look upon him*, not as a man that is cut off from a particular flock, and who remains in the great one of the *Church* in general, but look upon him *as an Heathen and a Publican*, as an alien from *Chriſtianity*, as a man that hath no longer any part with God's people.

and confounds their ideas, even of thoſe of the *Reformation*. *Ibid.* S. *n.* 15.

Matt. xviii. 17.

LXVI. Manifeſt contrariety between the notions of this Miniſter in regard of Excommunication, and thoſe of his own Church. 2 *Syn. of Par.* 1565. *Diſci. ch.* 5. *Art.* 17. *p.* 102. *Syſt. l.* 11. *ch.* 3.

Further, what Mr. *Jurieu* here advances is a particular opinion wherein he evidently contradicts his own *Church*. A *national* Synod hath defined Excommunication in theſe terms: *to excommunicate*, ſay they, *is to cut a man off from the Body of the Church like a rotten member, and to deprive him of her Communion and all her benefits*. And in the proper form of Excommunication the people are thus addreſs'd: *We remove this rotten member from the Society of the faithful, that he may be to you as an Heathen and a Publican*. Mr. *Jurieu* ſpares no pains to embroil this matter with his diſtinctions of Sentence *Declaratory* and ſentence *Juridical*; Sentence, which cuts off from the Body of the Church, and Sentence, which cuts off only from a particular confederation. He invents theſe diſtinctions only that the Reader may loſe himſelf in the maze of theſe ſubtilties, nor perceive he is fed with empty ſound. For when all is ſaid,

he never will be able to ſhew, in the pretended *Reformed* Churches, any other Excommunication, ſeparation, lopping off, than the above-mention'd; nor can one depart more expreſly from it, than does Mr. *Jurieu*. He pronounces, and repeats in a hundred places and a hundred different ways, that *it's impoſſible to baniſh a man from the univerſal Church*; and his *Church* ſays on the contrary, that the excommunicated perſon muſt be look'd upon as *a Heathen* who no longer appertains to God's people. Mr. *Jurieu* proceeds: *All Excommunication whatſoever is made by a particular Church, and is nothing elſe but an expulſion from a particular Church*; and we ſee, according to the rules of his Religion, that a particular *Church* ſevers a man from the Body of the *Church* as *one does a rotten member*, which doubtleſs no longer cleaves to any part of the Body after it is once divided from it.

Syſt. p. 24. &c.

Ibid.

LXVII. Confeſſions of Faith but arbitrary conventions.

Let us, nevertheleſs, conſider again, what be theſe particular Churches and theſe particular flocks from which he ſuppoſes one is ſeparated by Excommunication. The Miniſter explains himſelf by this principle: *All whatever different flocks have no other external link than that which is made by way of voluntary and arbitrary confederation*, ſuch as was that *of the Chriſtian Churches in the third age, on account that they found themſelves united under the ſame temporal Prince.* So that, ever ſince the third age, when the *Church* was ſtill ſound and in her purity, the Churches, according to the Miniſter, were no otherwiſe united than by an arbitrary confederacy, or, as he elſewhere ſtyles it, *by accident*. What! Thoſe Chriſtians then which were not ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, thoſe which were ſpread from the time of St. *Irenæus*, and even from the time of St. *Juſtin*, amidſt the *Barbarians* and *Scythi-*

Prej. p. 6. *Syſt. p.* 246. &c. 254. 262. 269. 305. 557.

Ibid. p. 265.

ans,

ans, were they under no external band with the other *Churches*, and had they not right to communicate with them? This is not the notion they have formerly given us of Chriſtian fraternity. All that are *Orthodox* have a right to communicate with an *Orthodox* Church; all that are *Catholick*, to wit all members of the *Church* univerſal, with the whole *Church*. All thoſe, who bear the mark of the children of God, have a right to be admitted where ever they find the table of their common Father, provided their manners be approved: but here comes one to diſturb this fine order; you are no longer in Society, *but by accident*; Chriſtian fraternity is changed into arbitrary confederacies which you may extend at will, more or leſs, according to the different *Confeſſions* of Faith agreed upon. Theſe *Confeſſions* of Faith are treaties in which you inſert whatever you pleaſe. Some have put in them, *that they are to teach the verities of Grace as expounded by St.* Auſtin, and theſe, we are told, are the pretended-*Reform'd* Churches: far from truth; no body is leſs, in their Doctrine, than St. *Auſtin*; yet they are pleaſed to ſay ſo. Theſe men are not allow'd to be *Semipelagians, and the* Swiſs, *no leſs than thoſe of* Geneva, *would exclude them from their Communions.* As for thoſe who have not made the like convention they ſhall be *Semipelagians*, if they liſt. What is ſtill more, thoſe who have enter'd into the confederacy of *Geneva* and that of the pretended-*Reformed*, where one thinks he is obliged to maintain the Grace of St. *Auſtin*, *may depart from the agreement*; but then they muſt be contented to be ſeparated *from a confederation* whoſe laws they have violated, and *what one would tolerate* every *where elſe*, can be no longer tolerated in

Syſt. p. 254.

Ibid.

Ibid. 249.

Ibid. 254.

in thoſe flocks in which other conventions had been made.

LXVIII. Independentiſm eſtabliſh'd contrary to the Decree of *Charenton*.

But what will become of thoſe men who break the agreement of the *Calvinian* Reformation, or of ſome ſuch other like confederacy? Shall they be then obliged to enter into league with ſome other *Church*? No ſuch thing: *It is nowiſe neceſſary, when you ſeparate yourſelf from one Church, to find out another to adhere to.* I am aware he is forced to ſay ſo, becauſe otherwiſe he could not excuſe the *Proteſtant* Churches, which, on their ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*, were not able to find on earth a *Church* they could embrace. But we muſt hear the reaſon which authorizes ſuch a ſeparation. *It is*, continues Mr. *Jurieu*, *becauſe all Churches are naturally free and independent of one another*; or, as he explains it in another place, *naturally and originally all Churches are independent.*

L. III. *ch.* 15. *p.* 547.

Ibid.

Here is exactly our Doctrine, will ſay the *Independents*; we are the true Chriſtians that defend this primitive and natural liberty of *Churches*. Yet *Charenton* hath nevertheleſs condemn'd them in 1644. Therefore by anticipation hath alſo condemn'd Mr. *Jurieu*, who maintains them: but let us hear the Decree. *Whereas it has been repreſented, that many who call themſelves Independents, becauſe they teach, that every Church ought to govern herſelf by her own laws* WITHOUT ANY DEPENDENCE *on any body in Church-matters, and free from any obligation of acknowledging the authority of Conferences and Synods for their conduct and government*, that is, without any confederation with any other *Church* whatſoever; and this is exactly the caſe of Mr. *Jurieu*. But the Synod's Anſwer is very different from his; for the Synod pronounces, *that it*

Diſc. ch. vi. of the union of Churches. Notes on the 11. *Art. p.* 118.

ought

ought to be dreaded, leſt this poiſon inſenſibly diffuſing itſelf, ſhould create, ſay they, *diſorder and confuſion amongſt us, ſhould open a gate to all kind of irregularities and extravagancies, and make void all means of applying a remedy*; which would be equally *prejudicial to Church and State, and give room to form as many Religions as there are Pariſhes and particular Aſſemblies.* And Mr. *Jurieu* concludes on the contrary, that by ſeparating from one *Church* without adhering to another, you do nothing but retain *the liberty and independence*, which *naturally and originally* belongs to *Churches*, namely that liberty which *Jeſus Chriſt*, at their formation, beſtow'd upon them.

LXIX. All authority and Subordination of Churches depends on Princes. *Ibid. p.* 546.

Accordingly, there is no way of maintaining, conformably to the principles of this Miniſter, theſe Conferences and Synods. For he ſuppoſes, in caſe a *Catholick* Kingdom ſhould divide itſelf from *Rome*, and then ſubdivide itſelf into many Sovereignties, that each Prince might make *a Patriarch*, and eſtabliſh, in his ſtate, a government abſolutely independent of that of its neighbouring ſtates *without appeal*, without union, without correſpondence; for all that, in his notion, depends on the Prince; and 'tis for this reaſon that he makes the firſt confederation of Churches depend on the unity of the *Roman* Empire. But if this be ſo, his Uncle *Lewis du Moulin* gains his cauſe: for he pretends that all this ſubordination of Conferences and Synods (if you conſider it as Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual) is nothing elſe but *Popery* in diſguiſe, and the uſhering in of *Antichriſt*; conſequently, that there is no power in this diſtribution of *Churches* but from the Sovereign's authority; and that Excommunications and Degradations made by Synods, whether Provincial or National, have

Faſci. Ep. Lud. Moli.

no

no authority but from thence. But by a little further extenſion of this argument, the Excommunications of *Conſiſtories* will appear no more effectual than thoſe of *Synods*; ſo that, either there will be no Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the *Independents* are in the right, or, it will be lodged in the Prince's hands, and infine, *Lewis du Moulin* muſt have converted his Nephew who ſo long oppoſed his errors.

LXX. The true Chriſtian Unity.

See what this Syſtem comes to, wherein the whole ſolution of this difficulty, about the Church, is placed; it is matter of aſtoniſhment to hear theſe novelties. What an error to imagine, there is no external Union between Chriſtian *Churches*, but dependently on Princes, or by ſome other *arbitrary and voluntary confederation*; and not be ſenſible that *Jeſus Chriſt* hath obliged his faithful to live in a *Church*, to wit, as is own'd, in an exterior Society, and to communicate with one another, not only in the ſame Faith and the ſame ſentiments, but alſo, when they meet, in the ſame Sacraments and the ſame Service; inſomuch that, however diſtant *Churches* be, yet are they but the ſame *Church* diſtributed into divers places, the diverſity of places not hindering the unity of the holy table, whereat all communicate one with another, as they do with *Jeſus Chriſt* their common Head?

LXXI. Raſhneſs of the Miniſter who owns that his Syſtem is contrary to the Faith of all ages. *Syſt. l.* 1. *ch.* VII. VIII.

Let us now conſider the origin of this new Syſtem which we have juſt now taken a view of. Its Author boaſts, perhaps, as he does in other tenets, of having on his ſide the three firſt ages; and it's likely, the opinion which concludes the whole *Church* in one and the ſame Communion (it being pretended ſo tyrannical) will be born under the Empire of *Antichriſt*: no; it was born in *Aſia* even in the third age: *Firmilian* ſo great a man, and his Colleagues, ſo great Biſhops,

Biſhops, are the Authors of it: it paſs'd over into *Africa* where St. *Cyprian*, ſo illuſtrious a Martyr and the light of the Church, embraced it with the whole Council of *Africa*; and 'twas this cruel opinion which made them rebaptize all Hereticks, no other reaſon for it being alledged by them, but that Hereticks were not of the *Catholick* Church.

It muſt be own'd, St. *Cyprian* made uſe of this bad argument: *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks* are not of the Body of the *Catholick* Church: therefore they ought to be rebaptized at their coming to it. But Mr. *Jurieu* would not have the aſſurance to ſay, that the principle of the *Church*'s Unity, abuſed by St. *Cyprian*, was as new as the conſequence he drew from it, ſince this Miniſter acknowledges that the *falſe idea of the Church's Unity was form'd on the hiſtory of the two firſt ages down to the midſt, or end, of the third. We muſt not wonder*, continues he, that the *Church* accounted all the Sects in being, during thoſe times, *as intirely ſeparated from the Body of the Church, for that was true*; and he adds, it was at that time, namely in the two firſt ages down to the middle of the third, *that they got a habit of believing that Hereticks did not in any manner appertain to the Church:* ſo that the Doctrine of St. *Cyprian*, which he accuſes of Novelty, nay, of Tyranny, was a *habit* contracted ever ſince the two firſt ages of the *Church*, that is, from the firſt beginning of Chriſtianity.

Ibid. p. 55.

Ibid. 56.

It muſt no leſs be own'd, that this Doctrine of St. *Cyprian*, concerning the Unity of the *Church*, was not invented on occaſion of rebaptizing Hereticks, by reaſon that the book *concerning the Unity of the Church*, wherein the Doctrine excluding Hereticks and Schiſmaticks is ſo clearly laid

laid down, did precede the diſpute of rebaptization; ſo that St. *Cyprian* enter'd naturally into this Doctrine conſequently to the tradition of the two foregoing ages.

Nor is it leſs certain, that the whole *Church* had embraced this Doctrine equally with him, long before the diſpute of rebaptizing. For this diſpute began under St. *Stephen* Pope. Now, before this, and not only in the time of St. *Lucius* his Predeceſſor, but alſo from the beginning of St. *Cornelius*'s Pontificate Predeceſſor to St. *Lucius*, *Novatian* and his followers had been look'd upon as ſeparated from the Communion of all the Biſhops and *Churches* of the world, altho' they had not renounced the profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*, nor overthrown any fundamental Article. From that time therefore, even thoſe that preſerved the *fundamentals*, if under other pretexts they broke Unity, were accounted ſeparated from the univerſal *Church*.

Epiſt. Cyp. ad Antonian. &c.

Thus is it an unqueſtionable fact, that the Doctrine impugn'd by Mr. *Jurieu* was received by the whole *Church*, not only before the quarrel about Rebaptization, but even from the firſt origin of Chriſtianity; and was made uſe of by St. *Cyprian*, not as a new foundation which he gave to his error, but as a common principle agreed to all the world over.

LXII. The Miniſter contradicts himſelf by aſſerting the Council of *Nice* to be of his ſentiments.

The Miniſter had the preſumption to ſay, that his ideas of the *Church* are the ſame with thoſe of the *Nicene* Council, and concludes, that this holy Council did not reject all Hereticks from the Communion of the *Church*, becauſe it did not command all of them to be rebaptized, neither requiring this in regard of the *Novatians* or *Cathari*, nor of the *Donatiſts*, nor of the reſt that retain'd the foundation of Faith, but only of the *Paulianiſts*, namely the followers of

Syſt. p. 61.

Paul

Paul of *Samoſata*, who denied the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*. But waving other arguments, the Miniſter needs but hear himſelf, to be convicted. He ſpeaks of the Council of *Nice as of the moſt univerſal ever held*; but which, nevertheleſs, was not altogether ſo, ſince *the great aſſemblies of the* Novatians *and* Donatiſts *were not call'd to it*. I deſire no more than this Confeſſion to conclude, that conſequently they were not accounted, at that time as Part of the univerſal *Church*, ſince there was not ſo much as the leaſt thought of calling them to the Council expreſly conven'd to repreſent her. *Ibid.* 234.

And in fact, let us hear how this Council ſpeaks of the *Novatians* or *Cathari*: *thoſe*, ſays the Council, *when they ſhall come to the Catholick Church*. Enough ſaid: the diſpute is ended: *In* the Church, therefore, they could not be. Nor does it ſpeak in other terms of the *Paulianiſts* whoſe Baptiſm it condemns: *as for the* Paulianiſts, *when they ask to be received into the Catholick Church*: ſee again: *in it*, therefore, they were not, according to the notion of theſe Fathers, and the Miniſter agrees therein. But, that he may no longer preſume to ſay, that thoſe whoſe *Baptiſm* is received, are in the *Catholick Church*, and not thoſe, whoſe *Baptiſm* is rejected; the Council puts out of the Church no leſs thoſe whoſe Baptiſm it approves, as the *Novatians*, than thoſe whom it makes be rebaptized, as the *Paulianiſts*: by conſequence, this difference did not at all depend on thoſe being reputed members of the *Catholick Church*, and not theſe. *Conc. Nic. Can* viii. *Can.* xix.

As much muſt be ſaid of the *Donatiſts*, the Council of *Nice* neither admitting of their Communion nor their Biſhops; on the contrary, receiving to its Seſſions *Cecilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*

thage from whom the *Donatiſts* had ſeparated. The Council therefore look'd upon the *Donatiſts* as ſeparated from the *univerſal* Church.

Let the Miniſter now come and tell us, that the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council are of his opinion, or that their Doctrine was new, or that, when they pronounced againſt the *Arians* this ſentence: *The Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church anathematizes them*: they left them fellow-members of this ſame *Catholick Church*, and did but baniſh them from a voluntary and arbitrary confederation, which they might extend more or leſs according to their fancy: ſuch diſcourſes ought to appear nothing leſs than prodigies.

LXXIII. The Miniſter is condemn'd by the Creeds which he receives. *Conc. c. p. Epiſt. ad Omn. Epiſc.*

The Miniſter counts amongſt the Symbols received by the whole world that of the Apoſtles, that of *Nice*, and that of *Conſtantinople*. We are agreed, indeed, that theſe three *Creeds* make but one, and that the Apoſtles *Creed* is but explain'd by that of the two firſt *Oecumenical* Councils. We have ſeen the ſentiments of the Council of *Nice*. The Council of *Conſtantinople* proceeds on the ſame principles, in that it baniſhes all Sects from its Unity: whence it concludes in its letter to all the Biſhops, *that the Body of the Church is not divided*; and it was conformably to this ſame ſpirit that it ſaid in its Creed: *I believe One, Holy, Catholick, and Apoſtolick Church*, adding this word, *One*, to thoſe, *Holy* and *Catholick* which were in the Symbol of the Apoſtles, and ſtrengthening it by that of *Apoſtolick*, in order to ſhew, the *Church* thus defined and perfectly *One* by the excluſion of all Sects, was that which was founded by the Apoſtles.

LXXIV. The Miniſter endeavours to weaken the authority

The judicious Reader expects here to know, what this hardy Miniſter will ſay in regard of the Apoſtles Creed, and touching that Article, *I believe the Catholick Church*. 'Till now it had been

been believed, and even in the *Reformation*, that this *Creed*, ſo unanimouſly received by all Chriſtians, was an Abridgment, and as a Summary of the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and the Scripture. But the Miniſter aſſures the quite contrary: for after deciding that the Apoſtles were not the Authors of it, he will not even grant, what none elſe denied till now, that at leaſt, it was made wholly according to their ſpirit. He ſays therefore, *that we muſt look for the ſenſe of the articles of the Creed, not in the Scripture, but in the intention of thoſe who compoſed it.* But, proceeds he, the *Creed* was not made all at once: the article, *I believe the Catholick Church, was added in the fourth age.* What does this reaſoning tend to elſe, but to prepare himſelf a refuge againſt the *Creed*, and give it only the authority of the fourth age? Whereas, all Chriſtians to this time, have held it for a common *Confeſſion* of Faith, of all ages, and of all Chriſtian Churches, from the Apoſtles days.

of the Apoſtles Creed.

Prej. leg. ch. 2. p. 27. 28. Syſt. p. 217.

But let us ſee, nevertheleſs, in what manner he will define the *Catholick* Church conformably to the Creed. He at once rejects the definition which he imputes to *Catholicks*; nor does he approve more of that which he attributes to *Proteſtants*. For his part, who no leſs raiſes himſelf above his Brethren the *Proteſtants*, than above his Adverſaries the *Catholicks*, being to define the *Church* of all times, he does it thus: *'tis the Body of thoſe who make profeſſion of believing Jeſus Chriſt the true* Meſſias; *a Body divided into a great number of Sects*; he muſt add beſides, which excommunicate one another, to the end that all anathematiz'd Hereſies, nay, all Schiſmaticks, tho' divided from their Brethren, *even to daggers drawing*, to uſe the Miniſter's expreſſion, may have the happineſs of being in the *Church* ex-

LXXV. A new gloſs of the Miniſter on the Apoſtles Creed.

Prej. p. 29. Ibid.

preſs'd by the *Creed*, and in the Chriſtian unity it teaches us. This is what men are bold enough to ſay in the *Reformation*, and the kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt* carries among them, in its proper definition, the character of the diviſion *whereby every kingdom*, as ſays the Goſpel, *is brought to deſolation*.

Luke xi. 17.

LXXVI. The Miniſter deſtroys the notion of a *Catholick* Church taught by himſelf when he explain'd the Catechiſm. Catechiſm of the *Pret. Ref. Dim.* 17.

The Miniſter ſhould at leaſt have call'd to mind the *Catechiſm*, which he himſelf taught at *Sedan* ſo many years, wherein, after reciting, *I believe the Catholick Church*, it concludes, *that out of the Church, there is nothing but Damnation and Death, and that all thoſe, who ſeparate themſelves from the community of the faithful to make a Sect apart, ought not to hope Salvation.* It is very certain, that the *Church* here ſpoken of, is the univerſal *Church*: therefore, in reſpect to her, one may make a Sect apart, one may ſeparate himſelf from her Unity. I ask, whether in this place to make *a Sect apart*, be a word that implies Apoſtacy? Is it neceſſary for him, that makes a Sect apart, to put on a Turbant, and publickly renounce his Baptiſm? Do men ſpeak thus? Should they ſpeak thus, in a Catechiſm, to an innocent child, on purpoſe to confound all his ideas, and that he may no longer know what to ſtick to?

LXXVII. The Schiſm of *Jeroboam* and the twelve Tribes is juſtified.

Methinks I labour for the Salvation of ſouls, by continuing the recital of this Miniſter's errors, the moſt exorbitant and palpable that the defence of a bad cauſe hath perchance ever caſt man into. What he was forced to invent in ſupport of the Syſtem, is ſtill more ſtrange, if poſſible, and more unheard of than the Syſtem itſelf. It was neceſſary for him to perplex all the ideas with which the Scripture furniſhes us. It ſpeaks to us of the Schiſm of *Jeroboam* as of a deteſtable action, which began by a revolt, which maintain'd itſelf by a down right *Idolatry* in adoring

Kings. iii. 12.

2 *Par.* ix. 13.

adoring calves of gold, ſo far even as to forſake the *Ark* of the Covenant, infine, to renounce the law of *Moſes*, to caſt off the Prieſthood of *Aaron* and the whole Levitical Miniſtry, to conſecrate falſe *Prieſts of the high places and of Devils*. Yet muſt it be ſaid nevertheleſs, that theſe *Schiſmaticks*, theſe *Hereticks*, theſe *Apoſtates* from the law, theſe *Idolaters*, made part of God's people. That the ſeven thouſand whom God had reſerved to himſelf, and the remainder of the Elect in *Iſrael*, adher'd to the Schiſm. That the Prophets of the Lord communicated with theſe Schiſmaticks and Idolaters, and broke off from *Juda* which was the place that God hath choſen; and a Schiſm aggravated with ſuch circumſtances, ought not, it ſeems, to be counted *amongſt thoſe ſins which deſtroy Grace*. If this be true, the whole Scripture muſt be nothing but deluſion and the moſt exceſſive exaggeration that can be found in all human language. But then, what muſt be ſaid to the Texts alledged by Mr. *Jurieu?* Any thing, rather than to own ſo enormous a Doctrine, and to place manifeſt *Idolaters* in the Communion of God's children, for this is no proper place for a deeper reſearch into this ſubject.

2 *Paralip.* xi. 15.

Syſt. l. 1. *ch.* 13.

Ibid. ch. 20. *p.* 153.

No more does the *Chriſtian* than the *Jewiſh* Church eſcape the hands of this Miniſter. He attacks her in her prime and vigour, even in thoſe happy days when ſhe was govern'd by the Apoſtles. For, if we believe him, the converted *Jews*, namely the greateſt part of the *Church*, there being *ſo many thouſands of them*, according to St *James*'s teſtimony, and undoubtedly its moſt noble part, ſince it comprehended thoſe on whom the reſt *were grafted*; the ſtock *and holy root whence the fatneſs of the good olive* was derived to the wild branches, were Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, nay, guilty of a Hereſy

LXXVIII. The Church, in the Apoſtles time, is accuſed of Schiſm and Hereſy.

Ibid. ch. 14. *ch.* 21. *p.* 167. *Acts.* xxi. *Rom.* xi. 17. &c.

Syſt. Ibid. ch. 20. *p.* 167. *Gal.* v. 2. 4.

of which St. *Paul* hath ſaid, *it deſtroy'd Grace and render'd Chriſt of no effect to them.* The reſt of the *Church*, to wit, thoſe who came from *Heatheniſm*, partook of the Schiſm and Hereſy by conſenting to it, and by acknowledging thoſe as holy and Brethren in *Jeſus Chriſt*, who entertain'd in their minds ſo ſtrange a Hereſy, and in their hearts, ſo criminal a jealouſy; and the Apoſtles themſelves were the moſt Heretical and Schiſmatical of all, for conniving at ſuch crimes and errors. Such is the idea he gives us of the *Chriſtian* Church under the Apoſtles, when the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* was, as I may ſay, ſtill reeking, his Doctrine freſh in their minds, the ſpirit of *Chriſtianity* in its full ſtrength. What an opinion will the impious have of the *Church* in her progreſs, if theſe ſo much extoll'd beginnings be grounded on Hereſy and Schiſm; nay, if corruption even reach to thoſe who had the firſt fruits of the Spirit?

LXXIX. According to the Miniſter, one may ſave himſelf even in the Communion of *Socinians*.

It ſeem'd as if our Miniſter was for excluding the *Socinians*, at leaſt from the Communion of God's people, he having ſo frequently ſaid, that they impugn directly the fundamental truths, and that theſe being ſubverted, ſuch Societies are dead and can raiſe no children to Almighty God. But all this was nothing but ſham, this Miniſter would heartily deſpiſe whoſoever ſhould be deluded by it.

Prej. leg. p. 4. 5. &c.

And indeed the principal foundation of his Doctrine is, *that the word of God is never preach'd in any country but God makes it effectaul with regard to ſome people.* As then, very certainly, the word of God is preach'd amongſt the *Socinians*, the Miniſter concludes aright, according to his principles, that if *Socinianiſm had been as much diffuſed as is, for example, Popery; God would alſo have found means of feeding in it his Elect, and of hindering their taking part in the mortal*

Syſt. p. 147. 149. &c. *Prej. leg. p.* 16. *Syſt. l.* 1. *ch.* 12. *p.*

mortal Hereſies of that Sect, as he found means heretofore of preſerving, in Arianiſm, *a number of elect and virtuous ſouls untainted with the* Arian *Hereſy.* 98. 102. *ch.* 19. *p.* 149. &c. *ch.* 20. *p.* 153. &c.

And if the *Socinians*, in the ſtate they are in at preſent, cannot contain in their body the Elect of God, 'tis not on account of their perverſe Doctrine, but, *for that, they being in ſmall numbers, and diſperſed up and down without making a figure in the world, and in moſt places, having not ſo much as an aſſembly; it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe that God ſaves any of them.* Nevertheleſs, ſince it is certain the *Socinians* have had Churches in *Poland*, and have at this day in *Tranſylvania*, one might ask of the Miniſter, what is the number requiſite to *make a figure?* But be that as it will, according to him, it depends only on Princes to give children of God to all Societies whatſoever, by giving them aſſemblies; and if the Devil complete his work; if taking men on that ſide their ſenſes bias to, and by that means, multiplying *Socinians* in the world, he alſo find means of procuring them a more free and extenſive exerciſe of their Religion, he will compel *Jeſus Chriſt* to form his *Elect* amongſt them. *Ibid.*

LXXX. By the Miniſter's principles, one might be ſaved in the exterior Communion of the *Mahometans* and *Jews.*

The Miniſter will anſwer doubtleſs, that if he ſays, you may be ſaved in the Communion of *Socinians*, 'tis not by the way of *Toleration*, but by that of *Diſcernment* and Separation; that is to ſay, it is not by preſuppoſing, God tolerates *Socinianiſm* as he does other Sects which have preſerved the foundation, but, on the contrary, by preſuppoſing that theſe the *Socinian* aſſociates, diſcerning the good from the evil in the Doctrine of this Sect, will reject in their hearts, what is blaſphemous therein, altho' they remain united therewith exteriorly.

But take his anſwer which way you will, it's equally full of impiety. For in the firſt place, this makes him inconſiſtent with himſelf in reſpect to the toleration of thoſe who deny the Divinity of the Son of God, ſince he extends this toleration even to the *Arians: to damn*, ſays he, *all thoſe numberleſs Chriſtians, who lived in the external Communion of* Arianiſm, *ſome whereof deteſted its tenets, others were ignorant of them, ſome* TOLERATED THEM IN THE SPIRIT OF PEACE, *others held their tongues thro' fear and authority: to damn*, I ſay, *all thoſe people, is the opinion of an executioner, and becoming the cruelty of Popery.* In this manner, Mr. *Jurieu* extends his mercy, not to thoſe only who remain'd in the Communion of *Arians* being ignorant of their ſentiments, but to thoſe alſo who knew them; and not only to thoſe who knowing and deteſting them in their hearts, did not blame them *thro' fear*, but alſo to thoſe who *tolerated them in the Spirit of Peace*; namely, to thoſe, who judged that denying the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, was a tolerable Doctrine. What then hinders his tolerating, *in the Spirit of Peace*, even the *Socinians* as he tolerates the reſt, and extending his Charity ſo far even as to ſave them?

Prej. p. 22.

But altho' the Miniſter ſhould repent himſelf of having carried his toleration to this exceſs, and would ſave but thoſe only in the *Socinian* Communion that ſhould heartily deteſt their ſentiments, his Doctrine would be never the better for that, ſince in ſhort, he muſt always ſave thoſe, who, conſcious of the *Socinian*-tenets, ſhould nevertheleſs remain in their external Communion, that is, frequent their aſſemblies, join in their prayers and worſhip, be preſent at their ſermons with an exterior like to that of others who paſs for

for men of that Communion. If this diſſimulation be lawful, no longer do we know what is hypocriſy, nor what this ſentence means, *Depart from the tents of the wicked.* *Num.* xvi. 26.

Should now the Miniſter reply, that thoſe who frequent the *Socinian* aſſemblies in this manner, ought ſo to direct their intention as to partake only of that which is good amongſt them, namely, of the *Unity* of God and the Miſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*; this is a ſtill greater abſurdity, ſince, in this ſenſe, there would be likewiſe no difficulty of living in the Communion of *Jews* and *Turks*: for you need but perſuade yourſelf, you partake only with them in the belief of God's *Unity*, deteſting in your heart, without uttering a word, all they ſpeak impiouſly againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*: and ſhould it be ſaid, that it's enough to incur damnation to make your uſual worſhip in an aſſembly where *Jeſus Chriſt* is blaſphem'd, the *Socinians*, blaſphemers of his Divinity and ſo many others his ſacred truths, are no better than they.

LXXXI. The ſucceſſion which the Miniſter gives his Religion, is common to him with all Hereſies.

Such are the abſurdities of this new Syſtem: it was not the product of free choice, for no man takes pleaſure in making himſelf ridiculous by advancing ſuch paradoxes. But one falſe ſtep draws on another: nor would he have plunged into this exceſs, but for others he had fallen into before. The *Reformation* had fallen into the exceſs of ſeparating herſelf, not only from the *Church* in which ſhe had received her Baptiſm, but alſo from all other Chriſtian *Churches*. In this ſtate, urged to anſwer where the *Church* was before the time of theſe *Reformers*, ſhe could not keep to one conſtant language, and iniquity gave herſelf the lye. At laſt, quite nonpluſs'd, and little ſatisfied with all the anſwers hitherto made in our days, ſhe thought to extricate her-

Syſt. l. 1. ch. 29. p. 226. l. III. ch. 17.

ſelf by ſaying, *it is not of* particular *Societies*, of *Lutherans* of *Calviniſts*, you ſhould ask for the *Viſible* ſucceſſion of their Doctrine and Paſtors; it being true, *they were not as yet form'd two hundred years ago*; granting this, yet the univerſal *Church*, whereof theſe Sects make a part, was viſible in *the Communions of which Chriſtianity was compoſed*, viz. *that of the* Grecians, *of the* Abyſſins, *of the* Armenians, *and* Latins, which is all the ſucceſſion there is occaſion for. Here is the laſt refuge; this their whole ſolution. But all kind of Sects, they muſt allow, may ſay the ſame. There is not any, nor ever was, to take in each of them no more than the common profeſſion of Chriſtianity, which does not find its particular ſucceſſion as our Miniſter has found his; ſo that, to give a deſcent and an always viſible Perpetuity to his *Church*, he was forced to laviſh the ſame favour on the moſt novel and impious Societies.

LXXXII. The Miniſter at the ſame time ſpeaks *pro* and *con* with relation to the perpetual Viſibility of the Church.

The greateſt affront that can be done to truth, is to confeſs it, and at the ſame time, to abandon, or undermine it. Mr. *Jurieu* hath own'd great truths: in the firſt place, *that the Church is taken in Scripture for a Society* always viſible; *nay I go*, ſays he, *further on this head than Mr.* de Meaux. With all my heart; what I had ſaid was ſufficient: but ſince he will allow us more, I receive it from him.

Syſt. p. 215.

Secondly, he agrees, that it cannot be denied, *That the Church, which the Creed obliges us to believe, is a viſible Church.*

Ibid. p. 217.

This was enough to demonſtrate the perpetual Viſibility of the *Church*, becauſe that, which is believed in the *Creed*, is eternally and unalterably true. But to the end there may be no doubt that this Article of our Faith is grounded on the expreſs promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Miniſter

niſter grants us moreover, that the *Church*, to which *Jeſus Chriſt* had promiſed that hell ſhould not prevail againſt her, was *a confeſſing Church, a Church which publiſhes the Faith with St.* Peter, *a Church by conſequence, always exterior and viſible*; which he carries on ſo far as to declare without more ado, that he, *who ſhould have the Faith without the profeſſion of the Faith, would not be of the Church.* *Ibid.* 215. *Ibid. p.* 2.

'Tis this alſo that makes him ſay, *it is eſſential to the Chriſtian Church to have a Miniſtry.* Equally with Mr. *Claude*, he approves of our inferring from theſe words of our Saviour, Teach, baptize, and lo I am with you always even unto the end of the world; *that there will be teachers with whom Jeſus Chriſt ſhall teach, and that true preaching never ſhall ceaſe in the Church.* He ſays as much of the Sacraments, and is agreed that *the band of Chriſtians by means of the Sacraments, is eſſential to the Church*; *that there is no true Church without the Sacraments*; whence he concludes, that it is neceſſary *to have the Eſſence* and Foundation, to be Members of the Body of the Church. *Syſt. l.* III. *ch.* 15. *p.* 549. &c. *Matt.* xxviii. 19. 20. *Ibid. p.* 228. 229. *P.* 539. 548.

From all theſe expreſs paſſages, the Miniſter concludes with us, that the *Church is always viſible, neceſſarily viſible*, and what is more remarkable, viſible not only *as to its Body*, but alſo, *as to its Soul*, as he terms it, becauſe, ſays he, *when I ſee Chriſtian Societies, wherein Doctrine conformable to the word of God is preſerved as much as is neceſſary for the eſſence of a Church, I know and ſee for certain, that there are Elect in it, ſince, wherever are the fundamental truths, they are ſalutary to ſome people.* *Prej. leg. ch.* 2. *p.* 21. 22. &c. *Syſt. pag.* 221.

After this chain of Doctrine which the Miniſter confirms by ſo many expreſs paſſages; one might think, nothing could be better ſettled in his

his mind, from Scriptures, from the promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*, from the *Creed* of the Apoſtles, than the perpetual *Viſibility* of the Church; and yet he ſays the contrary, not by conſequence, but in formal terms: for he ſays, at the ſame time, that this perpetual Viſibility of the *Church*, *is not to be found by thoſe proofs which are call'd of right*, that is, by Scripture, as he explains it, *otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing that God always preſerves to himſelf a hidden number of the faithful, a Church, as one may ſay, ſubterraneous and unknown to the whole earth; the which would be as well the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, his Spouſe and his Kingdom, as a known Church; and infine, that the promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt would remain inviolate, tho' the Church ſhould have fallen into ſo great an obſcurity, as that it were impoſſible to point out and ſay, there is the true Church, and there does God preſerve the Elect.*

Prej. leg. 21. 22. &c. *Syſt. p.* 221.

What then becomes of that expreſs acknowledgment, that the *Church* in the Scripture is always *Viſible*, that the promiſes ſhe hath received from *Jeſus Chriſt*, for her perpetual duration, are addreſs'd to a *viſible Church*, to a Church that publiſhes her Faith, to a Church which hath the Keys and a Miniſtry, to whom the Miniſtry is eſſential, and which no longer is a *Church*, if the profeſſion of Faith be wanting to her? This we are at a loſs to know: the Miniſter thinks he ſalves all by telling us, that for his part, he truly believes the *Church* always Viſible, and that ſhe hath ever been ſo, may be proved from hiſtory. Who ſees not what he drives at? Namely in a word, that in caſe it happens, a *Proteſtant* ſhould be forced to own according to his belief, that the *Church* had ceaſed to be *Viſible*, at moſt he would only have denied a fact, yet not overthrown the promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But this

Syſt. p. 125. *Prej.* 22.

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is putting us on the wrong ſcent in too groſs a manner. The queſtion in hand is not whether the *Church*, by good luck, hath always remain'd to this day in her Viſibility, but whether ſhe hath promiſes of continuing for ever in it; nor, whether Mr. *Jurieu* believes it, but whether Mr. *Jurieu* has written that all Chriſtians are obliged to believe it as a truth from God, and as a fundamental article couch'd in the *Creed*. Moſt certainly he has written it, as we have ſeen: as clearly does he deny it, as we have alſo ſeen; and he goes on demonſtrating, that the queſtion touching the *Church* involves the Miniſters in ſuch a diſorder, that they know not which way to turn themſelves, and if they can but meet with an evaſion, 'tis all they aim at.

LXXXIII Vain diſtinction betwixt errors.

But not one is left them, provided they follow but never ſo little the principles which they have granted: for if the *Church* be *Viſible* and always *Viſible* by the Confeſſion of the truth; if *Jeſus Chriſt* hath promiſed ſhe ſhould be ſo eternally; it is more clear than day that it is not allowable to depart one moment from her Doctrine: the ſame as to ſay in other terms, that ſhe is Infallible. The conſequence is very plain, in that, departing from the Doctrine of her who always teaches truth, would be too manifeſtly declaring enmity to truth itſelf: again, nothing can be more clear and diſtinct than this.

Let us conſider, nevertheleſs, what method the Miniſters have uſed to ward off this ſtroke. *Jeſus Chriſt* hath promiſed, ſay they, a perpetual Miniſtry, yet not a Miniſtry always pure: the eſſence of the Miniſtry ſhall ſubſiſt in the *Church*, becauſe the foundations will be retain'd; but what ſhall be added to theſe, will corrupt it: which makes Mr. *Claude* to ſay, that the Miniſtry will never come to a ſubtraction of a *fundamental*

Rep. au diſc. de M. de Cond. 383. *& ſeq.*

fundamental truth, ſuch as is ſeen, for example, in *Socinianiſm*, which rejects the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*; but that there is not a like inconvenience in corrupting, by addition, wholeſome truths as the Church of *Rome* hath done; becauſe the *fundamentals* of Salvation ſtill ſubſiſt.

Purſuant to the ſame principles, Mr. *Jurieu* is agreed, that *Jeſus Chriſt* has promiſed *there always ſhall be teachers with whom he will teach, ſo far that true preaching ſhall never ceaſe in his Church*; but he diſtinguiſhes: there always ſhall be teachers with whom *Jeſus Chriſt* will teach the *fundamental* truths, he grants it; but that there never ſhall be errors in this Miniſtry, he denies it: ſo, *true preaching ſhall never ceaſe in the Church: we own it*, anſwers he, *if by true preaching be underſtood a preaching which announces the eſſential and fundamental verities: but we deny it, if by true preaching a Doctrine be underſtood that contains no kind of errors.*

Syſt. p. 228. 229.

Ibid.

LXXXIV. One only word deſtroys theſe ſubtilties.

To diſpel all theſe miſts, there needs no more than to ask theſe men, where it is they have learnt to put a reſtriction on the promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt?* He that is able to prevent ſubtractions, why muſt he not be able to prevent dangerous additions? What certainty therefore have they, that preaching ſhall be more pure, the Miniſtry more privileged with regard to *Subtraction*, than to *Addition?* This word, *I am with you*, implies an univerſal protection to thoſe with whom *Jeſus Chriſt* does teach. If the duration of the external and viſible Miniſtry be the work of man, it may fail equally on all ſides: if on account of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s intervening, purſuant to his promiſes, we are aſſured that *Subtraction* hath never taken place therein, no longer do we comprehend, how *Addition* can find admittance.

Matt. xxviii. 20.

And

And assuredly it is impossible, agreeing, as they do, that *Jesus Christ* has promised his *Church* that the truth should always be taught in her, and that he would eternally abide with the Ministers of this same *Church*, in order to teach with them; it is, I say, impossible he should not have meant to say, that the truth, he promised to preserve in her, should be pure and such as reveal'd by him; there being nothing more ridiculous than to make him promise, he would always teach the truth with such as, retaining a foundation of it, were to overwhelm this foundation, nay destroy it, as is supposed, with their errors, by the inevitable consequence of their Doctrine. LXXXV. Strange way of securing the promises of *Jesus Christ*.

And in reality, I leave the *Protestants* to judge, whether these magnificent promises of rendering the *Church* immovable in the visible profession of the truth, be fulfill'd in the state, which the Minister hath represented to us by these words: *We say, that the Church is perpetually visible, but the greatest part of the time, and* ALMOST ALWAYS, *she is more visible by the corrpution of her manners, by the addition of many* FALSE TENETS, *by the decay of her Ministry,* BY HER ERRORS AND HER SUPERSTITIONS, *than by the truths she does preserve.* If such be the Visibility which *Christ* has promised to his *Church*, if it be thus he promises, that the truth shall always be taught in her, there is no Sect, tho' never so impious, which may not glory that the promise of *Jesus Christ* is fulfill'd in her: and if *Jesus Christ* only promises to teach with all those that shall teach some truth, whatever error may be interwoven with it; he promises nothing more to his *Church* than to the *Socinians*, to the *Deists*, to *Atheists* themselves, since none of them are gone

Prej. leg. p. 21.

Matt. xvi. 18.

gone ſo far aſtray as not to retain ſome remnant of the truth.

LXXXVI. The Miniſter ſays, that the Univerſal Church teaches, and at the ſame time, does not teach. *Syſt. l.* 1. *ch.* 26. *p.* 217. 218.

It is now eaſy to underſtand what we have inculcated ſo frequently, that the Article of the Creed, *I believe the Catholick and univerſal Church*, imports neceſſarily the belief of her *Infallibility*, and that there is no difference betwixt believing *the Catholick Church* and believing *In* the *Catholick Church*, to wit, by approving and aſſenting to her Doctrine.

The Miniſter riſes up with contempt againſt this reaſoning of Mr. *de Meaux*, and oppoſes it by two anſwers: the firſt is, that the *Univerſal* Church teaches nothing; the ſecond, that, ſuppoſing ſhe taught the truth, it would not follow that ſhe taught it intirely pure.

But he contradicts himſelf in theſe two anſwers: in the firſt, in expreſs terms, as I am going to ſhew; in the ſecond, by the evident conſequence of his principles, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

Let us then obſerve how he ſpeaks in his firſt anſwer. *The univerſal Church*, ſays he, *mention'd in the Creed, cannot properly ſpeaking, either teach, or preach the truth:* and I prove to him the contrary by his own words, he having ſaid but two pages before, that the *Church* to which *Jeſus Chriſt* promiſes an eternal ſubſiſtence by ſaying, *the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt her, is a confeſſing Church, a Church that publiſhes her Faith:* now this *Church* is undoubtedly the *Univerſal* Church and the ſame that the *Creed* ſpeaks of: therefore the Church *Univerſal*, and mention'd in the *Creed*, confeſſes and publiſhes the truth; nor can it any longer be denied by this Miniſter without giving himſelf the lye, but that Church *does confeſs, does teach, does preach*

P. 218.

P. 215.

the truth, unleſs publiſhing and confeſſing be different from preaching to the whole Univerſe.

But let us dive further into this Miniſter's ſentiments on this important ſubject. What he moſt repeats, what he moſt inſiſts upon in his Syſtem is, that *the Church univerſal teaches nothing, decides nothing, hath never paſs'd, nor will ever paſs, nor will be able ever to paſs, any judgment*; and that *to teach, to decide, to judge*, is the property of particular Churches.

LXXXVII. Sequel of the Miniſter's contradictions on this ſubject: that the Church Univerſal teaches and judges.

But this Doctrine is ſo falſe, that to ſee it convicted of error, no more is requiſite than to continue on the reading of thoſe places where it is aſſerted; for there you'll find, that *the ſubſiſting Communions, and which make a figure, are the* Greeks, *the* Latins, *the* Proteſtants, *the* Abyſſins, *the* Armenians, *the* Neſtorians, *the* Ruſſians. *I ſay that the conſent of all theſe Communions in* TEACHING *certain verities, is a kind* OF JUDGMENT, *nay, of* INFALLIBLE JUDGMENT. Theſe Communions therefore *teach*; and ſeeing theſe Communions, according to him, are the *Univerſal* Church, he cannot deny that the *Univerſal* Church doth teach; nor any more can he deny, that ſhe judges in a certain ſenſe, ſince he attributes to her *a kind of judgment*, which can be nothing leſs than a ſentiment declared. Here is then, by the Confeſſion of the Miniſter, a declared ſentiment, and moreover, an *Infallible* ſentiment of the *Church* he calls Univerſal.

Syſt. p. 6. 218. 233. 234. 235. *Ibid.* 236.

He proceeds: *When the conſent of the Univerſal Church is general in all ages as well as in all Communions, then I maintain, that this unanimous conſent makes a demonſtration.*

LXXXVIII. By the Miniſter's Confeſſion, the Church's ſentiment is a certain rule of Faith in the moſt

This is not enough; this demonſtration is grounded on the perpetual aſſiſtance which, according to him, God owes his *Church: God*, ſays he, CANNOT PERMIT *great Chriſtian Societies*

essential matters.

P. 237. *Ibid.*

cieties to be engaged in mortal errors, nor to persevere in them a long while. And a little after: *is it likely that God should so far have abandon'd the universal Church, that all Communions, in all ages, should have unanimously renounced the most important truths.*

Thence it clearly follows, that the sentiment of the *Universal* Church is a certain rule of Faith, and the Minister makes the application of it to two the most important disputes, which, in his own judgment, possibly can arise among Christians. The first is that of the *Socinians*, which comprehends so many essential points: and thereupon, *the presumption of the* Socinians, says he,

P. 237. *cannot be consider'd otherwise, than as a prodigious temerity and a certain token of reprobation, for that, in the articles of Jesus Christ's Divinity, the Trinity of Persons, the Redemption, Satisfaction, Original sin, the Creation, Grace, Immortality of the soul, and eternity of torments, they have departed from the sentiment of the whole universal Church.*

P. 237. Again therefore, this *Universal* Church hath a sentiment: her sentiment carries along with it an *Infallible* condemnation of the errors opposite thereunto, and serves as a rule for the decision of all the aforesaid articles.

LXXXIX. This rule, according to the Minister, is sure, clear, sufficient, and the Faith it produces, is not blind nor unreasonable.

Besides this, there is another subject wherein this sentiment stands for a rule: *I believe that it is here also* THE MOST SURE RULE *of judging, which points be fundamental, and of distinguishing them from such as are not; so knotty, so difficult a question to* resolve! *Thus, all that Christians have unanimously believed, and do still every where believe, is fundamental and necessary to Salvation.*

This rule is not only certain and perspicuous, but very sufficient also, since the Minister, after having said, that the discussion of texts, of versions, of interpretations of Scripture, and even the

the reading of this divine book is not neceſſary to the Believer in order to form his Faith, concludes at laſt, that *a ſimple woman who has learnt the Apoſtles Creed, and underſtood it in the ſenſe of the univerſal Church* (withal keeping God's commandments) *ſhall be, perhaps, in a more ſure way than the learned, who with ſo much ability contend about the difference of verſions.* *Syſt. l. III. ch. IV. p. 463.*

There muſt be therefore an eaſy method of diſcovering what is believed by the *univerſal* Church, ſince this diſcovery is within the reach of a ſimple woman. There is a ſecurity in this knowledge ſo diſcover'd, ſince this ſimple woman relies upon and truſts to it; laſtly, there is an intire ſufficiency, ſince this woman has nothing to ſeek further, and fully inſtructed in her Faith, needs no otherwiſe to be concern'd, than how to live well. This belief is neither blind nor unreaſonable, ſince it's founded on clear and ſure principles; and in reality, when one is weak as we all are, 'tis the moſt excellent pitch of reaſon to know well, whom you may rely upon.

But let us puſh on this argument ſtill further. That which makes an abſolute Certainty in matter of Faith, a Certainty *of demonſtration*, and *the beſt rule* to decide truths by, muſt be clearly grounded on the word of God. Now, this kind of *Infallibility*, which the Miniſter attributes to the *univerſal* Church, imports a Certainty *abſolute* and a Certainty *of demonſtration*, and it is *the moſt ſure rule* whereby to decide the moſt eſſential, and withal the moſt knotty truths: therefore it is clearly grounded on the word of God.

XC. It can be no longer objected to us, that by following the authority of the Church, we follow men.

For the future therefore, when we ſhall urge the *Proteſtants* with the authority of the *univerſal* Church, ſhould they object to us, that we follow the authority and traditions of men; their

Miniſter will confound them by ſaying with us, that following the Church *Univerſal*, is not following men, but God himſelf, who aſſiſts her by his Spirit.

XCI. The idea which the Miniſter forms to himſelf of the univerſal Church as he conceives it, is not agreeable with the ſentiments of the univerſal Church.

If the Miniſter ſhould anſwer, that we get nothing by this acknowledgment, becauſe the *Church*, wherein he owns this *Infallibility*, is not ours, and that all Chriſtian Communions enter into the notion which he gives of the *Church*: he will be no leſs confounded by his own principles, ſince he hath but juſt placed among the conditions of the true Faith, that the *Creed* be underſtood *in the ſenſe of the univerſal Church*. We muſt therefore underſtand, *in this ſenſe*, that Article of the *Creed*, which ſpeaks of the *univerſal* Church herſelf. Now the univerſal *Church* never hath believed, that the *univerſal* Church was the aggregate of all Chriſtian Sects: nor does the Miniſter find this notion in all places, or all times; on the contrary, he is agreed that the notion which reduces the *Church* to a perfect Unity, by excluding all Sects from her Communion, is of all ages, even of the three firſt: he has ſeen it in the two Councils whoſe *Creeds* he receives, namely, in that of *Nice* and in that of *Conſtantinople*. 'Tis not therefore in his ſenſe, but in ours, that *the ſimple woman*, whom he makes to walk ſo ſurely in the way of Salvation, ought to underſtand theſe words in the Creed, *the Catholick or univerſal Church*; and when this good woman ſays, ſhe believes therein, ſhe is obliged to fix upon one certain Communion, which God ſhall have diſtinguiſh'd from all the reſt, and which contains in her Unity none but the Orthodox: a Communion which muſt be the true kingdom of *Chriſt Jeſus* perfectly united in itſelf, and oppoſite to the kingdom of *Satan*, whoſe character, as before-obſerved, is Diſunion.

See *n.* 71. of this ſame book *& ſeq.*

Luke xi. 17.

Should

Should the Miniſter think to eſcape by anſwering that, ſuppoſing we had proved a Communion of this nature, we ſhould ſtill be nothing the nearer, it remaining yet to be proved, that this is our Communion; I own, before we come to that, there are ſtill ſome ſteps to be taken: but in the mean while, and before we do this and force the Miniſter, according to his principles, to take theſe ſteps with us; we find already in his principles, whereby to reject his *Church*. For when he gave us for a rule that which the *univerſal* Church unanimouſly believes every where; leſt he ſhould comprehend the *Socinians* in this *univerſal* Church, whoſe authority he oppoſed againſt them, he reduced this Church to *Communions which are ancient and extenſive*, excluſively of Sects which have neither of theſe advantages, and *which, for this reaſon, could neither be call'd Communions, nor Chriſtian Communions*. Here are then two great characteriſticks, which, according to him, a Communion ought to have to merit the denomination of Chriſtian, *Antiquity and Extent*: now it is very certain, that the Churches of the *Reformation* were not, at the beginning, either *ancient* or *extenſive*, no more than thoſe of the *Socinians* and others which the Miniſter rejects, therefore, they were *neither Churches, nor Communions*: but if they were not ſo then, they could not become ſo afterwards: therefore, they are not ſo now, nor can one, conſiſtently with the Miniſter's rules, too ſpeedily forſake them.

XCII. The Miniſter condemns his Church by the characteriſticks, aſcribed by him to the univerſal Church.

Syſt. l. 2. ch. 1. p. 238.

It is not to the purpoſe to anſwer, that theſe Churches had their Predeceſſors in thoſe great Societies, which were antecedent to them, and which preſerved the *fundamental* verities; for it ſuits only with the *Socinians* to ſay as much. The Miniſter urges them in vain with theſe words,

XCIII. All the Miniſter's means for defending his Churches are common

to them with those of the *Socinians* and of other Sectaries rejected by the Reformation. *Ibid.*

Let these men name us a Communion which hath taught their Dogma? *To find out the succession of their Doctrine, they begin by a* Cerinthus; *they continue by an* Artemon, *by a* Paul *of* Samosata, *by a* Photinus, *and other such like men, who never had an assembly of four thousand people, who never had a Communion, and who were the abomination of the whole Church.* When the Minister urges them thus, he has reason in the main, but has not reason according to his principles, because the *Socinians* will always tell him, that the only *fundamental* point of Salvation, is to believe one only God, and one only Mediator, *Christ*; that it is the Unity of these tenets, which all the world agrees in, that makes the *Church*'s Unity; that the superadded tenets may indeed make particular confederations, but not another Body of the *Church* universal; that their Faith hath subsisted and doth still subsist in all Christian Societies; that they can live amongst the *Calvinists*, as the pretended-Elect of the *Calvinists* liv'd, before *Calvin*, in the Church of *Rome*; that they are no more oblig'd to shew, nor to reckon their Predecessors, than the *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*; that it is not true, they were *the abomination of the whole Church*; since, besides their being a part thereof, the whole *Church* never had the power of assembling herself against them; the whole Church *teaches nothing*, *decides nothing*, detests nothing; that all these functions appertain only to particular Churches; that he is in the wrong to find fault with them for clandestinity, or rather for the nullity of their assemblies; that those of the *Lutherans* or *Calvinists* at the beginning, were no-wise different; that, after their example, they meet together when able, and where they have the liberty: which if others have extorted by bloody wars, their

their cauſe is never the better for that; and to annex Salvation to ſuch favour or toleration, howſoever obtain'd from Prince or Magiſtrate, whether by negotiation or force, is making *Chriſtianity* to depend on *Policy*.

XCIV. Abridgment of the foregoing arguments.

The Miniſter having taken theſe great ſteps, by never ſo little reflexion upon his own principles, would ſoon join iſſue with us. The ſentiment of the *univerſal* Church, is a rule; 'tis a certain rule againſt the *Socinians*: therefore, an *univerſal* Church muſt be ſhewn in which the *Socinians* are not comprehended. What excludes them from it, is the want of *extent* and *ſucceſſion*: a ſucceſſion therefore muſt be pointed out to them, which they cannot meet with amongſt themſelves: now they meet evidently with the ſame ſucceſſion that *Calviniſts* boaſt of; namely, a ſucceſſion in the principles which are common to them with other Sects: it is neceſſary therefore they ſhould find out another; it is neceſſary, I ſay, that you ſhould find a ſucceſſion in the tenets peculiar to that Sect whoſe antiquity you would eſtabliſh. Now this ſucceſſion agrees not with *Calviniſts*, who, in their peculiar tenets, have no more ſucceſſion, nor antiquity, than the *Socinians*: you muſt therefore go forth from theirs as well as from the *Socinian* Church: you muſt therefore be able to find out a better antiquity and ſucceſſion than either of theirs. Finding this antiquity and this ſucceſſion, you will have found the Certainty of Faith: all therefore you will have to do is, to rely on the ſentiments of the *Church*, and on her authority; and what is all this elſe, I pray, but owning the Church *Infallible?* This Miniſter leads us then by a ſure way to the *Infallibility* of the Church.

XCV. There is no reſtriction, with

I am ſenſible, he lays a reſtriction. *The univerſal Church*, ſays he, *is infallible to a certain degree*,

respect to *Dogmata* in the Church's Infallibility. *P.* 236.

degree, as far as those bounds which divide fundamental truths from those which are not so. But we have already made it plain that this restriction is arbitrary. God hath not declared to us that he ever confined within these bounds the assistance which he promised to his *Church*, nor that he design'd to limit his promises at the will of Ministers. He gives his Holy Ghost, not to teach some truth, but to teach *all truth*, because he hath reveal'd none but such as is useful and necessary in certain cases. Never therefore will he permit any one of these truths to be extinguish'd in the body of the *universal* Church.

John xvi. 13.

XCVI. What is once believed in the whole Church, was always believed in it.

Wherefore, whatsoever Doctrine I shall shew to have been once universally received, the Minister must receive it pursuant to his principles; and should he think to escape by answering, that this Doctrine, for instance, *Transubstantiation*, the *Sacrifice*, *Invocation* of Saints, *Veneration* of Images, and such like points, are indeed to be found in all the *Oriental* Communions no less than in the *Western* Church, but yet were not always there, and yet it is in this perpetuity that he hath placed the stress of his proof and the *Infallibility* of the universal Church: he must have misunderstood himself, because, he could not have believed, in the Church *universal*, a perpetual assistance of the *Holy Ghost* without comprehending, in this acknowledgment, not only all times together, but also each time in particular: this perpetuity including them all: from whence it follows that, throughout the whole duration of the *Church*, he will never be able to point out a time, when the error prevails which the *Holy Ghost* has bound himself to preserve her from. Now it hath been seen, the *Holy Ghost* has equally bound himself to preserve

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her from all error, nor from one more than another; therefore there never can be any.

What makes our adverſaries ſtop at this, is their having nothing but a human and a wavering Faith. But the *Catholick*, whoſe Faith is divine and firm, will ſay without heſitating: if the *Holy Ghoſt* hath promiſed his *univerſal* Church to aſſiſt her indefinitely againſt errors, therefore againſt *all*: and if againſt *all*, therefore *always*: and as often as one ſhall find, in any certain time, a Doctrine eſtabliſh'd in the whole *Catholick* Church, ſuch can never be impeach'd of novelty, but by error.

XCVII. The *Catholick* alone believes in the promiſes.

We preſs him too home, will he ſay, and at laſt ſhall force him to forſake his principle of the univerſal Church's *Infallibility*. God forbid he ſhould forſake ſo true a principle, or that he ſhould fall back into all the abſurdities he ſought to avoid by eſtabliſhing it; for then his caſe would be that mention'd by St. *Paul*: *If I build again the things which I deſtroy'd, I make myſelf a prevaricator*. But ſince he has begun to take ſo wholſom a Medicine, he muſt be made to ſwallow it to the laſt drop, however bitter it may ſeem at preſent; that is, he muſt be ſhewn all the neceſſary conſequences of that truth which he has once acknowledged.

XCVIII. The Miniſter can no longer deny the Infallibility which he has confeſs'd. *Gal.* ii. 18.

He puzzles himſelf about the *Infallibility* of *univerſal* Councils: but in the firſt place, ſuppoſing there were no Councils, the Miniſter is agreed that the *Church*'s conſent, even without being aſſembled, would ſerve for a certain rule. Her conſent might be known, ſince he ſuppoſes it is ſo ſufficiently at preſent, to condemn the *Socinians*, and to ſerve for an unalterable rule in the moſt knotty queſtions. Now, by the ſame means that the *Socinians* are condemn'd, the other Sects may alſo be condemn'd. Nor indeed

XCIX. The infallibility of general Councils a conſequence from the Infallibility of the Church.

can it be denied that the whole *Church*, without aſſembling herſelf, hath ſufficiently condemn'd *Novatian*, *Paul* of *Samoſata*, the *Manicheans*, the *Pelagians*, and an endleſs number of other Sects. In like manner, what Sect ſoever may ariſe, it may always be condemn'd like thoſe, and the *Church* will be *Infallible* in this condemnation, ſince her conſent will be a rule. Secondly, by owning that the *univerſal* Church is *Infallible*, how can the Councils not be ſo which repreſent her, which ſhe receives, which ſhe approves, wherein nothing elſe is propoſed but to declare her ſentiments in a lawful aſſembly?

C. Cavils againſt Councils.

But this aſſembly is impoſſible, becauſe there is no aſſembling all the Paſtors of the univerſe, and much leſs, ſo many oppoſite Communions. What a chicanery? Did ever man take it into his head to require, in order to form an *Oecumenical* Council, that all Paſtors ſhould be preſent at it? Is it not ſufficient that ſo many come to it, and from ſo many places, and the reſt ſo evidently conſent to their aſſembly, as to become manifeſt that the judgment paſs'd in it is the judgment of the whole earth? Who therefore can refuſe his aſſent to ſuch a Council, unleſs he that will ſay, *Jeſus Chriſt*, contrary to his promiſe, hath abandon'd the whole *Church?* And if the *Church*'s ſentiment was of ſo much force whilſt diffuſed, of how much more will it be, when reunited.

CI. Exceſſive and monſtrous power given by the Miniſter to thoſe, who are rebels

Concerning what the Miniſter ſays about oppoſite Communions, I have but one word to tell him. If the *univerſal* Church be *Infallible* in oppoſite Communions, ſhe would be much more ſo, remaining in her primitive Unity. Let us then take her in this ſtate; let us convene her Paſtors in the third Century before the *Church* was corrupted: before, if he pleaſes, that *Novatian*

vatian had ſeparated from it: at ſuch a time, he muſt allow the convention of ſuch a Council would have been a divine relief in order to prevent the progreſs of an error. Let us now ſuppoſe what came to paſs: a proud *Novatian* makes himſelf Biſhop in a See already fill'd, and makes a Sect that will *Reform* the *Church*: he is expell'd; is excommunicated: what then; becauſe he continues to call himſelf a Chriſtian, muſt he be of the *Church* in deſpite of her? Becauſe he carries his inſolence to the utmoſt extreams, and will hearken to no kind of reaſon, muſt the Church have loſt her firſt Unity, nor be able any longer to aſſemble, nor to form an *univerſal* Council unleſs this proud heart conſent? Muſt temerity have ſuch a power? And will there need no more than to lopp off a branch, nay, a rotten branch, to ſay that the tree hath loſt its Unity and root? to the Church.

CII. The Council of *Nice* form'd contrary to the Miniſter's principles.

It is therefore a thing not to be queſtion'd, that in ſpite of *Novatian*, in ſpite of *Donatus*, in ſpite of all other no leſs contentious than unreaſonable men, the *Church* will have power to convene an *Oecumenical* Council. Will have it, do I ſay? Already hath ſhe exerciſed that power, and maugre *Novatian* and *Donatus* held the *Nicene* Council. That it was neceſſary to call, and what is worſe, to make the followers of thoſe Hereſiarchs actually come to it, to the end the aſſembly might be lawfully held; is what was never ſo much as thought of. To trump up ſuch a ſhift at this time of day, and thirteen hundred years after the whole world (the impious part excepted) hath look'd on this holy Council as *univerſal*; to maintain it was not ſo, nay, that it was impoſſible for the Catholick Church to hold ſuch a Council, by reaſon ſhe could not aſſemble in it thoſe rebels, which had unjuſtly broke Unity,

Unity, is obliging her to depend on her enemies, and puniſh their rebellion on herſelf.

CIII. Remarkable words of a learned *Engliſhman* concerning the Infallibility of the *Nicene* Council. Dr. *Bull. def. fid. Nic. proœm. n.* 2. *p.* 2. *Ibid. n.* 3.

Here is then a Council juſtly call'd *univerſal*, by conſequence, *Infallible*, if ſo be the Miniſter do not forget all he hath juſt granted; and pleaſed I am with the opportunity of quoting to him what a learned *Engliſhman*, a ſtanch *Proteſtant*, hath ſaid to this purpoſe. *The matter under queſtion in this Council, was a main article of the Chriſtian Religion. If in a queſtion of this importance it be imagin'd, that all the Paſtors of the Church could have fallen into error, and deceived all the faithful, how ſhall we be able to defend the word of Jeſus Chriſt, who hath promiſed his Apoſtles, and in their perſons, his Succeſſors, to be always with them? A promiſe that would not be true, the Apoſtles not being to live ſo long a time, were it not that their Succeſſors are here comprehended in the perſons of the Apoſtles themſelves*; which he confirms by a paſſage out of *Socrates*, who ſays, *That the Fathers of this Council, altho' ſimple and not over-learn'd, could not fall into error, for that they were illuminated with the light of the Holy Ghoſt*; whereby he ſhews us all at once the *Infallibility* of univerſal Councils by the Scripture and by the tradition of the ancient *Church*. May the bleſſing of God light on the learned Doctor *Bull*; and in recompence of this ſincere acknowledgment, and withal of that zeal he hath ſhewn in defence of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s divinity, may he be deliver'd from the prejudices which prevent opening his eyes to the lights of the *Catholick* Church, and to the neceſſary conſequences of that truth he hath confeſs'd.

Socra. l. 1. *c.* 9.

CIV. One may judge of other Councils

I do neither undertake the hiſtory, nor the defence of all general Councils: it ſuffices me to have remark'd in one only, from avow'd princi-

ples,

ples, what the attentive reader will eaſily extend to all the reſt; and the leaſt that can be concluded from this example is, that God having prepared in theſe aſſemblies, ſo preſent an aſſiſtance to his troubled *Church*, 'tis renouncing Faith in his providence to believe, that *Schiſmaticks* may ſo alter the conſtitution of his *Church*, as that this remedy ſhould become abſolutely impoſſible to her.

by the Council of *Nice*.

In order to enervate the authority of Eccleſiaſtical judgments in matters of Faith, Mr. *Jurieu* has ventur'd to ſay, that they are not even judgments; that the Paſtors aſſembled in theſe caſes, are not *Judges*, *but wiſe and experienced men, and that they act not with authority*; that the want of being let into this ſecret was the cauſe, that his Brethren *have written with ſo little perſpicuity on this ſubject:* and the reaſon he alledges for taking from Councils the title of Judges, is becauſe, *not being infallible, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould be Judges in deciſions of Faith*, becauſe *the word Judge, imports a perſon you muſt neceſſarily ſubmit to.*

CV. The Miniſter forced to take from Paſtors the title of Judges in matters of Faith. *Syſt. l.* III. *ch.* 2. *p.* 243. *ch.* 3. *p.* 251. *ch.* 4. *p.* 258. *Ibid.* 243. *P.* 255.

That the Paſtors are not Judges in queſtions relative to Faith, is what never has been heard of among Chriſtians, nay, not ſo much as in the *Reformation*, where Eccleſiaſtical authority is brought to ſo low an ebb. On the contrary, Mr. *Jurieu* himſelf produces us the words of the Synod of *Dort*, wherein that Synod *declares* herſelf *Judge*, and even *lawful judge*, *in the cauſe of* Arminius, which certainly regarded Faith.

CVI. This Doctrine is contrary to the ſentiments of his Churches. *Ibid.* 257.

We read alſo in his book of *Diſcipline*, that all *the differences of a Province ſhall be definitively judged, and without appeal, in its reſpective Provincial Synod, except what regards ſuſpenſions and degradations .... And likewiſe what concerns Doctrine,*

Diſc. ch. VIII. *Art.* 10.

trine, the Sacraments, and diſcipline in general; all which caſes may, ſtep by ſtep, be brought up to the national Synod to receive the definitive and laſt judgment, which, in another place, is call'd *the intire and final reſolution.*

Ibid. ch. v. Art. 32. p. 114. Syſt. p. 257.

To ſay with Mr. *Jurieu* that the word judgment is here taken *in an extenſive ſenſe*, for a report of experienced men, and not for a ſentence *of Judges having authority to bind men's conſciences*, is an inſult on human language; for what muſt be call'd acting with authority, and binding conſciences, if it be not to puſh things ſo far as to oblige the particular condemn'd perſons *to acquieſce from point to point, and with expreſs diſclaiming of their errors enter'd in a regiſter, under penaly of being cut off from the Church?*

Diſc. Ibid

Is this a judgment in an improper, *and more extenſive* ſenſe, and not rather a judgment in full rigour? And that the Synods have exerted this power, we have ſeen in the affair of *Piſcator*, they obliging him to ſubſcribe a formulary which condemn'd his Doctrine: we have ſeen in the affair of *Arminius*, and in the ſubſcription required to the *Canons* of the Synod of *Dort*; and all the regiſters of our *Reformed* are full of the like ſubſcriptions.

S. I. xii.

CVII. Subſcriptions diſapproved by the Miniſter notwithſtanding the practice of his Churches.

No other remedy hath Mr. *Jurieu* found out for this but to ſay, *that when a Synod terminates controverſies which are not important, it ought never to oblige the condemn'd parties to ſubſcribe, and to believe her deciſions*; but this is contrary to the expreſs terms of their *Diſcipline*, which *obliges to acquieſce from point to point, and with an expreſs diſclaiming of their errors enter'd in a regiſter, under penalty of being ſever'd from the Church*; which Mr. *Jurieu* himſelf underſtands *of leſs important controverſies which neither deſtroy, nor hurt the foundation.*

Ibid. p. 306. Syſt. Ibid. p. 270.

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It only remain'd to ſay, that *cutting off from the Church*, in this place, was no more than cutting off from an arbitrary confederation, contrary to the expreſs words of their diſcipline, which, explaining this cutting off in the ſame chapter, is acquainted with no other than that which ſevers a rotten Member from the Body, and ranks it among *Heathens*, as already ſeen.

CVIII. The Miniſter's evaſion. *Ibid. p.* 269. *Ibid. Art.* 17.

Wherefore it is but too manifeſt that this Miniſter has changed the maxims of the Sect. Let us now reſtore them, and joining them to the Miniſter's own principles, we ſhall clearly find *Infallibility* confeſs'd. By the Miniſter's principles, if Councils were Judges in matters of Faith, they would be *Infallible:* now by the principles of his *Church*, they are Judges; therefore, the Miniſter either muſt condemn himſelf, or his *Church*, if he allow not the *Infallibility* of Councils, of thoſe at leaſt, wherein is the laſt and final reſolution: but tho' he ſhould have bereft the Paſtors aſſembled of the title of *Judges* to leave them nothing but that of *experienced* men, yet the Councils would be but the better authorized by his Doctrine, there being not a man of ſound ſenſe that would not hold himſelf for at leaſt as raſh, in reſiſting the ſentiment of all experienced men, as in reſiſting the ſentence of all *Judges*.

CIX. Infallibility proved by the principles of the Miniſter. *Sup. n.* 105. *S.* 106. *& ſeq.*

He is not leſs perplex'd about the letters of ſubmiſſion, which the Deputies of all Provincial Synods are to carry to the national one in good form, and in theſe terms: *We promiſe before God to ſubmit ourſelves to all that ſhall be concluded and reſolved in your holy aſſembly perſuaded as we are, that God will there preſide, and will lead you into all truth and equity by the rule of his word.* The laſt words demonſtrate, that the matter in hand was Religion, nor any longer can

CX. Strange expreſſion of the Miniſter, who will have us ſacrifice truth to Peace. *Diſcip. p.* 144.

can we learn what it is to be Judges, nay and ſovereign Judges, if men, to whom ſuch an oath is taken, be not ſo. I have elſewhere ſhewn, that they exacted it in full rigour; that many Provinces were cenſured for having made a difficulty of ſubmitting *to the clauſe of Approbation, of Submiſſion and Obedience*; and that they were obliged *to make it in ſpecifick terms to all that ſhould be concluded and decreed, without condition, or modification.* Theſe words are ſo preſſing, that after ſo long torturing himſelf to expound them, Mr. *Jurieu* at length comes to ſay, *that they promiſe this ſubmiſſion on regulations of diſcipline relating to things indifferent*, or, at furtheſt, on leſs important controverſies, *which do not deſtroy, nor hurt the foundation of Faith*; ſo that, concludes he, *it is not ſtrange that in ſuch ſort of things we pay the Synod an intire ſubmiſſion, becauſe, in controverſies which are not of the utmoſt importance, we ought to ſacrifice truths to the good of Peace.*

Expoſ. ch. 19. Conference with Mr. *Claude* *p.* 52. 337.

Syſt. p. 270. 271.

Sacrifice truths, and the reveal'd truths of God! either he knows not what he ſays, or he blaſphemes. To ſacrifice heavenly truths, if this be to renounce them, and ſubſcribe the condemnation of them, 'tis a blaſphemy. There is no truth reveal'd of God that does not deſerve, ſo far from ſacrificing it, that we ſhould ſacrifice ourſelves for it. But perchance to ſacrifice them is to hold ones tongue. The expreſſion is much too violent. Let it paſs however, provided this will ſatisfy: but the Synod will come upon you *after her laſt and final reſolution*, and preſs you in virtue of their *Diſcipline* and your own ſolemn oath, *to acquieſce from point to point, and with an expreſs diſclaiming* of your opinion *authentically enter'd in a regiſter*, in order to prevent all equivocation, under penalty of being cut off from

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God's people, and accounted as a *Heathen*. What will you do, if unable to make your judgment bend to that of the Church? Certainly, either you'll ſubſcribe, and betray your conſcience, or ſpeedily you alone will be your whole Church.

CXI. The Confeſſion of Faith always put to the queſtion in all Synods. *Ibid.* 270. Conference with Mr. *Claude* *p.* 378.

Beſides, when the Miniſter tells us, that the points of controverſy, which are ſubmitted to the Synod, are not thoſe which are contain'd in the *Confeſſion of Faith*, he does not reflect, how many times they would have changed them in important articles out of complaiſance to the *Lutherans*. Nay more, he has forgotten the cuſtom of all their Synods, wherein the firſt point put to debate always is, upon reading the *Confeſſion* of Faith, to examine whether there be any thing to be corrected in it. The fact was put to Mr. *Claude*, nor was it deny'd by him, and beſides this, it is manifeſt by the Acts of all the Synods. Who will now wonder that nothing hath eſcap'd change in the new *Reformation*, ſince, notwitſtanding ſo many books written and ſo many Synods held, they are every day ſtill to ſeek and deliberate anew about their Faith?

CXII. The weak conſtitution of the Reformation forces at length the Miniſters to change their Capital *Dogma*, *viz.* the neceſſity of the Scripture.

But nothing will ſet in a plainer light the feeble conſtitution of their *Church*, than the change I am now about to relate. Nothing amongſt them is more eſſential, nor more *fundamental*, than to oblige each one to form his Faith on the reading of the Scripture. But one ſole queſtion propoſed to them has, at length withdrawn them from this principle. Now they were ask'd, what could be thoſe people's Faith, which as yet had neither read the Scripture nor heard it read, but were juſt entering on the reading of it? There needed no more than this to put them manifeſtly to a ſtand.

To ſay, in this ſtate, one has no Faith; with what diſpoſition then, and in what ſpirit, will

ſuch

ſuch a man read the holy Scripture? But if you ſay, he has; whence hath he received it? All they had to anſwer was, "That the Chriſtian Doc-

Syſt. p. 428. "trine, taken in the whole, makes itſelf be felt; "that to form an act of Faith on the divinity "of Scripture, it is not neceſſary to have read

Ibid. p. 453. & *ſeq.* "it; that it ſuffices to have read a Summary of "Chriſtian Doctrine without deſcending to par-"ticulars; that thoſe who wanted the Scripture, "had it nevertheleſs in their power to become "good Chriſtians; that the Goſpel-Doctrine "makes its Divinity be felt by the ſimple, inde-"pendently of the book it's contain'd in; that "ſuppoſing this Doctrine were mixt with things "not divine but uſeleſs, the pure and celeſtial "Doctrine blended with it would nevertheleſs "make itſelf be felt; that conſcience reliſhes "truth, after which the faithful man believes "ſuch a book to be canonical becauſe he hath "found truths in it that ſenſibly affect him; in "a word, that one feels truth as he feels the "light in ſeeing it; heat, ſitting near the fire; "ſweet and bitter, in eating."

CXIII. Their Faith no longer form'd on Scripture.

Heretofore 'twas an inexplicable difficulty for the Miniſters to reſolve this queſtion: Whether or no it is requiſite, if Faith be to be form'd on Scripture, to have read all the books thereof? And, if ſufficient to have read ſome of them; which be thoſe privileged ones we muſt read preferably to the reſt, in order to form our Faith? But they have rid themſelves of this perplexity by ſaying, there is not even a neceſſity of reading any one of them, nay, they have carried it ſo far as to make a Believer form his Faith without ſo much as knowing, which are the books inſpired by God.

CXIV. The people have

Their thoughts were too much buſied about the *Confeſſion* of Faith when they ſaid, ſpeaking of

of the divine books, *that they were known for Canonical, not ſo much from the conſent of the Church, as from the teſtimony and interior perſuaſion of the Holy Ghoſt.* The Miniſters, it ſeems, are ſenſible at preſent that this was all illuſion, and how little likelihood there is, that the faithful ſhould be capable, by their interior reliſh and without the aſſiſtance of tradition, to diſcern from a profane book the *Canticle* of *Canticles*, or to feel the divinity of the firſt chapters of *Geneſis*, and ſo forth: accordingly it is decided at preſent, *that the examination of the queſtion touching Apocryphal books, is not neceſſary for the people.* Mr. *Jurieu* hath wrote a chapter expreſly to prove it; and ſo far is it from being requiſite to torment one's ſelf about books *Canonical* or *Apocryphal*, about Text or Verſion, or to be at the pains of dicuſſing Scripture, or even reading it; that the Chriſtian truths, provided you only put them together, will of themſelves make you feel them as you feel *cold* and *heat.*

no further neceſſity of diſcerning Apocryphal from canonical books. *Confeſſ. Art.* 4.

Syſt. l. III. 452. *Ibid. ch* 2. 3.

Mr. *Jurieu* ſays all this; and what is more remarkable, ſays it but after Mr. *Claude.* And ſince theſe two Miniſters have concurr'd together in this point, which is as much as to ſay, that the Party had but this ſole refuge; let us ſtop a while to conſider whence they ſet out, and whither they are arrived. The Miniſters heretofore built Faith on *Scripture:* now they form it without the *Scripture.* It was ſaid in the *Confeſſion* of Faith, ſpeaking of *Scripture*, that *all things ought to be examin'd, regulated, and reformed according to it*; now, not the ſentiment, which men have *of things*, ought to be proved by *Scripture*; but *Scripture* itſelf is not known, nor perceived to be *Scripture*, otherwiſe than by the ſentiment you have *of things* before you

CXV. The importance of this change.

Def. of the Ref. 2. *p. ch.* 9. *p.* 296. & *ſeq.* Confeſſion of Faith. *Art.* 5.

you know the divine books; and Religion is form'd without them.

CXVI. Manifeſt Fanaticiſm.

This teſtimony, imagin'd by men to proceed from the *Holy Ghoſt*, whereby to diſcern divine Scriptures from not divine, was held deſervedly for *Fanaticiſm* and a means of deceit; becauſe this teſtimony, not being annex'd to any poſitive proof, there was not a man who could not either boaſt of it without reaſon, or fancy it to himſelf without grounds. But the caſe is now much worſe: whereas they ſaid formerly, *let us ſee what is written, and then we will believe*; which was beginning at leaſt by ſomething poſitive and a certain fact: now they begin by *feeling* things in themſelves as you feel cold and heat, ſweet and bitter; and when afterwards they come to read the Scripture in this diſpoſition, God knows, with what facility they turn it to what they already hold for as certain, as what they have ſeen with their eyes, and touch'd with their hands.

CXVII. Neither miracles, nor prophecies, nor Scriptures, nor tradition neceſſary to authorize and declare revelation.

According to this preſuppoſition, *viz.* truths neceſſary to Salvation make themſelves be felt by themſelves, *Jeſus Chriſt* needed nor miracles, nor prophecies: *Moſes* would have been believed tho' the Red Sea had not divided itſelf, tho' the rock had not pour'd out torrents of water at the firſt touch of the wand: they had nothing to do but to propoſe the Goſpel or the Law. No more had the Fathers of *Nice* and *Epheſus*, than to propoſe the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, provided they propoſed it with all the other myſteries; the reſearches into Scripture and tradition, which they made with ſo much care, were needleſs to them: on the bare expoſition of truth, Grace would have commanded the aſſent of all the faithful; God inſpires all he pleaſes into whom he pleaſes, and inſpiration of itſelf alone can do all things.

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This was not the thing doubted of, and the power of God was well known to *Catholicks*, no leſs than the neceſſity men ſtood in, of his inſpiration and Grace. The buſineſs was to find out the external means it makes uſe of, and whereto God has been pleaſed to annex it: one may feign or imagine that he is inſpired of God without being really ſo; but he cannot feign, nor imagine that the Sea divides itſelf, that the earth opens, the dead ariſe, the born-blind receive ſight, that he reads ſuch a thing in a book, and that ſuch and ſuch our Predeceſſors in the Faith have ſo underſtood it; that the whole Church believes, and always hath believed it ſo. The queſtion therefore in iſſue is, not whether thoſe external means be ſufficient without Grace and divine inſpiration, for none pretends that: but, in order to hinder men from feigning or imagining an inſpiration, whether it hath not been God's œconomy, and his uſual conduct to make his inſpiration walk hand in hand with certain means of fact, which men can neither feign in the air without being convicted of falſhood, nor imagine without illuſion. This is not the place to determine which be theſe facts, which theſe external means, which the motives of belief, ſince it is already certain, there are ſome ſuch, for the Miniſter hath agreed to it; it is, I ſay, agreed, not only that there are ſuch certain facts, but moreover, that thoſe certain facts may ſerve for an *Infallible* rule. For inſtance, according to him, 'tis a certain fact that the Chriſtian *Church* has always believed the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the ſoul's immortality, and the eternity of pains, with ſuch and ſuch other articles: but this certain fact, according to him, is an *Infallible* rule, and the beſt of all rules, not only to decide all theſe articles, but alſo to reſolve the

CXVIII. The Grace neceſſary to produce Faith, why annex'd to certain exterior means and matters fact.

obſcure and knotty queſtion concerning *Fundamentals*. We have ſeen the paſſages where the Miniſter teaches and proves this: but when he teaches thus, and allows the univerſal conſent to be *the moſt ſure rule* of judging theſe important and knotty queſtions; yet, in propoſing this external motive, which, according to him, implies *Demonſtration*, he did not aim at excluding Grace and inward Inſpiration: the queſtion therefore is, whether the authority of the *Church*, which join'd to the Grace of God is a ſufficient motive and *the moſt ſure of all rules* in certain points, may not be ſo in all; and whether, ſetting up an inſpiration excluſive of all theſe exterior means, and whereof you give yourſelf and your own ſentiment for ſurety to yourſelf and others, be not the beſt plea can poſſibly be put into the mouths of falſe Teachers, the ſureſt illuſion to drive headſtrong men to the utmoſt extremes.

S. n. 38. *& ſeq.*

CXIX. The language of the Miniſters looſens the reins to the people's licentiouſneſs.

After poſſeſſing the people with the notion of their being particularly inſpired by God; to complete the thing you need but alſo tell them, they may make themſelves guides as they think fit, may depoſe all thoſe that are appointed them, may ſet up others to act by ſuch powers as they judge meet to communicate. 'Tis what hath been done in the *Reformation*. Mr. *Claude* and Mr. *Jurieu* do alſo agree together in this Doctrine.

CXX. The language of the Catholick Church concerning the ſettlement of Paſtors.

The *Catholick* Church thus ſpeaks to the Chriſtian people. Ye are a People, a State, and a Society: but *Jeſus Chriſt* who is your King holds nothing of you, and his authority is derived from a higher ſource: naturally you have no more right to give him Miniſters than you have to appoint him your Prince; thus his Miniſters, who are your Paſtors, derive their deſcent ſtill higher as he himſelf does, and it's neceſſary they ſhould come by an order of his appointment.

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The kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt* is not of this world, nor can a compariſon be made betwixt this kingdom and thoſe of the earth, which is not defective; in a word, nature affords us nothing that bears a conformity with *Jeſus Chriſt* and his kingdom, nor have you any other right than that which you ſhall find in the laws or cuſtoms immemorial of your Society. Now theſe cuſtoms immemorial, to begin from the Apoſtolick times, are, that the Paſtors already conſtituted, ſhould conſtitute others: *chooſe ye*, ſay the Apoſtles, *and we ſhall appoint*; it was *Titus*'s buſineſs to appoint the Paſtors of *Crete*; and it was from *Paul* appointed by *Jeſus Chriſt*, that he received this power. *For this cauſe*, ſays he, *left I thee in Crete, that thou ſhouldſt reform the things that are wanting and ordain Prieſts in every City, as I had appointed thee.* Beſides, thoſe who flatter you with the notion that your conſent is abſolutely neceſſary to conſtitute your Paſtors, do not believe what they tell you, ſince they acknowledge thoſe of *England* for true Paſtors, tho' the people hath had no ſhare in their election. The example of St. *Mathias*, extraordinarily choſen by a divine lot, ought not to be made a precedent, nay, even then, all was not left to the people, for *Peter*, already eſtabliſh'd Paſtor by *Jeſus Chriſt*, held the aſſembly: neither was it election that conſtituted *Mathias*; it was heaven which declared itſelf. Every where elſe, the authority of conſtituting is given to Paſtors already conſtituted: the power, which they have from above, is render'd ſenſible by the impoſition of hands, a ceremony reſerved to their order. 'Tis thus that Paſtors follow ſucceſſively one another: *Jeſus Chriſt*, who appointed the firſt, hath ſaid that he would always be with thoſe to whom they ſhould tranſmit their power;

Acts vi. 3. 6. 7.

Tit. i. 5.

ye cannot have Paſtors any where but in this ſucceſſion, nor any more ought ye to apprehend its failing, than that the *Church* herſelf, preaching, and the Sacraments, ſhould fail.

CXXI. Language of the *Reformation*.

Thus ſpeaks the *Church*, nor do the people preſume beyond what is given them: but the *Reformation* ſpeaks to them the quite contrary; In you, ſays ſhe, is the ſource of celeſtial power; ye may not only preſent, but conſtitute your Paſtors. Should proofs of this power, in the people, be required from the Scriptures; ſhe would be at a ſtand. To exempt herſelf from this task, ſhe tells the people that it is a natural right of all Societies; ſo that, to enjoy it, there is no need of Scripture, it being ſufficient that Scripture hath not recall'd this right allow'd by nature. The turn is cunning, I muſt own; but beware of it, ye people, who are fed with this deluſion! to make yourſelves a Lord on earth, it ſuffices to acknowledge him for ſuch, and every man carries this power in his own will. But the caſe is not the ſame in making yourſelves a *Chriſt*, a Saviour, a celeſtial King, and appointing him his Miniſters. And will ye then indeed, ye the people, impoſe your hands on them on being told it appertains to you to appoint them? They dare not: but are again incouraged, when aſſured, this ceremony of impoſition of hands is not neceſſary. What, is it not ſufficient to judge it neceſſary, that you ſo often find it in Scripture, and do not find, either in Scripture or in all tradition, that ever Paſtor was made any other way, no, not one but was made by other Paſtors? No matter, do it nevertheleſs, O people! believe ye that the power of looſing and binding, of appointing and rejecting, is in you, and that your Paſtors have no power but as your repreſentatives; that the authority of their Synods flows

flows from you, that they are no more than your delegates; believe, I ſay, all theſe things, altho' you find not a word thereof in Scripture; and believe beyond every thing elſe, that, when you ſhall think yourſelves inſpired by God to reform the *Church*, whenſoever you ſhall be aſſembled in whatſoever way, you have power to do with your Paſtors juſt what you pleaſe, none having right to deprive you of this liberty, it being derived from nature. Thus is the *Reformation* preach'd; thus is *Chriſtianity* deſtroy'd root and branch and the way paved for *Antichriſt*.

CXXII. The Sects iſſuing from the Reformation proofs of her evil conſtitution. Compariſon of the ancient Church ill-alledged. Hiſtory of *Calvin* 1. *p. ch.* IV.

With ſuch maxims and ſuch a ſpirit (for altho' it ſhoots out more manifeſt in our days, the root was always the ſame in the *Reformation*) it is no longer to be wonder'd, that we have ſeen it from its firſt origin run from change to change, productive of ſo many Sects, of ſo many kinds. Mr. *Jurieu* hath had the face to anſwer, that herein, as in all other things, it reſembles the primitive Church. In good truth, this is too notoriouſly abuſing the people's credulity and the venerable name of the *primitive* Church. The Sects, which divided from her, were not the conſequence, or natural effect, of her conſtitution. Two kinds of Sects did ariſe in primitive Chriſtianity; ſome purely *Heathen* in their foundation, as that of the *Valentinians*, the *Simonians*, the *Manicheans*, and others of that ſtamp which enter'd themſelves in appearance, on the liſt of Chriſtians only to ſet themſelves off with the great name of *Jeſus Chriſt*; nor have theſe Sects any thing in common with thoſe of the latter ages. The other Sectaries for the moſt part were Chriſtians, which, unable to bear the loftineſs, and as I may ſay, the whole weight of Faith, ſought to eaſe reaſon now of one article, then of another: thus ſome deprived *Chriſt*

of his *Divinity*; others, unable to unite the *Divinity* and *Humanity*, mutilated, as it were, in divers ways both one and the other. Againſt the like rocks ſplit the proud ſpirit of *Martin Luther*. He ſunk in reconciling Grace and Free-will, which in truth is a grand myſtery: he kept no compaſs in matter of Predeſtination, and no longer ſaw any thing for men but a fatal and inevitable neceſſity, wherein good and evil are equally comprehended. We have ſeen how theſe extravagant maxims produced thoſe of the *Calviniſts* ſtill more extravagant. When laying aſide all temper, by carrying to extremes Predeſtination and Grace, men fell into ſuch viſible exceſſes as were no longer to be ſupported: the horror they conceived thereof caſt them into the oppoſite extreme; and from *Luther*'s exceſs who went beyond bounds with Grace (however incredible it may ſeem) they paſs'd to the exceſs of the *Demipelagians* who deſtroy it. Whence have we the *Arminians*, who in our days have produced the *Pajoniſts*, *Pelagians* compleat, whoſe author was Mr. *Pajon* the late Miniſter of *Orleans*. On the other ſide, the ſame *Luther*, daſht at the energy of theſe words, *This is my Body*, *This is my Blood*, could not find in his heart to reject the *Real Preſence*; but at the ſame time was reſolved, in compliance with human ſenſe, to rid it of the change of *Subſtance*. Things ſtopt not there, and the *Real Preſence* was ſoon aſſaulted. Human ſenſe took a pleaſure in its own inventions, and its exceptions being ſatisfied with regard to one myſtery ſtood up for the ſame conceſſion in all the reſt. As *Zuinglius* and his followers pretended that the *Real Preſence* was a remnant of *Popery* ſtill to be *Reformed* in *Lutheraniſm*, the *Socinians* now a days ſay the ſame of the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*; and

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theſe great myſteries, which had ſtood free from all inſult of Hereſy for twelve hundred years, are enter'd on the footing of diſputable points, in an age, when all kind of novelties think they have a right to ſhew their heads.

CXXIII. *Socinians* united with the *Anabaptiſts*, and both of them deriving their origin from *Luther* and *Calvin*.

We have ſeen the illuſions of the *Anabaptiſts*, and are ſenſible, it was by following the principles of *Luther* and the reſt of the *Reformers*, that they rejected *Baptiſm* without immerſion, and Infant-Baptiſm; for this reaſon that they did not find them in the *Scripture*, where they were made believe, all was contain'd. The *Unitarians* or *Socinians* united with them, yet not ſo as to keep within the limits of their maxims, becauſe the principles they had borrow'd from the *Reformers*, led them much further.

Mr. *Jurieu* remarks that they came forth, a long while ſince the *Reformation*, from the midſt of the Church of *Rome*. Where is the wonder! *Luther* and *Calvin* came forth from her as well as they. The queſtion is, whether the conſtitution of the Church of *Rome* was the cauſe of theſe innovations, and not rather, the new Church-frame ſet up by the *Reformers*. Now this queſtion is eaſy to decide by the hiſtory of *Socinianiſm*. In 1545, and in the years ſubſequent to this date, twenty years after that *Luther* had removed the bounds ſet by our fore-fathers, when all minds were in a ferment, and the world, teeming with novelty from his diſputes, was always ready to bring forth ſome ſtrange off-ſpring, *Lelio Socini* and his companions held their clandeſtine conventicles in *Italy* againſt the *Divinity* of the Son of God. *George Blandrate* and *Fauſto Socini*, *Lelio*'s nephew, maintain'd this Doctrine in 1558, and in 1573, and form'd the Party. By the ſame method employ'd by *Zuinglius* to elude theſe words, *This is my Body*, the

Vid. Bibli. Anti-Trinit.

the *Socinian*'s and their followers eluded thoſe by which *Chriſt* is call'd God. If *Zuinglius* believed himſelf forced to the *figurative* interpretation by the impoſſibility of comprehending a human Body whole and intire every where that the *Euchariſt* was diſtributed, the *Unitarians* believed, they had the ſame right over all the other *Myſteries* equally incomprehenſible; and after it had been ſet them for a rule to underſtand *figuratively* thoſe paſſages of Scripture, which bore hard on human reaſoning, they did but extend this rule to whatſoever the mind of man had to ſuffer the like violence from. To theſe evil diſpoſitions introduced by the *Reformation*, let us join the general foundations it had laid, the *Authority* of the Church deſpiſed, the *Succeſſion* of Paſtors held for nothing, *precedent ages* impeach'd of error, the *Fathers* themſelves baſely handled, all fences laid open, and human curioſity abandon'd intirely to itſelf: what elſe could be the iſſue but what hath been ſeen, namely, an unbridled licentiouſneſs in all matters of Religion? But experience hath evidenced that theſe hardy Innovators ſaw not the leaſt poſſibility of ſettling amongſt us; 'twas to the Churches of the *Reformation* they betook themſelves; thoſe upſtart Churches, which, ſet in motion and ſtill giddy with their own changes, were ſuſceptible of all others. 'Twas in the boſom of theſe Churches, at *Geneva*, amongſt the *Switzers* and the *Poliſh Proteſtants*, that the *Unitarians* ſought a ſanctuary. Repulſed by ſome of theſe Churches, they raiſed themſelves a ſufficient number of diſciples amongſt the reſt of them, to make a Body apart. This, beyond queſtion, was their origin. You need but look into the Teſtament of *George Schoman* one of the *Unitarian* Chiefs, and the account given by *Andrew Wiſſonats*, *in what manner*

Teſt. Georg. Sch. & relat. Wiſſon. in

manner the Unitarians *ſeparated themſelves from the Reformed*, to be convinced, that this Sect was nothing but a progreſs of, and a ſequel from, the *Dogmata* of *Luther*, of *Calvin*, of *Zuinglius*, of *Menon*, the laſt of whom was one of the heads of the *Anabaptiſts*. There you'll find, all thoſe Sects were but *the firſt draught, and as it were, the dawn of the Reformation, and that* Anabaptiſm *join'd to* Socinianiſm, *is the mid-day*. *Biblioth. Anti-Trin. Sand. p.* 191. 209. *Ibid.*

CXXIV. Conſtitution of the Reformation how unlike to that of the primitive Church.

No longer therefore let them object to us the Sects of the ancient *Church*, and no longer brag of reſembling her. Never did the ancient *Church* vary in her Doctrine, never, in her *Confeſſions* of Faith, did ſhe ſuppreſs the truths which ſhe believed were reveal'd by God: ſhe never retouch'd her deciſions, never deliberated anew on matters once determin'd, never, no not once, propoſed new expoſitions of Faith, ſave when ſome new queſtion aroſe. But the *Reformation*, quite on the contrary, never could content herſelf: her *Creeds* have nothing that is certain; the *Decrees* of her Synods, nothing fix'd: her *Confeſſions* of Faith are confederacies and arbitrary contracts; what is an article of Faith amongſt them, is not ſo for all, nor always: they go apart by caprice and meet again by policy. When therefore Sects aroſe in the ancient *Church*, 'twas from the common and inveterate depravation of mankind; and when they now ariſe in the *Reformation*, 'tis from the novel and particular conſtitution of the Churches ſhe hath modell'd.

CXXV. A memorable inſtance of Variation in the Proteſtant Church of *Strasburg*.

To make this truth the more apparent, I ſhall chooſe for an example the Proteſtant Church of *Strasburg*, as one of the moſt learned of the *Reformation*, and by her propoſed, ever ſince the beginning, for a pattern of diſcipline to all the reſt. This great City was one of the firſt that fell

fell by *Luther*'s preaching, and did not think, at that time, of diſputing the *Real Preſence*. All the complaints made againſt her Senate were, that *it took away Images, and made Communion be given in both kinds*. It was in 1523, that by the means of *Bucer* and *Capito*, ſhe turn'd *Zuinglian*. After ſhe had for ſome years heard their invectives againſt the Maſs; without wholly aboliſhing it, and without a full aſſurance of its being evil, the ſenate decree'd *it ſhould be ſuſpended until it were ſhew'd a worſhip acceptable to God*. Here is a very new proviſion in matter of Faith; and tho' I had not mention'd that this Decree came from the *Senate*, it would eaſily have been underſtood that the aſſembly, where it was made, was nothing leſs than *Eccleſiaſtical*. The Decree paſs'd in 1529. The ſame year, thoſe of *Straſburg* having never been able to agree with the *Lutherans*, join'd in a league with the *Swiſs* who were *Zuinglians* like themſelves. So far did they carry *Zuinglius*'s notion and their hatred of the *Real* Preſence, as to refuſe to ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of *Ausburg* in 1530, and to make themſelves a particular Confeſſion, which we have ſeen under the name of the Confeſſion of *Straſburg*, or of the four Towns. The very next year, they ſhuffled ſo much and with ſo much art on this ſubject, as to get themſelves comprehended in the league of *Smalkald*, from which the reſt of the *Sacramentarians* were excluded. But they went ſtill further in 1536, ſince they ſubſcribed the *Wittemberg*-agreement, wherein, as we have ſeen, was confeſſed the *Subſtantial* Preſence and the Communion of the true Body and true Blood in the unworthy, altho' void of Faith. Thereby they paſs'd over inſenſibly to *Luther*'s ſentiment, and from that time were counted among the defenders of the Confeſſion of

Sleid. lib. IV. *fol.* 60.

Sleid. lib. VI. *fol.* 93.

Sleid. Ibid. 100.

Ibid. VIII. *f.* 104.

S. l. III. *n.* 3.

Sleid. VIII. 125.

S. l. IV. *n.* 23.

Hoſp. 2. *part.* *An.* 1536.

of *Ausburg* which they ſubſcribed. They declared neverthleſs in 1548, that this was without departing from their firſt *Confeſſion*, which, altho' formerly it had made them reject that of *Ausburg*, was found conformable to it now. In this while *Strasburg* was ſo wedded to the agreement of *Wittemberg* and the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, that *Peter Martyr* and *Zanchius*, the two greateſt men at that time of the *Sacramentarians*, were forced at length to withdraw from that City; one for refuſing to ſubſcribe the agreement, and the other for having ſubſcribed the *Confeſſion* with a reſtriction; ſo zealous were they become at *Straſburg* for the *Real* Preſence. In 1598, this City ſubſcribed the book of *Concord*; and after having been for ſo long a time the chief as it were of thoſe Cities that oppoſed the *Real* Preſence, ſhe ſtretch'd her *Confeſſion*, inſpite of *Sturmius*, to the prodigious tenet of *Ubiquity*. The Cities of *Linden* and *Memmingen*, formerly her aſſociates in the hatred of the *Real* Preſence, follow'd this example. At this time the ancient *Agenda* was changed, and *Marbachius*'s book was printed at *Strasburg*, in which he maintain'd that *Jeſus Chriſt, before his Aſcenſion, was in heaven as to his humanity; that this viſible Aſcenſion was nothing at bottom but an appearance; that the heaven wherein Jeſus Chriſt's humanity was received, contain'd not only God and all the Saints, but moreover all the devils and all the damn'd*; and that Jeſus Chriſt was, according to *his human nature, not only in the Bread and Wine of the Supper, but alſo in all the pots and all the glaſſes.* To theſe extremities were men driven, when forſaking the ſure guidance of Church-authority, they gave themſelves up to human opinions like to a changeable and impetuous wind.

Hoſp. Ibid. An. 1548. *f.* 203.

Hoſp. Ibid. An. 1556. *&* 1563.

Hoſp. Conc. diſcors. c. 56. *p.* 278.

Ibid. fol. 99.

If

CXXVI. Conſtancy of the *Catholick* Church.

If now, to the variations and giddineſs of theſe new Churches, you oppoſe the conſtancy and gravity of the *Catholick* Church, it will eaſily be judged where it is the *Holy Ghoſt* preſides; and becauſe I neither can, nor ought to relate in this work, all the judgments ſhe hath paſs'd in matters of Faith, that uniformity and ſteddineſs I commend her for, ſhall be made appear in thoſe very articles wherein we have ſeen the inconſtancy of our *Reformed*.

CXXVII. Example in the queſtion mov'd by *Berengarius* concerning the *Real* Preſence. *S. l.* IV. *n.* 32.

The firſt who made a Sect in the *Church*, and dared to condemn her in regard to the *Real* Preſence, was unqueſtionably *Berengarius*. What our adverſaries ſay of *Ratramnus* is nothing leſs than a certain fact as above ſeen, and tho' it were granted that *Ratramnus* favour'd them (which is falſe) an ambiguous author, by all of them made to ſpeak in behalf of their ſeveral opinions, would be in no-wiſe proper to make a Sect. I ſay the ſame of *John Scot*, whoſe error was perſonal and had no continued ſucceſſion.

CXXVIII The Church's behaviour in regard of Innovators.

The *Church* does not always anathematize riſing errors; nor does ſhe cenſure them as long as there are hopes they will vaniſh of themſelves, nay, often fears rendering them famous by her anathema's. Thus *Artemon*, and ſome others who had denied *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Divinity before *Paul* of *Samoſata*, drew not ſuch ſignal condemnations on themſelves as he did, they not being judged capable of raiſing a Sect. As for *Berengarius*, certain it is, he attack'd openly the *Church*'s Faith, and had diſciples of his own name like other Hereſiarchs, altho' his Hereſy was ſoon extinguiſh'd.

CXXIX. Beginning of *Berengarius*'s Sect, and his con-

It appear'd about the year 1030, not but that we have already remark'd, ſome years before, even from the year 1017, the *Real* Preſence manifeſtly impugn'd by the Hereticks of *Orleans*

Orleans which were *Manicheans*. Such were the firſt authors of that Doctrine, one article of which was maintain'd by *Berengarius*. But as that Sect kept conceal'd, the *Church* was ſurpriſed at this novelty, yet not much diſturb'd with it at that time. 'Twas againſt *Berengarius* that the firſt deciſion was made on this ſubject in 1052, in a Council of a hundred and thirteen Biſhops call'd together at *Rome* from all ſides by *Nicholas* II. *Berengarius* ſubmitted himſelf, and the firſt who made a Sect of the *Sacramentarian* Hereſy, was the firſt alſo that condemn'd it.

demnation. *S. l.* xi. *n.* 17. *& ſeq.*

Concil. Rom. ſub. Nic. II. *An.* 1059. *T.* ix. *Con. Lab. Guit. lib.* III. *T.* XVIII.

No body is ignorant of that famous *Confeſſion* of Faith which begins, *Ego Berengarius*, where this Hereſiarch acknowledges, *that the Bread and the Wine which are placed on the Altar, after Conſecration are not only the Sacrament but alſo the true Body and the true Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and are ſenſibly touch'd by the hands of the Prieſt broken and bruiſed betwixt the teeth of the faithful, not only in Sacrament, but in truth.*

Bib. P. P. max. p. 462. &c.

CXXX. Firſt Confeſſion of Faith required of *Berengarius*.

There were none but underſtood, that the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* was broken in the Euchariſt in the ſame ſenſe that we ſay, a man is torn, he is wet, when the cloaths he actually wears are torn or wet. When his cloaths are not on him, we uſe not the ſame way of ſpeaking: ſo that the meaning was, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was as truly under the *Species*, which are broken and eaten, as we are truly in the cloaths we wear. It was ſaid moreover, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is *ſenſibly* received and touch'd, becauſe he is in Perſon and in Subſtance under the ſenſible *Species* wich are touch'd and received, and all this imported that *Jeſus Chriſt* is received and eaten, not in his proper *Species* and under the exterior of Man, but under a foreign *Species*, and under the exterior of Bread and Wine. And if the

Church

Church ſaid alſo in a certain ſenſe, that the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is broken, it was not from her being ignorant that in another ſenſe, it was not ſo: juſt as when ſaying in a certain ſenſe, we are torn and wet when our cloaths are ſo; we are ſtill ſenſible at the ſame time that in another ſenſe, we are neither one nor the other, as to our perſons. Thus the Fathers juſtly ſaid to *Berengarius* what we ſtill ſay, *that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt is all intire in the whole Sacrament, and all intire in every particle thereof; every where the ſame Jeſus Chriſt always intire, inviolable and indiviſible, communicating himſelf without dividing himſelf, as the word to a whole audience, and as our ſoul to all our Members.* But what obliged the *Church* to ſay, after many Fathers and after St. *Chryſoſtom*, that the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is broken, was, that *Berengarius*, under pretext of doing honour to the Saviour of the world, was accuſtom'd to ſay: *God forbid that man may break with the tooth, or divide Jeſus Chriſt, in the ſame manner as we put under the tooth, and divide theſe things*, namely the Bread and Wine. The *Church* which always took care to combat, in Hereticks, the moſt preciſe and ſtrongeſt words they made uſe of to explain their error, oppoſed againſt *Berengarius* the contradictory of that propoſition he had advanced, and placed in ſome manner the *Real* Preſence under the eyes of Chriſtians by ſaying to them, what they received in the Sacrament, after Conſecration, was as really the Body and the Blood as, before Conſecration, it was really Bread and Wine.

Guit. lib. 1. adv. Beren. Ibi. p. 443. 449.

Ber. apud. Guit. Ibid. p. 441.

CXXXI. *Berengarius*'s ſecond Confeſſion of Faith,

Beſides, when the faithful were told that the Bread and Wine of the *Euchariſt* were in truth the Body and the Blood, they were accuſtom'd to underſtand, not that they were ſo by their nature,

nature, but became ſuch by the Conſecration: ſo that the change of *Subſtance* was contain'd in that expreſſion, altho' what principally was aim'd at by it, was to render the *Preſence* ſenſible, which likewiſe was principally impugn'd. Some while after 'twas perceptible that *Berengarius* and his Diſciples varied. For we learn from authors of thoſe times that, in the courſe of the diſpute, they acknowledged in the *Euchariſt* the Subſtance of the Body and Blood, but with that of Bread and Wine, employing even the term of *Impanation* and that of *Invination*, and aſſerting that *Jeſus Chriſt* was, as I may ſay, *Impanate* in the Euchariſt, as he became *Incarnate* in the Virgin's womb. This, ſays *Guitmondus*, was as a laſt intrenchment to *Berengarius*; nor was it without difficulty that this ſubtlety of the Sect was diſcover'd. But the *Church*, which always follows Hereticks ſtep by ſtep to condemn their errors as they diſcloſe them, after having ſo well eſtabliſh'd the *Real* Preſence in *Berengarius*'s firſt Confeſſion of Faith, propoſed alſo another to him in which the change of *Subſtance* was expreſs'd more diſtinctly. He confeſſed therefore under *Gregory* VII. in a Council held at *Rome*, which was the ſixth held under that Pope in 1079. *That the Bread and Wine, which are placed on the Altar, by the myſtery of holy prayer and the words of Jeſus Chriſt, are ſubſtantially changed into the true, life-giving, and proper Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. And the ſame is ſaid of the Blood. It's ſpecified that the Body here received, is the ſame that *was born of the Virgin, that was nail'd to the Croſs, that is ſeated at the right hand of the Father, and the Blood is the ſame that flow'd from his ſide*; and to the end no room might be left for equivocation, whereby Hereticks delude mankind, it's added, this is done *not in*

where the change of Subſtance is more clearly explain'd, and why.

Guit. Ibid. *p.* 441. 442. 462. 463. 464.

Alg. de Sac. Corp. & Sang. Præf. T. xxi. *p.* 251.

Ibid.

Conc. Rom. VI. *ſub Greg.* VII. *T.* X. *Conc. Lab. An.* 1079.

ſign and in virtue by a ſimple Sacrament, but in the propriety of nature and the truth of Subſtance.

CXXXII. The change of Subſtance was oppoſed to *Berengarius* from the beginning. *Ibid. T.* xviii. *p.* 417.

Berengarius again ſubſcribed, and this ſecond time condemn'd himſelf: but he was now ſo hamper'd, that no room for equivocation was left him, no ſubterfuge for his error. And if the change of Subſtance was here inſiſted on more preciſely, 'twas not that the *Church* had before in the leaſt doubted of it, ſince, from the beginning of the diſpute againſt *Berengarius*, *Hugo* of *Langres* had ſaid, *that the Bread and Wine did not remain in their firſt nature, but paſs'd into another; that they were changed into the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt by the Omnipotence of God, againſt which* Berengarius *oppoſed himſelf in vain.* And as ſoon as ever this Heretick had declared himſelf, *Adelman* Biſhop of *Breſſe* his ſchool-fellow and the firſt diſcoverer of his error warn'd him, *that he ſtood in oppoſition to the ſenſe of the whole Catholick Church, and that it was as eaſy for Jeſus Chriſt to change the Bread into his Body, as to change Water into Wine, and create light by his word alone.* 'Twas therefore a conſtant Doctrine of the *univerſal* Church, not that the Bread and Wine contain'd the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but that they became his Body and Blood by a change of Subſtance.

Ibid. p. 438. 439.

CXXXIII A certain fact: that the Faith oppoſed to *Berengarius* was that of the whole Church and of all Chriſtians. *Aſcel. Ep. ad Ber. Guit. Ibid.*

Nor was it *Adelman* only that reproached *Berengarius* with the novelty and ſingularity of his Doctrine: all authors unanimouſly upbraid him as with a certain fact, that the Faith he impugn'd was that of the whole univerſe; that he ſcandalized the whole *Church* by the novelty of his Doctrine; that to come over to his Faith, it was neceſſary to believe there was no ſuch thing as a *Church* on earth; that there was not ſo much as one Town, no, not one Village of his opinion; that the *Greeks*, the *Armenians*, in a word, all

all Christians had, in this regard, the same Faith with those of the *West*; so that, nothing could be more ridiculous than to censure, as incredible, what was believed by the whole world. Nor did *Berengarius* deny this fact, but like all Hereticks answer'd disdainfully, that wise men ought not to follow *the sentiments, or rather the follies of the Vulgar.* But *Lanfrank* and the rest of them remonstrated, that what he call'd the Vulgar, was the whole Clergy and all the people of the universe; and upon the Certainty of this fact wherein he fear'd no contradiction, he concluded, that if *Berengarius*'s Doctrine were true, *the inheritance promised to Jesus Christ was made void, and his promises annihilated*; lastly, that *the Catholick Church was no more*; *and, if she was no more, she never had been.*

lib. III. *p.* 462. 463. *Lantfranc. de Corp & Sang. Dom. Ibid. c.* 2. 4. 5. 22. *p.* 765. 766. 776. *Ibid. Ibid. c.* 4. *p.* 765. *Ibid. cap.* 22. *p.* 776.

CXXXIV. All innovators always find the Church in a full and constant possession of that Doctrine they attack.

A remarkable fact likewise may be here observed; namely, that *Berengarius*, like all other Hereticks, found the *Church* firm and universally united in the *Dogma* which he impugn'd; 'tis what always hath happen'd in like cases. Of all the *Dogmata* which we believe, not so much as one can be named, which was not found invincibly and universally establish'd when the contrary *Dogma* began to make a Sect; and wherein the *Church* hath not remain'd, if possible, still more fix'd from that very time: a thing alone sufficient to make palpable the perpetual succession and immutability of her Faith.

CXXXV. There was no need of an universal Council against *Berengarius*.

No more necessity was there of convening an universal Council against *Berengarius* than against *Pelagius*; the Decisions of the Holy *See*, and of the Councils then held, were unanimously received by the whole *Church*, and the Heresy of *Berengarius*, quickly crush'd, found no longer any sanctuary but with the *Manicheans*.

CXXXVI Decision of the great Council of *Lateran*. The word *Transubstantiation* pitch'd upon, and why. *S. l.* XI. *n.* 31. 32. &c.

It hath been seen in what manner these *Manicheans* began to spread themselves all over the *West*, filling it with their blasphemies against the *Real* Presence, and at the same time, with their equivocating language, on purpose to conceal themselves from the *Church* whose assemblies they were determin'd to frequent. To the end therefore that she might defeat these equivocations, the *Church* thought herself obliged to employ some precise terms, as she had done formerly so much to the purpose against the *Arians* and *Nestorians*; which she did in this manner under *Innocent* III. in the great Council of *Lateran* in the year of our Lord, 1215. *There is one only universal Church of the faithful out of which there is no Salvation, in which Jesus Christ is himself the Sacrificer and the Victim, whose Body and Blood are truly contain'd under the species of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, the Bread and Wine being transubstantiated, one into the Body, and the other into the Blood of our Lord by the divine power, to the end that, for accomplishing the mystery of Unity, we should take of his what he himself took of ours.* No-body but sees, that this new word *Transubstantiation* here employ'd, without adding any thing to the idea of a change of Substance which we have seen already own'd against *Berengarius*, did but declare it by an expression, the bare signification of which served for a mark to the faithful against the subtilties and equivocations of Hereticks, as did heretofore the *Homoousion* of *Nice*, and the *Theotocos* of *Ephesus*. Such was the decision of the Council of *Lateran*, the greatest and the most numerous that ever had been held, its authority being so great, that posterity hath call'd it by excellence, the *General* Council.

Conc. Late. IV. *T.* XI. *Conc. Lab. p.* 143.

By

By theſe Deciſions may be ſeen, with what brevity, with what preciſion, with what uniformity the *Church* explains herſelf. Hereticks, always in ſearch after their Faith, walk groping in the dark, and vary. The *Church*, which always carries her Faith intirely form'd in her heart, ſeeks only to explain it without intricacy and ambiguity; for which reaſon her Deciſions are never clogg'd with a multiplicity of words. Beſides, as ſhe looks on the ſublimeſt difficulties unſurpriſed, ſhe propoſes them without reſerve, convinced that ſhe ſhall always find in her children, a mind ready to captivate itſelf, and a docility capable of the whole weight of the divine myſtery. Hereticks, who ſeek to indulge human ſenſe and the animal part unſuſceptible of the divine ſecret, take great pains to bend the Scripture to their taſte and fancy. On the contrary, the *Church* only thinks of taking it in its plain ſenſe. She hears our Saviour ſay, *This is my Body*, and cannot apprehend that what he calls *Body* ſo abſolutely, ſhould be any thing elſe than the Body itſelf; wherefore ſhe believes without difficulty, that it is the Body in *Subſtance*, becauſe the Body in *Subſtance* is nothing elſe but the true and proper Body; thus the word *Subſtance* enters naturally into her expreſſions. But then *Berengarius* never thought of uſing that word, and *Calvin* who uſed it, tho' agreeing in the main with *Berengarius*, hath thereby made it but manifeſt, that the figure which *Berengarius* admitted, did not anſwer the whole expectation nor the whole idea of a Chriſtian.

CXXXVII The plainneſs of the Church's Deciſions.

The ſame ſimplicity, which made the *Church* believe the Body preſent in the Sacrament, hath made her believe that it was the whole *Subſtance* of it, *Jeſus Chriſt* not having ſaid, *My Body is here*, but, *This is it*; and as it is not ſo by its

nature, it becomes, and is made ſo by the divine power. This is what imports a converſion, a transformation, a change; a word ſo natural to this myſtery, that it could not fail taking place in *Berengarius*'s caſe, and the more ſo, as it was every where already found in the Liturgies and Fathers.

cxxxviii Deciſion of the Council of *Trent*. *Dur. Troarn. T.* xviii. *Bib. P. P. p.* 422. *Guit. Ibid.* 462. &c.

Theſe reaſons, ſo plain and natural, were oppoſed to *Berengarius*. We have no other even at this day to oppoſe againſt *Calvin* and *Zuinglius*: we have received them from *Catholicks* that wrote againſt *Berengarius*, as they had received them from thoſe who preceded them; nor hath the Council of *Trent* added any thing to the Deciſions of our fore-fathers, unleſs what was neceſſary for a further elucidation of what *Proteſtants* ſtudied to perplex and darken, as eaſily will be perceived by thoſe who have the leaſt knowledge of the hiſtory of our controverſies.

S. n. 131. *S. l.* 111. *n.* 51. & *ſeq.* as far as 56. *l.* VI. *n.* 26. 31. & *ſeq.*

For it was neceſſary, for inſtance, to explain more diſtinctly, that *Jeſus Chriſt* render'd himſelf preſent, not only in the actual uſe of the Sacrament as is the *Lutheran*'s opinion, but immediately after the Conſecration, becauſe it is not there ſaid *This ſhall be*, but *This is*; which nevertheleſs was in the main, what had been formerly ſaid againſt *Berengarius* when the Preſence was fix'd, not to the Manducation, or to the Faith of him who received the Sacrament, but to the *ſacred prayer and the word of our Saviour*; whereby alſo did appear, not the adoration only, but likewiſe the truth of the oblation and ſacrifice, as we have ſeen confeſs'd by the *Proteſtants*: ſo that, when all is ſaid, there remains no difficulty but in the *Real* Preſence, wherein we have the advantage to diſcover, that thoſe even, who in fact depart from our Doctrine, do always endeavour

S. l. ix. *n.* 26. 27. 28. & *ſeq.* as far as *n.* 75.

endeavour (ſo ſacred is it!) to draw as near to it as they are able.

CXXXIX Reaſon for the Council of *Conſtance*'s Deciſion touching Communion under one Kind.

The Deciſion of *Conſtance* in approbation of and for retaining Communion under one Kind, is one of thoſe, wherein our adverſaries think they have the moſt advantage. But in order to be convinced of the gravity and conſtancy of the *Church* in this decree, there needs but to reflect that the Council of *Conſtance*, when they paſs'd it, had found the cuſtom of communicating under one Kind eſtabliſh'd, beyond contradiction, many ages before. The caſe was much the ſame with that of Baptiſm by *Immerſion*, as clearly grounded on Scripture as Communion under both Kinds could be, and which, nevertheleſs, had been changed into *Infuſion* with as much eaſe and as little contradiction, as Communion under one Kind was eſtabliſh'd; ſo that the ſame reaſon ſtood for retaining one as the other. *Conc. Conſt. Seſſ.* VIII.

CXL. Reaſons determining the maintenance of the ancient cuſtom.

'Tis a fact moſt certainly avow'd in the *Reformation*, altho' at preſent ſome will cavil at it, that *Baptiſm* was inſtituted by immerſing the whole Body into water; that *Jeſus Chriſt* received it ſo, and cauſed it to be ſo given by his Apoſtles; that the Scripture knows no other *Baptiſm* than this; that antiquity ſo underſtood and practiſed it; that the word itſelf implies it, to baptize being the ſame as to dip: this fact, I ſay, is unanimouſly acknowledged by all the Divines of the *Reformation*, nay, by the *Reformers* themſelves and thoſe even who beſt underſtood the *Greek* language and the ancient cuſtoms as well of the *Jews* as *Chriſtians*; by *Luther*, by *Melanctbon*, by *Calvin*, by *Caſaubon*, by *Grotius*, by all the reſt, and lately even by *Jurieu* the moſt contradicting of all Miniſters. Nay, *Luther* has obſerved, that the *German* word ſignifying *Luth. de Sacr. Bapt. T.* 1. *Mel. loc. comm. c. de Bapt. Cal. Inſt.*

nifying Baptiſm, was derived from thence, and this Sacrament named *Tauf* from profundity or depth, becauſe the baptized were deeply plunged into water. If then any fact in the world can be deem'd certain, 'tis this ſame: but 'tis not leſs certain, even by all theſe authors, that *Baptiſm* without immerſion is valid, and that the *Church* is in the right to retain the cuſtom. It is therefore plain, in a parallel fact, what ought to be our judgment as to the Decree of Communion under one Kind, and that all which is oppoſed againſt it, is nothing but chicane.

IV. 15. 19. &c. *Caſau. not. in. Matth.* iii. 6. *Grot. Ep.* 336. *Jur. Syſt. l.* III. *ch.* 20. *p.* 583..

And indeed, if there was reaſon to maintain *Baptiſm* without *Immerſion*, becauſe, in rejecting it, 'twould follow, there had been no ſuch thing as *Baptiſm* for many ages; by conſequence, no ſuch thing as a *Church*, it being impoſſible for the *Church* to ſubſiſt without the Subſtance of the Sacraments; no leſs impoſſible was it, without the Subſtance of the Supper. The ſame reaſon then ſubſiſted for maintaining Communion under one Kind, as for maintaining *Baptiſm* by infuſion; and the *Church*, in maintaining theſe two practices which tradition ſhew'd equally indifferent, did nothing elſe but, according to cuſtom, maintain againſt contentious Spirits that authority, whereon the Faith of the people did repoſe.

Whoever deſires to ſee more on this ſubject, may turn back to thoſe places of this hiſtory, where it is handled, and among others, to thoſe where may be ſeen, that Communion under one Kind was ſettled with ſo little contradiction, that it was not impugn'd by the greateſt enemies of the *Church*, not even by *Luther*, at the beginning.

S. l. II. 10. III. 60. 61. & *ſeq.* VII. 67. XI. 106. XIV. 114. 115. *S. n.* 43. 61.

CXLI. Queſtion about Juſtification.

Next to the queſtion of the *Euchariſt*, the principal one of our controverſies is that of *Juſtification*,

Juſtification, in relation to which the gravity of the *Church*'s Deciſions may be eaſily underſtood, in that ſhe did but repeat in the Council of *Trent*, what the Fathers, and St. *Auſtin* had decided formerly, when this queſtion was debated with the *Pelagians*.

CXLII. Inherent juſtice acknowledged on both ſides. Conſequence of this Doctrine. *S. l.* XIV. *n.* 43.

And in the firſt place it muſt be ſuppoſed, there is no queſtion betwixt us, whether or no a Sanctity and Juſtice infuſed into the ſoul by the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be acknowledged in man juſtified; for the qualities and infuſed habits are, as above-ſeen, confeſs'd by the Synod of *Dort*. The *Lutherans* are no leſs ſteady in defending them, and in a word, all *Proteſtants* are agreed, that by the Regeneration and Sanctification of the new man, a Sanctity and Juſtice is form'd in him like a permanent habit: the queſtion is, whether this Sanctity and this Juſtice be what juſtifies us in the ſight of God. But where is the difficulty of this? A Sanctity which does not make us Saints, a Juſtice which does not make us juſt, were a ſubtlety quite unintelligible. But a Sanctity and Juſtice form'd in us by Almighty God, and yet not pleaſing to him; or, if agreeable to him, not making that perſon in whom it's found agreeable to him, would be another nicety ſtill more unworthy the ſincerity of a Chriſtian.

CXLIII. The Church in the Council of *Trent* does but repeat her ancient Deciſions touching the notion of juſtifying Grace.

But after all, when the *Church* defin'd in the Council of *Trent*, that remiſſion of ſins was given us, not by a ſimple imputation of the Juſtice of *Jeſus Chriſt* outwardly, but by a Regeneration which changes and renews us inwardly; ſhe did but repeat what formerly ſhe had defined againſt the *Pelagians* in the Council of *Carthage*, *that children are truly baptized in the remiſſion of ſins, to the end that Regeneration*

Conc. Carth. cap. I. *Ibid. cap.* III. IV. V. *tion ſhould purify in them the ſin, which they contracted by generation.*

Conformably to theſe principles the ſame Council of *Carthage* underſtands by *juſtifying Grace, not only that which remits to us ſins committed, but that alſo which aſſiſts us to commit them no more*, not only *by enlightning* our minds, but alſo by *inſpiring charity* into our hearts, to the end that *we might fulfil God's commandments.* Now the Grace, which works theſe things, is not a ſimple imputation, but is alſo an emanation of the Juſtice of *Jeſus Chriſt.*: wherefore juſtifying Grace is a different thing from ſuch an imputation; and what was ſaid in the Council of *Trent*, is nothing but a repetition of the Council of *Carthage*, whoſe Decrees appear'd by ſo much the more inviolable to the Fathers at *Trent*, as the Fathers of *Carthage* were ſenſible, in propoſing them, they propoſed nothing elſe on this ſubject, but what *had always been approved of in the Catholick Church ſpread all the earth over.*

Ibid. c. IV.

CXLIV. Touching gratuity.

Our fore-fathers therefore did not believe, in order to deſtroy human glory and attribute all to *Jeſus Chriſt*, that it was neceſſary, either to take from Man that Juſtice which was in him, or to diminiſh the value, or deny the effect thereof; but believed, they ought to acknowledge it as proceeding from God only by a gratuitous bounty, and this alſo was what the *Trent* Fathers acknowledged after them, as above-ſeen in many places of this work.

S. l. III. *n.* 20. & *ſeq.*

'Tis in this ſenſe that the Catholick Church had always confeſs'd after St. *Paul*, that *Jeſus Chriſt is made unto us wiſdom*, not by ſimply imputing to us that wiſdom which is in him, but by infuſing into our ſouls that wiſdom which flows

1 *Cor.* i. 29. 30. 31.

flows from his; that he is *unto us Juſtice and Sanctity* in the ſame ſenſe, that he is *Redemption*, not by covering our crimes only, but by defacing them intirely by his holy Spirit pour'd into our hearts; moreover, that we are *made the Juſtice of God in Jeſus Chriſt*, in a manner more intimate than *Jeſus Chriſt had been made to be ſin for us, ſince God had made him ſin*, to wit, the victim for ſin, by treating him as a ſinner tho' he were juſt; whereas, he *had made us the Juſtice of God in him*, not by leaving us our ſins, and merely treating us as juſt men, but by taking from us our ſins and by rendering us juſt. 2 *Cor.* v. 21.

CXLV. Touching the preparations to Grace, that they all proceed from Grace.

In order to make this Grace, inherent in us, abſolutely gratuitous, our fore-fathers did not believe that it was neceſſary to ſay, one cannot diſpoſe himſelf for them by good deſires, nor obtain them by prayers, but they believed, theſe good deſires and prayers were themſelves inſpired of God; and 'tis what the Council of *Trent* has done after their example, when it ſaid, that all our good *Diſpoſitions* came *from a preventing Grace*; that we could not *diſpoſe and prepare ourſelves* for Grace, but as we are *excited and aſſiſted by Grace itſelf*; that God is the ſource of all juſtice, and in this quality ought to be beloved; and that there was *no believing, hoping, loving, nor repenting as we ought, ſo that the Grace of Juſtification might be conferr'd upon us, without a preventing inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt.* Wherein this Holy Council hath done no more than repeat what we read in the Council of *Orange*, viz. *that we can neither will, nor believe, nor think, nor love as we ought to do, and advantagiouſly, but by the inſpiration of preventing Grace*; that is to ſay, they would not diſpute either againſt Hereticks, or againſt Infidels, or even againſt Heathens, or in a word, againſt any others *Seſſ.* VI. *c.* V. VI. *Can.* 1. *Con. Ara.* II. *c.* 6. 7. 25.

others who imagine they love God, and who feel in effect inclinations ſo like to thoſe of the faithful: but without entering with them into an impoſſible diſcuſſion of the preciſe differences of their ſentiments from thoſe of the juſt, they were ſatisfied with defining, that what is perform'd without Grace, is not *as it ought to be*, nor agreeable to God, ſince *without Faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe him.*

Heb. xi. 6.

CXLVI. Touching the neceſſity of preſerving Free-will together with Grace.

If the Council of *Trent* in defending the Grace of God, hath at the ſame time maintain'd Free-will, this alſo was a faithful repetition of our fore-fathers ſentiments, when they defined, againſt the *Pelagians*, that Grace *deſtroy'd not Free-will, but ſet it at liberty, to the end that, of darken'd, it might become full of light; of ſick, healthy; of depraved, upright; of imprudent, provident and wiſe:* for which reaſon the Grace of God was call'd *an aid and a ſuccour of the Free-will*; by conſequence, ſomething which, far from deſtroying, conſerved and perfected it.

Auct. ſed. Apoſt. de grat. inter dec. Cœleſt. PP.

CXLVII. Touching the merit of good-works.

According to ſo pure a notion, far from fearing the word *merit*, which indeed naturally expreſs'd the dignity of good-works, our Fathers maintain'd it againſt the remnant of *Pelagians* in the ſame Council of *Orange*, by theſe words repeated in that of *Trent: the goodneſs of God is ſo great to all mankind, that what he gives us, he will even have to be our merit*; from whence it follows, as likewiſe the ſame Fathers of the Council of *Orange* have decided; *that all the works and merits of the Saints ought to be referr'd to God's glory, becauſe none can pleaſe him except by the things which he hath given.*

Conc. Ara. Conc. Trid. Seſſ. vi. 16.

Conc. Ara. 5.

Laſtly, if at *Trent* they did not fear to acknowledge, with a holy confidence, that eternal recompence is due to good-works, 'tis ſtill in conformity with, and on the ſame principles that

that our Fathers had ſaid in the ſame Council of *Orange, that merits do not prevent Grace, and that recompence is only due to good-works on account that Grace, which was not due, did precede them.* *Ibid. c.* 18.

CXLVIII. Touching the fulfilling of God's commandments.

By this means we find in the Chriſtian a true Juſtice, but which is given him by God together with his love, and which accordingly makes him accompliſh his commandments, wherein the Council of *Trent* likewiſe does but follow that rule of the Fathers of *Orange*: viz. *after having received Grace by Baptiſm, all the baptized, with the Grace and co-operation of Jeſus Chriſt, can and ought to fulfil what appertains to Salvation, if they will labour faithfully*; where theſe Fathers have united *Jeſus Chriſt*'s co-operating Grace with man's labour and faithful correſpondence, agreeably to that ſaying of St. *Paul, Yet not I, but the Grace of God with me.* *Conc. Trid. Seſſ.* vi. *can.* 11. *can.* 18. *cap.* 25. 1 *Cor.* xv. 10.

CXLIX. Touching the truth, and withal the imperfection of our Juſtice.

Notwithſtanding this opinion which we have of Chriſtian Juſtice, yet we do not believe that it is perfect and wholly irreprehenſible, ſince we place the principle part thereof in continually demanding the forgiveneſs of ſins: and if we believe theſe ſins, whereof the moſt juſt are obliged daily to implore forgiveneſs, do not hinder them from being truly juſt, the Council of *Trent* hath moreover taken this ſo neceſſary a Deciſion from the Council of *Carthage*, which declares, *that the Saints are they who ſay humbly and truly at the ſame time*, forgive us our treſpaſſes; *that the Apoſtle St.* James, *altho' holy and juſt, ſaid nevertheleſs*, we all offend in many things: *that* Daniel *alſo, tho' holy and juſt, yet did ſay*, we have ſinned, Whence it follows that ſuch ſins hinder not holineſs and juſtice, becauſe they hinder not the love of God from reigning in our hearts. *Cap.* 7. 8.

Now

CL. God accepts our good-works for the love of Jeſus Chriſt. *Ibid.*

Now if the Council of *Carthage*, on account of theſe ſins, will have us continually ſay to God, *enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for that no man living ſhall be juſtified in thy ſight*; we underſtand this, as doth that Council, of perfect Juſtice, without excluding from the juſt man a true Juſtice, acknowledging nevertheleſs, that it is alſo by an effect of a gratuitous bounty, and for the love of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that God, who could have ſet at as high a price as he pleaſed, to condemn'd perſons as we were, ſo great a good as life eternal, did not exact of us a righteouſneſs without blemiſh, and on the contrary, has conſented to judge us, not with extremity of rigour, but with a rigour temper'd and ſuited to our weakneſs, which obliged the Council of *Trent* to acknowledge, *that man hath not wherewith to glorify himſelf, but all his glory is in Chriſt Jeſus, in whom we live, in whom we merit, in whom we ſatisfy, doing worthy fruits of Penance which derive from him their virtue; by him are offer'd to his Father, and for the love of him are accepted by his Father.*

Seſſ. xiv. *c.* 8.

CLI. That the holy Fathers have deteſted no leſs than we, as a blaſphemy, the Doctrine which makes God equally predeſtinate to good and evil. *Conc. Arau. c.* 25.

The rock to be fear'd in celebrating the myſtery of Predeſtination, was the admiting it equally in reſpect of good and evil; and if the *Church* abhorr'd the crime of the pretended *Reformers* guilty of this exceſs, ſhe did but walk in the ſteps of the Council of *Orange* which pronounces an eternal *Anathema, with utter deteſtation, againſt thoſe who ſhould dare to ſay that man is predeſtinated to evil by the divine power*; and of the Council of *Valentia* deciding, in like manner, that *God by his fore-knowledge doth impoſe on no man the neceſſity of ſinning, but foreſees only what man would be by his own will, ſo that the wicked do not periſh on account that they had not the power of being good, but becauſe they would*

would not become good, or becauſe they would not remain in the Grace they had received. *Conc. Valent.* III. *c.* 2. *Ibid.* 5.

Thus when a queſtion has been once judged in the *Church*, as ſhe never fails to decide it according to the tradition of all paſt ages, ſo ſhould it happen to be moved again in ſucceeding times, you find the *Church*, after a thouſand or twelve hundred years, always in the ſame ſituation, always ready to oppoſe againſt the enemies of truth, the ſame Decrees, which the Holy *Apoſtolick* See and *Catholick* Unanimity had pronounced, without ever adding any thing thereto, ſave what is neceſſary againſt new errors.

CLII. The Church always found in the ſame ſituation.

To conclude what remains on the ſubject of juſtifying Grace, I find no Deciſion touching the Certainty of Salvation, becauſe as yet nothing had obliged the *Church* to pronounce on this point: yet none hath contradicted St. *Auſtin*, who teaches, that *this Certainty is not beneficial in this ſtate of temptation, in which aſſurance might produce pride*; which alſo extends itſelf, as is plain, to the Certainty one might have of preſent righteouſneſs, ſo that the *Catholick* Church, whilſt ſhe inſpires into her children ſo great a confidence as to exclude perturbation and trouble, yet leaves in them, after the example of the Apoſtles, the counterpoiſe of fear, and no leſs teaches man to diſtruſt himſelf, than to truſt abſolutely in God.

CLIII. Our Fathers have rejected as well as we, the Certainty of Salvation and righteouſneſs. *De correct. & grat. c.* 13. *de Civ. Dei.* xi. 12.

Infine, if all that has been ſeen granted in this work by our adverſaries, touching Juſtification and the merits of the Saints, be renew'd, 'twill intirely convince a man that there is not the leaſt occaſion to complain of the *Church*'s Doctrine. *Melanthon*, ſo zealous for this article, owns nevertheleſs that *it is eaſy to come to an agreement on both ſides*: what he ſeems moſt to inſiſt upon, is the Certainty of Juſtice; but every humble Chriſtian will eaſily reſt contented with the ſame Certainty

CLIV. *Melancthon* agrees that the article of Juſtification is eaſy to be reconciled. *S. l.* III. *n.* 25. & *ſeq.* VIII. 22. & *ſeq.*

Sent. Phil. Mel. de pace Ec. p. 10. *Bern. Serm.* 1. *de Sept.*

Certainty with reſpect to Juſtice, as to eternal Salvation: all the comfort man ought to have in this life, is that of excluding by hope, not deſpair only, but alſo trouble and anguiſh; nor is there any thing to reproach a Chriſtian with, who, aſſured on God's ſide, hath no longer any thing to fear or doubt but from himſelf.

CLV. The clearneſs of the Church's Deciſions. She cuts away the root of abuſes in regard of prayer to the Saints. *S. l.* XIII. XIV.

The Deciſions of the *Catholick* Church are not leſs clear and preciſe, than they are firm and laſting, always obviating whatever might give occaſion to the mind of man of going aſtray.

Honouring the *Saints* in her aſſemblies, was honouring God the Author of their ſanctity and bliſs; and demanding of them the partnerſhip of their prayers, was joining ourſelves to the Choirs of Angels, to the ſpirits of the perfectly juſt, and to the Church of the *firſt-born* which are in heaven. So holy a practice may be diſcover'd ever ſince the firſt ages, nor is the beginning of it to be diſcover'd there, ſince none can be then found who were noted for innovation in that regard. The thing moſt to be fear'd with reſpect to the ignorant was, leſt they ſhould make the *Invocation* of Saints too like to that of God, and their *Interceſſion* too like to that of *Jeſus Chriſt:* but the Council of *Trent* inſtructs us fully as to theſe two points, by warning us, that *the Saints pray*; the which places them at an infinite diſtance from him who *gives*; and that they pray, *through Jeſus Chriſt*, which places them infinitely beneath him, who is heard through himſelf.

Seſſ. XXV. *decr. de invoc. S. S.*

CLVI. Touching Images.

Setting up *Images*, is rendering ſenſible the myſteries and examples which ſanctify us. The thing to be fear'd in reſpect of the ignorant is, leſt they ſhould believe that the divine Nature might be repreſented, or render'd preſent in *Images*; or however, leſt they ſhould look upon them as fill'd with ſome virtue, for which they

are

are honour'd; theſe are the three characters of *Idolatry*. But the Council hath rejected them in plain terms; ſo that, it is not lawful to attribute to one Image more virtue than to another, nor by conſequence, to frequent one more than another, unleſs in memory of ſome miracles, or ſome pious hiſtory which might excite devotion. The uſe of Images being thus purified, *Luther* himſelf and the *Lutherans* will demonſtrate, that Images of this kind are not what the *Decalogue* ſpeaks of, and the honour render'd to them will be manifeſtly nothing elſe than a ſenſible and exterior teſtimony of the pious remembrance they excite, and the ſimple and natural effect of that mute language, which accompanies theſe pious repreſentations, and whoſe uſefulneſs is ſo much the greater, as it is capable of being underſtoood by all mankind.

Ibid.

S. l. 11. *n.* 28.

CLVII. Touching the whole Worſhip in general.

In general, the whole Worſhip is referr'd to the interior and exterior exerciſe of faith, of hope, and of charity, and principally to that of this laſt virtue, whoſe property it is to unite us with God; ſo that, therein is found a worſhip in ſpirit and in truth, wherein ſoever is found the exerciſe of charity towards God or towards our neighbour, conformably to that ſaying of St. *James*, *Pure Religion, and undefil'd before God is this, to viſit the fatherleſs and widows, and to keep himſelf unſpotted from the world*; and every act of piety not animated with this ſpirit is imperfect, carnal, or ſuperſtitious.

James i. 27.

CLVIII. Againſt thoſe who accuſe the Council of *Trent* of having ſpoken ambiguouſly.

Under pretext that the Council of *Trent* declined entering into many difficulties, our adverſaries, after *Fra-Paolo*, are continually blaming it as having explain'd the *Dogmata* in general, by obſcure, and equivocal terms, with the deſign of pleaſing in appearance the greater number: but they would entertain more equitable ſenti-

ments, did they but consider, that God, who knows how far he designs to guide our understanding in revealing to us some truth, or some mystery, does not always reveal to us either the ways of explaining it, or the circumstances which accompany it, or even, wherein it consists as to its utmost precision, or, as we speak in schools, as to its specifick difference: so that, in Church-decisions, it is often necessary to keep to general expressions in order to retain that *Measure* of Faith so much commended by St. *Paul*, and not to transgress his precept forbidding us to be more wise than we ought to be.

Rom. xii. 3.

CLIX. The principles of Protestants prove the necessity of Purgatory.

For example, in the controversy concerning *Purgatory*, the Council of *Trent* hath firmly believed as a truth reveal'd of God, that just souls may depart this life without being wholly purified. *Grotius* proves evidently, that this truth is confess'd by *Protestants*, by *Mestresat*, by *Spanheim*, by *Calvin* himself, on this common ground-work of the Reformation, *viz.* that in the whole course of this life the soul is never intirely pure, whence it follows, that she is still defil'd at her departure from the Body. But the *Holy Ghost* hath pronounced, that *not any thing that is polluted shall enter into the holy city*; and the Minister *Spanheim* proves unanswerably, that the soul cannot be presented to God, till she be *without spot or wrinkle, all holy, pure, and unblameable*, conformably to the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, which he allows she cannot be, during this mortal life.

Grot. Ep. extraor. 575. 578. 579.

Rev. xxi. 27.

Span. dub. Ev. Tom. III. *dub.* 141. *n.* VI. VII.

Ephes. v. 27.

CLX. Protestants do not reject the purification of souls after this life.

After this still remains the question, whether or no this purification of the soul be wrought in this life at the last moment, or after death; and *Spanheim* leaves the thing undecided: *the main point*, says he, *is certain, but the manner and circumstances thereof are not so.* But without further pressing this author with the principles of

Ibid. n. VII.

the Sect, the *Catholick* Church advances beyond this: for the tradition of all ages having taught her to pray in behalf of the dead, for the comfort of their ſouls, for the forgiveneſs of their ſins, and their relief, ſhe hath held for a certain truth, that the perfect purification of ſouls was perform'd after death, and this by ſecret pains not alike explain'd by the holy Doctors, but of which they ſaid only, that they might be mitigated and wholly remitted by prayers and oblations, anſwerably to the *Liturgies* of all Churches.

CLXI. Moderation of the Church in not determining any thing but what is certain. *Seſſ.* xxv. *dec. de Purg.*

Without examining in this place whether this ſentiment be good or bad, 'twere no longer equitable, or candid, to refuſe granting us, that in this preſuppoſition at leaſt the Council ought to have form'd its Decree in a general expreſſion, and defin'd as it has done; firſt, that there is a *Purgatory* after this life; ſecondly, that the prayers of the living may afford relief to faithful ſouls departed, without deſcending to particulars, either of their pains, or the manner in which they are purified, becauſe tradition did not explain it; but ſhewing only that they are purified by *Jeſus Chriſt* alone, they being purified by none but prayers and oblations made in his name.

CLXII. The difference of general terms, from indefinite, perplex'd, or ambiguous terms.

The ſame judgment ought to be paſs'd on other Deciſions, and care taken not to confound, as our *Reform'd* here do, general with indefinite, intricate, or ambiguous terms. Indefinite terms ſignify juſt nothing; ambiguous terms ſignify equivocally, and leave in the mind no determinate ſenſe; intricate terms raiſe a miſt of confuſed ideas; but altho' general terms carry not the evidence as far as the utmoſt preciſion, they are to a certain degree nevertheleſs perſpicuous.

CLXIII. General terms are clear in their way.

Our adverſaries will not deny, that the paſſages of Scripture which ſay, that the *Holy Ghoſt* proceeds from the *Father*, denote clearly ſome truth, ſince they

they denote, beyond all doubt, that the third Person of the *Trinity* derives his origin from the *Father* no less than the second, altho' they do not express specifically wherein his procession consists, nor wherein it is different from that of the Son. It is therefore plain, that general expressions cannot be blamed, without blaming at the same time *Jesus Christ* and the Gospel.

CLXIV. In what consists the clearness of a Decision.

'Tis in this that our adversaries always shew themselves unjust to the Council, sometimes blaming it for descending too much to particulars, and at others, requiring it should have decided all the disputes of the *Scotists* and *Thomists* under penalty of being convicted of affected obscurity: as if they were ignorant, that in Decisions of Faith, a free scope ought to be allow'd Divines for proposing different means of explaining the Christian truths, and by consequence, that a Council waving their several and particular opinions ought to keep itself within the compass of such essential points, as they all defend in common. This method of defining the articles of our Faith is so far from speaking equivocally, that on the contrary, 'tis an effect of clearness to define so plainly that which is certain, as not to involve in the Decision, what is doubtful; nor is there any thing more becoming the authority and majesty of a Council, than to repress the impetuosity of those, who would advance beyond these bounds.

CLXV. That which is certain in regard of the Pope's authority, acknowledged in the Council, and by

Conformably to this rule, a form for explaining the *Pope's* authority having been proposed at *Trent* in such terms, as that his superiority over the general Council might in some manner be inferr'd; the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Bishops of *France* withstanding it, Cardinal *Pallavicini* himself relates in his history, that the form was suppress'd, and the *Pope* answer'd, that *nothing*

ought

ought to be defin'd but what all the Fathers ſhould unanimouſly agree to; an admirable rule in order to ſeparate what is certain, from what is doubtful! whence it alſo came to paſs that the Cardinal *du Perron*, altho' a zealous defender of the intereſts of the Court of *Rome*, declared to the King of *England*, *That the diſpute concerning the Pope's authority, whether in its ſpiritual regard to Oecumenical Councils, or in its temporal regard to ſecular Juriſdictions, is not a diſpute about things that are held for articles of Faith, or, are inſerted and required in the Confeſſion of Faith, or, that could hinder his Majeſty from entering into the Church, ſhould he be ſatisfied in other points.* And even in our days, the renown'd *Andrew du Val* Doctor of *Sorbone*, to whom thoſe on the other ſide of the *Alps* referr'd the defence of their cauſe, decided that the Doctrine denying the Pope's *Infallibility*, is not abſolutely againſt Faith, and that which places the Council above the *Pope*, cannot be branded with any cenſure, either of hereſy, or error, or even of temerity.

the Catholick Doctors. *Hiſt. Conc. Trid. interp. Giattin. lib.* xix. *c.* 11. 13. 14. 15. *Reply. l.* VI. *Præf. p.* 858. *Du Vall. Elench. p.* 9. *it. tract. de Sup. Rom. Pont. poteſ. part.* 2. *q.* 1. *p.* 4. *q.* 7. 8.

Thereby appears, that Doctrines not ſupported by a certain and perpetual tradition, cannot ſtrike root in the *Church*, ſince they make not a part of her *Confeſſion* of Faith, and that even thoſe who teach them, teach them as their particular Doctrine, and not as the Doctrine of the *Catholick* Church. To reject the Supremacy and authority of the *Holy See*, with this wholſom moderation, is to reject the band of Chriſtians, is to be at enmity with order and peace, and envy the *Church* that good which *Melanchon* himſelf wiſh'd it might enjoy.

CLXVI. With this moderation *Melanchon* would have own'd the Pope's authority. *Vid. l.* IV. 39. V. 24. 25. *Mel. de pace c. de pot. Pontif. p.* 6.

After what hath been ſeen, there is nothing left at preſent that can hinder our *Reform'd* from ſubmitting to the *Church*; the ſhelter of a Church *Inviſible* is abandoned: no longer is it allowable

CLXVII. Abridgment of this laſt book, and

first, touching the perpetual Visibility of the Church. 4. *Reg.* xvi. 4. 15. xxi. *Jur. Syst. p.* 222. 223.

to alledge in its defence the obscurities of the *Jewish* Church; the Ministers have freed us from the trouble of answering on that head by shewing clearly, that the true worship was never interrupted, not even under *Achaz* and *Manasses*: the Christian Society more extensive than that of the *Jews*, according to the conditions of its Covenant, hath likewise stood more firm, and the perpetual Visibility of the *Catholick* Church can be no longer doubted of.

CLXVIII. A remark on the Confession of *Ausburg*. *S. n.* 4. *& seq.* to *n.* 10.

Those of the Confession of *Ausburg* are yet more obliged to acknowledge it than the *Calvinists*: the *Invisible* Church hath neither found place in their *Confession* of Faith, nor in their *Apology*, wherein on the contrary, we have seen the Church spoken of in the *Creed* vested with a perpetual Visibility, and, according to these principles, they should be able to shew us an assembly made up of Pastors and People, in which sound Doctrine and the Sacraments have ever flourish'd.

CLXIX. The arguments brought by them against the authority of the Church, are solved by the Ministers. *S. n.* 86. 87. *& seq.*

All the arguments, that were form'd against the authority of the *Church*, are given up. Yielding to the authority of the *universal* Church, is now no longer acting unadvisedly nor submitting to men, since they own that her sentiments are the rule, nay the most sure rule, for deciding the most important verities of Religion. They agree, if this rule had been follow'd, and men had proposed to themselves the understanding holy Scripture as it was understood by the *universal* Church, that there never would have been *Socinians*; never should we have heard the Divinity of *Jesus Christ* call'd in question, the immortality of the Soul, the eternity of pains, the creation, God's fore-knowledge, the spirituality of his essence: things so firmly believed among Christians, that they did not so much as think they could

could be ever doubted of, and which at preſent are impugn'd with ſuch captious arguments, that numbers of weak minds are inſnared thereby. They agree that the authority of the *univerſal* Church is an *Infallible* remedy againſt this diſorder: ſo that, the authority of the *Church*, far from being what was ſaid in the *Reformation*, a means of introducing all manner of new-fangled Doctrines amongſt Chriſtians; is, on the contrary, a certain means of putting a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of mens minds, of preventing the abuſe they make of the Scripture's ſublimeneſs after a manner ſo dangerous to the Salvation of ſouls.

The *Reformation* hath diſcover'd theſe truths at laſt; and if the *Lutherans* will not receive them from the hands of a *Calvinian* Miniſter, they have but to explain to us how they can reſiſt the authority of the *Church* after having own'd that the truth is always manifeſt in her. *S. n.* 4. *& ſeq.*

CLXX. Salvation to be had in the Church of *Rome*. *S. n.* 50. 51 *& ſeq.* as far as *n.* 59.

None now of whatever ſeparate Communions ſhould any longer demur to come and ſeek eternal life in the boſom of the Church of *Rome*, ſince it is confeſs'd that God's true people and his true Elect are ſtill in her, as it hath always been confeſs'd that they were, before the pretended *Reformation*. But it's perceived at length, that the difference trumpt up betwixt the ages that preceded, and thoſe which follow'd it, was vain, and that the difficulty which was made of acknowledging this truth, proceeded from evil policy.

Should the *Lutherans* here ſtart new difficulties, and not ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded by the ſentiments of *Calixtus*; let them ſhew us, what the Church of *Rome* hath done ſince *Luther*'s time to forfeit her title of a true *Church*, and to ſo loſe her fecundity that the *Elect* can be no longer born in her womb.

CLXXI. The Miniſters are not to be believed when they make Salvation ſo difficult in the Church of *Rome*.

True it is, when the Miniſters acknowledge you may be ſaved in the Church of *Rome*, they would make you believe, you may do it as in an infected air, and by a kind of miracle, by reaſon of her impieties and idolatries. But men ſhould learn to diſtinguiſh in the Miniſters, what hatred has made them add, from what truth has forced them to confeſs. If the Church of *Rome* made profeſſion of impiety and idolatry, no Salvation could have been had in her either before, or after the *Reformation*; and if both before and after, Salvation may be had in her Body, the accuſation of impiety and idolatry is unworthy and calumnious.

CLXXII. Exceſſes of the Miniſters who prefer the *Arian* Sect to the Church of *Rome*. *Prej. leg.* 1. *p. ch.* 1. *Syſt. p.* 225.

And indeed, the hatred they ſhew to her is but too viſible, ſince they are ſo far tranſported as to ſay, that queſtionleſs a man may ſave his ſoul in that Communion, but with greater difficulty than *amongſt the Arians*, who deny the Divinity of the Son of God and of the Holy Ghoſt; who, by conſequence, believe themſelves devoted to creatures by *Baptiſm*; who, in the *Euchariſt*, look on the Fleſh of a man, who is not God, as the ſource of life; who believe that, without being God, a man hath ſaved them, and was able to pay the price of their Redemption; who invoke him as the perſon to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth; who are conſecrated to the *Holy Ghoſt*, namely to a creature, to become his Temples; who believe that a creature, to wit the ſame *Holy Ghoſt*, diſtributes Grace to them as he pleaſes, regenerates them, and ſanctifies them by his Preſence. This is the Sect they prefer to the Church of *Rome*; and is not this ſaying to all that are capable of underſtanding, believe not one word we ſay; when we ſpeak of that *Church*, hatred poſſeſſes, and ſets us beſides ourſelves.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, there is no longer any poſſibility for our *Reform'd* to avoid being reckon'd amongſt the number of thoſe *who ſeparate themſelves, and who make a Sect apart*, contrary to the precept of the Apoſtles particularly St. *Jude*, and contrary to the import of their own *Catechiſm*. Here are its very words in the expoſition of the Creed: *The article of forgiveneſs of ſins is placed after that of the Catholick Church, becauſe no one obtains pardon for his ſins except before-hand he be incorporated with God's people, and perſevere in Unity and Communion with the Body of Chriſt, and ſo be a member of the Church: inſomuch that, out of the Church there is nothing but Death and Damnation; for all thoſe, who ſeparate from the Society of the faithful,* TO MAKE A SECT APART, *ought not to hope for Salvation whilſt they are in diviſion.*

CLXXIII The Proteſtants can no longer excuſe themſelves from Schiſm. *Jud.* 17. 18. *Dim.* xvi.

The article ſpeaks clearly of the *univerſal* Church, *Viſible* and always *Viſible*, and in this we have ſeen that they are agreed: they are agreed likewiſe, as to a fact certain and notorious, that the Churches, which call themſelves reform'd, at their renouncing the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, did not find on earth one Church which they united with: they therefore made a *Sect apart* from the whole Body of Chriſtians and *univerſal* Church; and, according to their own Doctrine, renounce the Grace of forgiveneſs of ſins, which is the fruit of the Blood of *Chriſt Jeſus*: and *Death* and *Damnation* is their lot,

S. n. 21. 22. 34. 35. & *ſeq.* 68. 81. 82. 83.

The abſurdities, neceſſarily attending the anſwer to this argument, plainly diſcover how invincible it is; for after a thouſand fruitleſs ſhifts, they were, infine, driven into ſuch ſtreights as even to ſay, that you remain in the *Catholick* and *univerſal* Church, in renouncing the Communion of all Churches in the world, and in making a *Church*

CLXXIV Short repetition of of the abſurdities of the new Syſtem. *S. n.* 65. &c.

Church apart; that you remain in the ſame *univerſal* Church altho' driven from it by a juſt cenſure; that you cannot go forth from it by any other crime than that of Apoſtacy, by renouncing Chriſtianity and your Baptiſm; that all the Chriſtian Sects, how divided ſoever they be, are one and the ſame Body and one and the ſame Church in *Jeſus Chriſt*; that Chriſtian Churches, have no exterior band of union by the appointment of *Jeſus Chriſt*: that their band is arbitrary; that the Confeſſions of Faith whereby they unite themſelves, are arbitrary likewiſe, and Contracts ſuſceptible of what terms you pleaſe, which yet may not be broken without incurring the guilt of Schiſm; that the union of Churches depends on Empires and the Will of Princes; that all Chriſtian Churches are naturally, and by their origin, independent one of another, whence it follows that the *Independents*, ſo grievouſly cenſured at *Charenton*, do nothing elſe but ſtand up for the natural liberty of Churches; that, provided you find means of aſſembling together either with conſent or by violence ſo as *to make a figure in the world*, you are a true member of the Body of the *Catholick* Church; that no Hereſy ever hath, or can be, condemn'd by a judgment of the *univerſal* Church; nay, that there is not, nor can be, any Eccleſiaſtical judgment in matters of Faith; that men have no right to exact ſubſcriptions to the Decrees of Synods reſpecting Faith; that one may ſave his Soul in the moſt perverſe Sects, even in that of the *Socinians*.

CLXXV. The height of abſurdities, *viz.* the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt confounded

There would be no end were I to repeat all the abſurdities it was neceſſary to vent in order to ſave the *Reformation* from the ſentence pronounced againſt thoſe who make *a Sect apart*. But, beſides that it's needleſs to enter into a detail thereof, they are all compriſed in this one, always

always more or leſs maintain'd in the *Reformation*, and wherein the whole defence of the cauſe is placed now more than ever; *viz. that the Catholick* Church, whereof the *Creed* ſpeaks, is one heap of Sects divided amongſt one another, and which anathematize one another; inſomuch that, the character of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s kingdom is the ſame with that given by *Jeſus Chriſt* to the kingdom of *Satan*, as above-explain'd. with the kingdom of Satan. *S. n.* 51. &c.

But nothing is more oppoſite to the Doctrine of *Chriſt* himſelf. According to his Doctrine the kingdom of *Satan* is divided againſt itſelf, and muſt fall houſe upon houſe to utter deſolation. On the contrary, according to the promiſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, his *Church*, which is his kingdom, built on the rock, on the ſame Confeſſion of Faith, and the ſame Eccleſiaſtical government, is perfectly united: whence it follows that ſhe is unmoveable, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt her; that is to ſay, diviſion, the cauſe of weakneſs and the character of hell, ſhall not get the better of Unity, the cauſe of ſtrength, and the character of the *Church*. But all this order is changed in the *Reformation*; and the kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt* being divided like to that of *Satan*, no wonder men have ſaid, conformably to ſuch a principle, that it was fallen to ruin and deſolation. *Luke* xi. *Matth.* xvi.

CLXXVI. The immoveable ſtedfaſtneſs of the Church. Concluſion of this work.

Theſe maxims of diviſion were the groundwork of the *Reformation*, foraſmuch as it was eſtabliſh'd by an univerſal rupture, and a Church-Unity hath never been known therein: and therefore its Variations, whoſe hiſtory we have at length concluded, have ſhew'd us what it was, to wit, a kingdom diſunited, divided againſt itſelf, and which muſt fall ſooner or later: whilſt the *Catholick* Church, ſo unalterably attach'd to Decrees once pronounced, that not the leaſt Variation

riation ſince the origin of Chriſtianity can be diſcover'd in her, ſhews herſelf a *Church* built on the rock, always in full ſecurity from the promiſes ſhe hath received, firm in her principles, and guided by a Spirit which never contradicts himſelf.

May he, who holds in his hand the hearts of men, and who alone knows the bounds he hath ſet to rebellious Sects, and to the afflictions of his *Church*, make all his ſtray'd children ſoon return to her Unity; and may we have the joy to behold with our eyes *Iſrael*, ſo unfortunately divided, unite under one and the ſame Head with *Judah*.

Hoſea i. 11.

A MATERIAL APPENDIX

To the fourteenth Book.

AFTER this impreſſion was finiſh'd, a *Latin* book fell into my hands which the indefatigable *Jurieu* has juſt brought to light, and whereof it is requiſite I ſhould give the publick ſome acount. The title is, *An amicable conſultation concerning Peace betwixt the Proteſtants.* Therein he treats of this ſubject with the Doctor *Daniel Severin Scultet*, who, on his ſide, propoſes to himſelf to ſmooth the difficulties of this peace ſo frequently attempted and ſo unſucceſsfully. The queſtion chiefly in debate, is that of *Predeſtination* and *Grace.* The *Lutheran* cannot digeſt what was defin'd at the Synod of *Dort* touching *Abſolute* decrees and Grace *irreſiſtible*: he judges ſtill more inſupportable what the ſame Synod teaches of the *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, and the *Certainty* of Salvation, there being nothing, in his notion, more impious than to give to man once juſtified, a certain aſſurance in the midſt of the moſt heinous crimes, that they ſhall neither make him forfeit his Salvation in eternity, nor in time even the *Holy Ghoſt* and the Grace of adoption. I repeat not the explanation of theſe queſtions, which the reader muſt have underſtood from the account given of them in this hiſtory; but ſhall only ſay, that this is what is call'd among the *Lutherans*, *the Particulariſm* of the *Calviniſts*: ſo abominable a Hereſy, that they charge it with nothing leſs than of

I. A new book writ by the Miniſter *Jurieu* concerning the union of the *Calviniſts* with the *Lutherans.*

L. IX. XIV.

of making God the Author of ſin, and of ſubverting all Chriſtian morality by inſpiring with a pernicious ſecurity thoſe, who are abandoned to the moſt abominable enormities. Mr. *Jurieu* does not deny that the Synod of *Dort* taught theſe *Dogmata* laid to its charge: he endeavours only to clear them from thoſe evil conſequences which are thence drawn; and he himſelf carries ſo far the *Certainty* of Salvation, the very *Dogma* we have ſeen all center in, as to ſay, that taking it from the faithful, is making a Chriſtian's life an unſufferable torment. He grants then, in the main, the ſentiments imputed to the *Calviniſts*: but in order to bring about a peace, notwithſtanding ſo great an oppoſition in ſuch important articles, after propoſing ſome mitigations conſiſting in words only, he concludes for a mutual toleration. The reaſons he grounds himſelf on are reduced to two, one whereof is recrimination, and the other, a compenſation of *Dogmata*.

1. *p. c.* VIII. 2. *p. c.* VI. *p.* 191. &c. XI. 253. 254.

II. The Miniſter *Jurieu*'s recriminations againſt the *Lutherans*, concerning *Luther*'s blaſphemies. *S. l.* II. *n.* 17. *Jur.* 2. *part. c.* VIII. *p.* 210. *& ſeq.*

As for recrimination, Mr. *Jurieu*'s reaſoning is as follows. You accuſe us, ſays he to Doctor *Scultet*, of making God the Author of ſin; 'tis *Luther* you muſt accuſe of this, not us: and thereupon cites to him thoſe paſſages we have above related, where *Luther* decides that God's Preſcience renders *Free-will* impoſſible: *That* Judas, *for this reaſon, could not help betraying his Maſter: that all that paſſes in man, whether good or evil, happens by pure and inevitable neceſſity: that 'tis God who operates in man all the good and evil that is done by him, and makes man guilty of damnation by neceſſity: that* David's *adultery is no leſs the work of God than the vocation of St.* Paul: *laſtly, that it's no more unworthy of God to damn the innocent than to forgive, as he does, the guilty.*

The

The *Calviniſt* then ſhews, that *Luther* does not ſpeak here in a doubting manner, but with that terrible Deciſion above ſpecified, and which ſuffers no reply on this head: *You* ſays he, *that hear me, never forget that I am the man who thus teaches, and without any new inquiry ſubmit to this word.* *S. l. 11. n. 17.*

The *Lutheran* thought to eſcape by ſaying, that *Luther* had recanted: but the *Calviniſt* nonpluſſes him when he demands, *where is this recantation of Luther? It is true,* proceeds he, *he has begg'd we would excuſe, in his firſt books, ſome remnants of Popery in regard to Indulgences: but as to what regards Free-will, he never changed a tittle of his Doctrine.* And indeed, it is very certain that the above-ſaid Monſters of impiety were far from being derived from *Popery*, which, as *Luther* acknowledges in all theſe places, held them in execration. *Jur. Ibi. p. 217. 218.*

Mr. *Jurieu*, in that reſpect, is of the ſame opinion with us, and declares, *he hath in abhorrence theſe* Dogmata *of* Luther, *as impious, horrible, frightful, deſerving every anathema, introductive of* Manicheiſm, *and ſubverſive of all Religion.* He is ſorry to ſee himſelf obliged to ſpeak thus of the head of the *Reformation*. *I ſpeak it,* ſays he, *with grief, and favour, as much as I am able, the memory of this great man.* This is therefore one of thoſe Confeſſions, which the evidence of truth extorts from men how much ſoever againſt their will; and infine, the author of the *Reformation*, by the very Confeſſion of the *Reform'd*, is convicted of being an impious Blaſphemer againſt God: after this, *a great man*, as much as they pleaſe; for to have ſounded the alarm againſt *Rome*, is merit enough in the *Reformation* for whatever titles. *Melancthon* is guilty of this wicked Doctrine, which deſtroys all Religion. *Ibid. 212. 214. & ſeq.*

ligion. Mr. *Jurieu* has convicted him of uttering the ſame blaſphemies as his Maſter; and, inſtead of deteſting them as they deſerved, of never having retracted them but too *faintly and with diffidence*. You ſee on what corner-ſtones the *Reformation* was built.

Ibid. 24.

III. Whether *Calvin* has leſs blaſphem'd than *Luther*.

But becauſe Mr. *Jurieu* here ſeems willing to excuſe *Calvin*, he need but caſt his eyes on the paſſages of this author already quoted by me in this hiſtory: there will he find that *Adam could not avoid his fall, and was nevertheleſs guilty, becauſe he fell voluntarily; that it was ordain'd by God, and compriſed in his ſecret decrees.* There will he find, *that a hidden counſel of God is the cauſe of hardneſs of heart; that we muſt not deny that God will'd and decreed the defection of* Adam, *ſince he does all he wills; that this decree, he muſt confeſs, raiſes horror; yet, after all, it cannot be denied but God foreſaw the fall of man, becauſe he had ordain'd it by his own decree; that we ought not to uſe the word permiſſion, ſince it is an expreſs order; that the will of God makes the neceſſity of things; and all he hath will'd, happens neceſſarily; that it was for this reaſon,* Adam *fell by an order of God's providence, and becauſe God had ſo judged it fitting, altho' he fell thro' his own fault; that the reprobate are inexcuſable, altho' they cannot ſhun the neceſſity of ſinning, and that this neceſſity befalls them by God's appointment; that God ſpeaks to them, but on purpoſe to make them the more deaf; that he places light before their eyes, but on purpoſe to blind them; that he applies ſound Doctrine to them, but on purpoſe to render them the more inſenſible; that he ſends them remedies, but to the end they may not be cured.* What is here wanting to make *Calvin* as complete a *Manichean* as *Luther*?

S. l. XIV. *n.* 4. *Opuſc. de præd. p.* 704. 705. *Inſt.* III. XXIII. 1. 7. 8. 9.

Ibi. XXIV. *n.* 13.

What

What therefore does it avail Mr. *Jurieu* to have quoted us ſome paſſages of *Calvin*, where he ſeems to ſay that man was free in *Adam*, and fell in *Adam* by his own Will, ſince it is otherwiſe certain from *Calvin* himſelf, that this Will of *Adam* was the neceſſary effect of a ſpecial decree of God? And indeed the truth is, this Miniſter has not pretended abſolutely to excuſe his *Calvin*, but contents himſelf with ſaying only, *he was ſober in compariſon to* Luther: but we have juſt heard him ſpeak not leſs extravagantly and impiouſly than *Luther*.

Jur. Ibid. p. 214.

Ibid.

I have alſo produced *Beza*'s words, which manifeſtly refer all ſins to the Will of God as their firſt cauſe. Thus beyond all diſpute, the *Heads* of both parties of the *Reformation*, *Luther* and *Melanchthon* on one ſide, *Calvin* and *Beza* on the other, the Maſters and Diſciples, equally are convicted of *Manicheiſm* and impiety; and Mr. *Jurieu* hath had reaſon to confeſs candidly of the *Reformers* in general, that they taught that *God drove on wicked men to enormous crimes*.

S. l. XIV. *n.* 2. 3.

S. l. XIV. *n.* 4.

IV. Another recrimination of the Miniſter *Jurieu*. The *Lutherans* convicted of *Pelagianiſm*.

The *Calviniſt* returns to the charge, and here is another recrimination not leſs remarkable. You upbraid us, ſays he to the *Lutherans*, with our *irreſiſtible* Grace: but in order to make it *reſiſtible* you run to the oppoſite extreme; and, unlike to your maſter *Luther*, whereas in matter of Grace he ſo far out went all bounds *as to make himſelf ſuſpected of* Manicheiſm, you do the like in *Free-will*, ſo as to turn *Demipelagians*, ſince you attribute to it the beginning of Salvation. Which he makes evident by the ſame proofs we have made uſe of in this Hiſtory, by ſhewing the *Lutherans*, that, according to them, the Grace of converſion depends on the care they themſelves take to hear the word preach'd. I have clearly demonſtrated this *Demipelagianiſm* of the *Lutherans*

Jur. Ibid. 117. *S. l.* VIII. *n.* 83. & *ſeq.* XIV. 116.

rans from the book of *Concord*, and from other teſtimonies: but the Miniſter ſtrengthens my proofs with the teſtimony of his adverſary *Scultet*, who confeſſes in as many words, *that God converts men, when men themſelves receive the word preach'd with reſpect and attention.* Accordingly, 'tis in this manner the *Lutherans* explain the univerſal will of ſaving all mankind, and ſay with *Scultet*, that *God will infuſe contrition and a lively Faith into the hearts of all the adult, provided nevertheleſs they do* BEFORE-HAND *the neceſſary duty for man's converſion.* Thus what they attribute to the divine power, is that Grace which goes hand in hand with preaching; and what they attribute to *Free-will*, is rendering itſelf *before-hand*, by its own ſtrength, attentive to the word announced: which is ſaying as clearly as ever the *Demipelagians* have done, that the *Beginning* of Salvation comes purely from the *Free-will*; and that there may be no doubt that this is the error of the *Lutherans*, Mr. *Jurieu* produces moreover a paſſage from *Calixtus*, where he tranſcribes word for word the propoſitions condemn'd in the *Demipelagians*; for he ſays in expreſs terms, *that there remains in all men ſome ſtrength of the Underſtanding, of the Will, and of natural Knowledge, which if they make right uſe of in labouring, what they are able, for their Salvation, God will afford them the neceſſary means to arrive at the perfection which revelation leads us to:* which once more makes Grace depend on what man precedently does by his own ſtrength.

Jur. p. 117.

Ibi. p. 118.

Calix. Ep.

I had reaſon therefore to affirm, that the *Lutherans* are become true *Demipelagians:* namely, *Pelagians* in the moſt dangerous part of this Hereſy, it being that by which human pride is the moſt flatter'd. For the greateſt miſchief of *Pelagianiſm* is placing man's Salvation finally in his

his own hands independently of Grace. Now this it is they do, who, like the *Lutherans*, make the Converſion and Juſtification of a ſinner dependent on a beginning introductive of all the reſt, and which, nevertheleſs, the ſinner gives to himſelf meerly by his *Free-will* without Grace, as I have proved evidently, and as Mr. *Jurieu* hath alſo but juſt made apparent from the Confeſſion of the *Lutherans*.

They ought not therefore to flatter themſelves as if they had eſcap'd the *Anathema* merited by the *Pelagians*, under pretext that they are only ſuch by halves; ſince we ſee that this part ſwallowed by them of ſo mortal a poiſon, as that of *Pelagianiſm*, contains its whole malignity: from whence one may perceive the deplorable condition of the whole *Proteſtant* Party; ſince, on one ſide, the *Calviniſts* know no way of maintaining Chriſtian Grace againſt the *Pelagians*, but by making it *Inamiſſible* with all the other aforeſaid inconveniencies; and on the other, the *Lutherans* believe, there's no avoiding this deteſtable *Particulariſm* of *Dort* and of the *Calviniſts*, but by turning *Pelagians*, and abandoning man's Salvation to his own *Free-will*.

V. Sequel of recriminations. The *Lutherans* convicted of denying the neceſſity of good-works. *Ibi. 2. p. c. 11. p.* 243. *S. l. III. n. 12. VIII. 32. p.* 243. 244.

The *Calviniſt* purſues his point; and, ſays he to the *Lutherans*, *'tis impoſſible to diſſemble* your Doctrine againſt the neceſſity of good-works. *I will not*, proceeds he, *go in queſt of the harſh propoſitions of your Doctors ancient and modern on this ſubject.* As I take it, he glances at the Decree of *Wormes*, where we have obſerved 'twas decided that good-works are not neceſſary to Salvation. But without inſiſting on this aſſembly and other the like Decrees of the *Lutherans*, I ſhall obſerve only, ſays he to *Scultet*, what you yourſelf have taught: that *it is not lawful for us to give any alms to the poor, no, not a farthing with the deſign*

deſign of obtaining forgiveneſs of our ſins: and again; *that the habit and exerciſe of virtue is not abſolutely neceſſary for the juſtified in order to be ſaved: that the exerciſe of the love of God, neither in the courſe of life, nor even at the hour of death, is a neceſſary condition without which we can't be ſaved:* laſtly, *that neither the habit nor exerciſe of virtue is neceſſary to a dying perſon in order to obtain forgiveneſs of his ſins*; that is to ſay, *a man is ſaved*, as this Miniſter concludes, *without having done ſo much as one good-work either in his life or at his death.*

VI. Another recrimination on the Certainty of Salvation. The *Lutherans* convicted of contradiction and blindneſs. *Ibi.* 1. *part. c.* VIII. *p.* 128. 129. *Gerard. de elect. & rep. c.* 13 *Theſ.* 210. 211. *Jur. Ibid. p.* 129. *Sup. l.* III. *n.* 39. VIII. *n.* 60. 61.

Theſe are juſt and terrible recriminations, of which Dr. *Scultet* will never clear himſelf: again, here is another no leſs remarkable. You object to us as a crime, ſays to him Mr. *Jurieu*, the *Certainty* of Salvation defined in the Synod of *Dort:* but you, who object it to us, hold the ſame yourſelves. Thereupon he produces the *Theſes* wherein Doctor *John Gerard* (the third man after *Luther* and *Chemnicius* of the *Reformation*, if we believe their teſtimony who approved his works) advances this propoſition: *We maintain againſt the Papiſts the Certainty of Salvation as a Certainty of Faith.* And again: *the predeſtinate hath in himſelf God's teſtimony, and ſays interiorly to himſelf, he that predeſtinated me from all eternity, calls me, and juſtifies me in time by his word.* It is certain, he wrote theſe things, and others every whit as ſtrong alledged by Mr. *Jurieu:* they are uſual with the *Lutherans.* But this Miniſter reproaches them with reaſon, that they are not conſiſtent with their Doctrine of the *Amiſſibility* of Juſtice, which they account as a capital point; accordingly 'tis what I have remark'd in this Hiſtory, nor forgotten the ſolution propoſed by the *Lutherans*, and even by Dr. *Gerard:* but I warrant not

the contradictions the Miniſter *Jurieu* upbraids them with in theſe words: *'tis a thing incredible, that wiſe men, having eyes in their heads, ſhould have fallen into ſo ſtupendous a blindneſs, as to believe one is aſſured of his Salvation with a Certainty of Faith, and at the ſame time, that the true Believer may loſe the Faith and eternal Salvation.* From thence he takes occaſion to reproach them, that their Doctrine is ſelf-contradictory, that their *Univerſaliſm*, introduced contrary to *Luther*'s principles, has brought ſuch a confuſion into their Theology, *that there is none but is ſenſible that it has no longer any manner of coherence; that it cannot be ſelf-conſiſtent; that they have no excuſe left them.* Thus you ſee how theſe men treat one another, when in peace: what don't they do, when at mortal war?

Ibid.

Ibid. 213. *Ibid.* 129. 131. 135.

VII. Another recrimination. The monſter of *Ubiquity*. *Ibi. p.* 242.

Beſides what regards Grace, the Miniſter alſo charges the *Lutherans* very home with their monſtrous Doctrine of *Ubiquity*, *worthy*, ſays he, *of all the elogiums you beſtow on the deciſions of* Dort, *a frightful, huge, and horrid monſter, of a prodigious deformity in itſelf, and ſtill more prodigious in its conſequences; ſince it brings back the confuſion of natures in Jeſus Chriſt, and not only that of the Soul with the Body, but alſo that of the Divinity with the Humanity, and in a word,* Eutychianiſm *ſo unanimouſly deteſted by the whole Church.*

He ſhews them, they have added to the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg* this monſter of *Ubiquity*, and to *Luther*'s Doctrine, their exceſſive *Univerſaliſm*, which has made them fall back into the error of the *Pelagians*. All theſe reproaches are very true, as we have made appear; and here you behold the *Lutherans*, the firſt of thoſe that took up the title of *Reformers*, convicted by the *Calviniſts*, of being all at once *Pelagians*

S. I. VIII. *n.* 46.

in formal terms, and *Eutychians* by conſequences indeed, but *ſuch as the whole world is ſenſible of*, and which are as clear as the noon-day.

Jur. Ibid.

VIII. The compenſation of *Dogmata* propoſed to the *Lutherans* by the Miniſter *Jurieu*.

Jur. 2. *part. c.* III. & *ſeq.* 10. 11. *p.* 240.

After all theſe vigorous recriminations, one would think that the Miniſter *Jurieu* muſt conclude to deteſt, in the *Lutherans*, ſo many abominable exceſſes, ſo many viſible contradictions, ſo manifeſt a blindneſs: no ſuch thing. He accuſes the *Lutherans* of ſo many enormous errors, only to conclude a peace by a mutual toleration on both ſides, notwithſtanding the groſs errors both ſtand convicted of by the teſtimonies of each other.

Here then he propoſes that marvellous compenſation, that bartering of Doctrine, where all terminates in concluding, *if our Particulariſm be an error, we offer you a toleration for much more ſtrange errors.* Let us ſtrike up peace on this foundation, and mutually declare one another God's faithful ſervants, without any obligation on either ſide, of correcting any thing in our tenets. We allow you all the prodigies of your Doctrine: we allow you that monſtrous *Ubiquity*: we allow you your *Demi-pelagianiſm*, which places the beginning of man's Salvation purely in his own hands: we allow you that horrid *Dogma* which denies that good-works and the habit of charity, any more than the exerciſe thereof, are neceſſary to Salvation either in life, or at death: we tolerate you, we receive you to the holy *Table*, we own you for God's children, notwithſtanding all theſe errors: overlook then, in our behalf, and in behalf of the Synod of *Dort*, theſe *abſolute* Decrees with Grace *irreſiſtible*, the *Certainty* of Salvation with the *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, together with all the reſt of our particular *Dogmata*, how much ſoever you abhor them.

1. *Part. ca.* VIII. *p.* 123.

Ibid. 243.

This

This is the bargain he propoſes; this, what he negotiates in the face of the whole Chriſtian world; a peace betwixt Churches calling themſelves not only *Chriſtian*, but alſo *Reformed*; not by agreeing in the Doctrine which they believe expreſly reveal'd by God, but by forgiving mutually each other the moſt unpardonable errors.

What ſhall be the iſſue of this treaty? I am loath to foreſee it: but will be bold to ſay, the *Calviniſts* ſhall gain nothing elſe by it, but an addition to their own errors of thoſe of the *Lutherans*, which they make themſelves accomplices in by admitting to the holy *Table* thoſe as the true children of God, who profeſſedly maintain them. As for the *Lutherans*, if it be true, as it's inſinuated by Mr. *Jurieu*, that they begin for the moſt part to become more tractable in regard to the *Real* Preſence, and offer peace to the *Calviniſts*, provided only they receive their *Demi-pelagian Univerſaliſm*; the whole univerſe will be witneſs that they have made a peace by ſacrificing to the *Sacramentarians* what *Luther* did moſt defend againſt them even to his death, to wit, the *Reality*; and by making them profeſs what the ſame *Luther* moſt deteſted, namely, *Pelagianiſm*, to which he preferr'd the oppoſite extreme, even the horror of making God the author of ſin.

2. *Part. ca.* xii. *p.* 261.

But let us alſo ſee the means which Mr. *Jurieu* propoſes for attaining this wonderful agreement. *In the firſt place*, ſays he, *this pious work cannot be brought about without the concurrence of the Princes of both parties, by reaſon that*, proceeds he, *the whole Reformation was made by their authority.* Wherefore in order to promote it, we muſt aſſemble, *not Eccleſiaſticks, always too much wedded to their own ſentiments: but politicians*, who, in all appearance, will part with their

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2. *Part. ca.* xii. *p.* 261.

IX. The means propoſed by Mr. *Jurieu* for advancing this agreement, Princes ſovereign Judges of Religion. *Ibi.* 2. *part. c.*

But let us alſo ſee the means which Mr. *Jurieu* propoſes for attaining this wonderful agreement. *In the firſt place*, ſays he, *this pious work cannot be brought about without the concurrence of the Princes of both parties, by reaſon that*, proceeds he, *the whole Reformation was made by their authority.* Wherefore in order to promote it, we muſt aſſemble, *not Eccleſiaſticks, always too much wedded to their own ſentiments: but politicians*, who, in all appearance, will part with their

xii. *p.* 260. *n.* 1. *Ibid. n.* 4. *Ibid.* 263. *n.* 8. Religion at an eaſier rate. Theſe therefore ſhall examine *the importance of each tenet, and weigh with equity, whether ſuch and ſuch a propoſition, ſuppoſing it an error, be capable of being agreed to, or uncapable of being tolerated:* that is to ſay, what is moſt eſſential to Religion muſt be debated in this aſſembly, it being to decide what is *fundamental*, and what not; what may be, and what may not be tolerated. Here lies the grand difficulty: but in this difficulty ſo eſſential to Religion, *The Divines are to ſpeak as Lawyers, the Politicans are to hearken and judge under the authority of their Princes.* Here then manifeſtly are Princes become ſupreme arbiters of Religion, and the Subſtance of Faith truſted abſolutely in their hands. Whether this be *Religion*, or a meer *Political* agreement, I refer to the Reader.

Jur. Ibid.

Nevertheleſs it muſt be own'd; the reaſon alledged by Mr. *Jurieu*, for ſubmitting the whole to Princes, is convincing, ſince in reality, as he has juſt told us, *the whole Reformation was made by their authority.* 'Tis what we have ſhewn thro' the whole ſeries of this Hiſtory: but now at leaſt this fact, ſo ignominious to *Proteſtants*, can no longer be diſputed. Mr. *Jurieu* confeſſes it in plain terms, nor muſt we wonder that Princes have veſted in themſelves the ſupreme authority of judgment, in regard to a *Reformation* which they themſelves have made.

Ibid.

Ibid.

For which reaſon the Miniſter has laid it down for the ground-work of the agreement, *that previouſly to all Conferences and Diſputes, the Divines on both ſides ſhall make oath to obey the judgment of their Princes Delegates, and to do nothing contrary to the agreement.* The Princes and their Delegates are now turn'd *Infallible:* obedience is ſworn to them before-hand, injoin what they will: that muſt be believed eſſential or indiffe-

rent,

rent, tolerable or intolerable in Religion, which ſhall pleaſe them, and muſt the fundamental points of Chriſtianity be decided by policy.

X. The *Calviniſts* ready to ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*. *Ibid. cap.* xi. 245. *& ſeq. cap.* xii. 268.

One no longer knows what country he is in, nor whether they are Chriſtians he hears ſpeak, when he ſees the main of Religion given up to temporal authority, and the ſovereign diſpoſal of it reſign'd to Princes. But this is not all; after this, a *Confeſſion* of Faith muſt be agreed to, and hence ſhould ariſe their main perplexity: but the expedient is eaſy. They are to make one in indefinite and general terms, which the whole world ſhall be ſatisfied with: each muſt diſſemble what may be diſpleaſing to his Companion: ſilence is a remedy for all evils: every man ſhall believe in his heart juſt what he liſts, *Pelagian*, *Eutychian*, or *Manichean*; provided he hold his tongue, all will go well, and *Jeſus Chriſt* will not fail to look on both one and the other for *Chriſtians* well united. What ſhall we ſay? Let us deplore the blindneſs of our Brethren, and beſeech God that the enormity of their error may at length open their eyes ſo, as to become ſenſible thereof.

S. l. III. *n.* 3. IX. *n.* 88. 89. 100. *& ſeq.*

But here is the finiſhing ſtroke. We have ſeen what *Zuinglius* and the *Zuinglians*, *Calvin* and the *Calviniſts* judged of the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*: how from its firſt beginning, they refuſed to ſubſcribe it, and ſeparated themſelves from its defenders; how thoſe of *France* in all ſucceeding times, in receiving all the reſt, have ever excepted the tenth article relating to the *Supper*. We have ſeen amongſt other things, what was ſaid at the Conference of *Poiſſy*; nor forgotten what *Calvin* then wrote *no leſs of the ſuppleneſs than of the obſcure and defective brevity* of this Confeſſion: which was the cauſe, ſaid he, *that it diſpleaſed people of good ſenſe, and*

Ibid. n. 107.

even

even that Melancthon, *its author, repented he ever made it:* but at preſent, great prevalency of that fond deſire of uniting with the *Lutherans!* They are ready to ſubſcribe this *Confeſſion*; for they are very ſenſible the *Lutherans* will never depart from it. Well then, ſays our Miniſter, *is no more required of us than to ſubſcribe it? The buſineſs is done: we are ready for this ſubſcription, provided you will receive us.* Thus you ſee this *Confeſſion*, which had been ſo ſtoutly rejected theſe hundred and fifty years, all of a ſudden, without any alteration in it, will become the common rule of *Calviniſts* as it is of *Lutherans*, upon condition each one ſhall have the liberty of interpreting and adapting it to his own notions. I leave the reader to decide, which of the two ought moſt to be lamented, the *Calviniſts* who turn with every wind, or the *Lutherans* whoſe *Confeſſion* is ſubſcribed only with a view of diſcovering in it a Doctrine ſuitable to their notions, by the means of thoſe equivocal expreſſions, of which it is accuſed. No man but ſees how vain, to ſay no worſe, would be this projected union; what would enſue from it of ſome real conſequence is, however, as ſays Mr. *Jurieu, that one might make* thereof *a good confederacy, and that the Proteſtant Party would make the Papiſts tremble.* Theſe were the hopes of Mr. *Jurieu*, who would be well enough ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his negotiation, if, failing as to a ſincere agreement of minds, it could at leaſt unite them ſo, as to ſet all *Europe* in a flame: but luckily for *Chriſtendom*, Leagues are not made as Doctors liſt.

Ibid. cap. XIII. *p.* 171.

Ibid. 262.

XI. Wondrous motives for an union propoſed to the *Lutherans.*

In this marvellous negotiation nothing is more ſurpriſing than the artfulneſs Mr. *Jurieu* uſes to mollify the hard-hearted *Lutherans.* What, ſays he, will you always be inſenſible of the complaiſance

plaiſance we have ſhewn, in allowing you your *Corporal* Preſence? *Beſides all theſe Philoſophical abſurdities which we were forced to digeſt, how perillous are the conſequences of this Dogma?* Thoſe do experience it, proceeds he, who are obliged to endure, in *France*, this continual reproach: *Why do you reject the Catholicks after having received the* Lutherans? *Our people make anſwer: The* Lutherans *take not away the Subſtance of the Bread: they do not adore the Euchariſt: they offer it not in Sacrifice: they deprive not the people of one Kind: ſo much the worſe for them, we are told, 'tis in this they argue ill, nor follow their own principles. For if the Body of Jeſus Chriſt be really and carnally preſent, we ought to adore him: if he be preſent, we ought to offer him up to his Father: if he be preſent, Jeſus Chriſt is whole and intire under each ſpecies. Do not ſay, you deny theſe conſequences: for when all is ſaid, they flow better and more naturally from your* Dogma *than thoſe you impute to us. It is certain your Doctrine touching the Supper, was the beginning of error: the change of Subſtance was grounded thereupon: thereupon was adoration commanded; nor is it eaſy to withſtand it: human reaſon directs us to adore Jeſus Chriſt whereſoever he is. Not that this reaſon is always good, for God is in a piece of wood and in a ſtone, yet we may not adore a ſtone or wood; but after all, the mind is carried to it by its own propenſity,* and as naturally as the elements tend to their centre: a great ſtruggle is required *to hinder our falling into this precipice:* (this precipice is worſhipping *Jeſus Chriſt* where he is preſent) *and I nowiſe doubt,* proceeds our Author, but *that the ſimple amongſt you would fall into it, were they not prevented by the continual conteſts with the Papiſts.* Open your eyes, ye *Lutherans*, and ſuffer the *Catholicks* *Ibid.* 240.

to

to ſpeak thus to you in their turn. We do not propoſe that you ſhould worſhip *wood* or *ſtone* becauſe God is in them: we propoſe to you to worſhip *Jeſus Chriſt* where you acknowledge he is, by ſo ſpecial a Preſence, atteſted by ſo particular and divine a teſtimony: *reaſon directs you to it of courſe, the mind is carried to it by its own propenſity.* Simple minds, void of contention, would follow ſo natural a bent, if continual diſputes did not reſtrain them; nor is it any thing but the ſpirit of contention that can hinder the adoration of *Jeſus Chriſt* where he is believed ſo preſent.

XII. Both Parties irreconcileable in the main according to the Miniſter *Jurieu.*

Such are the conditions of the agreement, at this day in treaty, betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*; ſuch are the means they are to uſe for attaining it; and ſuch the reaſons employ'd to perſuade and move the *Lutherans.* And let not theſe people go away with the notion, that our ſpeaking of it in this manner, proceeds from ſome fear we may be in of their re-union, which, when all is done, will never be any thing better than grimace and cabal; for in ſhort, for them to convince one another, is a thing judged impoſſible even by Mr. *Jurieu. Never,* ſays he, *will either of the Parties ſuffer itſelf to be led in triumph; and to propoſe an agreement betwixt the* Lutherans *and* Calviniſts, *on condition that one Party ſhall renounce its Doctrine; is the ſame as if you ſhould propoſe to the* Spaniards *as a means of agreement, to give up all their Provinces and fortreſſes into the hands of the* French. *That,* ſays he, *is neither juſt nor poſſible.* Who does not ſee on this foundation that the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* are in the main two nations as irreconcileable and incompatible as any? They may join in confederacies, but that they ever will be able to arrive at a Chriſtian agreement by the conformity

Jur. 2. *p. cap.* 1. *p.* 138. 141.

conformity of ſentiments, were manifeſt folly to believe. Nevertheleſs, they'll ſtill continue to ſay, and one as much as the other, that the *Scripture* is clear, altho' conſcious in their hearts that this alone can never terminate the leaſt diſpute; and all they can do, is to patch up agreements, and diſſemble what they believe to be the truth clearly reveal'd by God, or however, to diſguiſe it, as they have ſtrove a thouſand times to do, under equivocal expreſſions.

Let them therefore do what they think fit, and whatſoever God ſhall ſuffer them to do in reſpect to theſe vain projects of agreements; they will be eternally the mutual puniſhment and grievance of each other: they will bear eternal teſtimony one againſt another, how unhappily they uſurpt the title of *Reformers*, and that the method they took for the correction of abuſes, could tend to nothing but the ſubverſion of *Chriſtianity*.

XIII. Query put to the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*.

But here is ſomething ſtill worſe for them. Suppoſing they were arrived to this mutual toleration, we ſhould then ask them, in what rank they would place *Luther* and *Calvin*, who make God in expreſs terms, the Author of ſin, and thereby ſtand convicted of a *Dogma* which their diſciples now abhor? Who does not ſee that of two things one will happen, either that they muſt place this blaſphemy, this *Manicheiſm*, this *impiety which ſubverts all Religion*, amongſt the tenets that may be tolerated; or in fine, to the eternal ignominy of the *Reformation*, *Luther* muſt become the horror of the *Lutherans*, and *Calvin* of the *Calviniſts*?

7 AP 53

AN INDEX

Of the CONTENTS *in this* SECOND PART, *wherein alſo the Reader is referr'd to whatever occurs under the ſame Titles in the* FIRST PART.

A.

ABLUTION, what the ablution was which the *Vaudois* condemn'd in Baptiſm, 131.

Adam, the ſin of *Adam* ordain'd by God according to the *Calviniſts*, 274.

Adoration, of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt rejected by the Brethren of *Bohemia*, 186. alterations made by the *Calviniſts* in reſpect to the *Adoration* of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt, 328. they tolerate, in the *Lutherans*, the internal acts of this *Adoration*, and reject the external which are but tokens thereof, 329. *vide* Vol. I.

The Albigenſes, well treated by the *Calviniſts* and why, 67. thoſe of *Toulouſe* bore the name of *Petrobuſians*, 89. Council of *Lombez* againſt them. Famous examination of theſe Hereticks, *Ibid.* why they are called *Arians*, 90. the *Albigenſes* are *Manicheans*, and by conſequence, different from the *Vaudois*, 96. & *ſeq.* The *Albigenſes* compriſed by *Renier* in the liſt of the *Manichean* Churches, 100. they came from the *Manicheans* of *Bulgaria*, *Ibid.* the Pope of the *Albigenſes* in *Bulgaria*, 95. their profound hypocriſy, *Ibid.* the agreeableneſs of their propoſitions with thoſe of *Fauſtus* the *Manichean*, 102. their hypocriſy confounded by St. *Bernard*, *Ibid.* their infamy, 103. they teach that the effect of the Sacraments depends on the holineſs of the Miniſters, *Ibid.* they condemn all oaths, and puniſhment of crimes, 104. Proof of their being *Manicheans*, *Ibid.* Proteſtants reap nothing but ſhame by challenging the *Albigenſes* for their anceſtors, 109. reflexion on the hiſtory of the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*. Artifice of the Miniſters, 150. the *Albigenſes* unqueſtionably *Manicheans*, *Ibid*, 151. the *Albigenſes of Metz* were *Manicheans*, 152. ſixteen Churches of the *Manicheans* comprehended the whole Sect,

Sect, 155. inevitable condemnation of these Hereticks from their denying their Religion, 161. how the *Vaudois* sprung from the *Manichean Albigenses*, 199.

Amboise, conspiracy of *Amboise*, 19. enterprised from a maxim of conscience according to *Beza*, 20. the riot of *Amboise* was the work of Protestants, and had Religion for its motive, 20. & *seq.* The *Huguenots* discovering the conspiracy does not justify the Party, 23. the protestation of the conspirators does not justify them, 24. what is said by Mr. *Jurieu* concerning the conspiracy of *Amboise*, 37.

Amissibility, of justice received by the *English* under *Elizabeth*, 18. Doctrine of the *Arminians* concerning the *Amissibility* of justice, 228. *vide* Vol. I.

Antichrist, the Synod of *Gap* adds an article to the Confession of Faith on purpose to declare the Pope *Antichrist*, 236. *Daniel* and St. *Paul* quoted in vain to prove the Pope is *Antichrist*, 238. the Protestants discredit themselves by this Doctrine, 239. this Doctrine concerning *Antichrist* was not in any act of the Reformation. *Luther* inserts it in the articles of *Smalkald*, 240. but *Melancthon* opposes it, *Ibid.* this Doctrine relating to *Antichrist*, how despised even in the Reformation, 242. it is refuted by the most learned Protestants, *Grotius*, *Hammond*, and *Jurieu* himself, 243. examination of *Joseph Mede*'s and the Minister *Jurieu*'s Doctrine on this point, 244. *Jurieu* sets a new date for the birth of *Antichrist*, 247. he varies, and is for advancing the downfal of *Antichrist*, 249.

Arminius, *Peter Du Moulin* places *Arminius*'s opinions amongst things indifferent, 230. *Arminius*'s dispute and excesses, 282. the disputes end not with his death. *Barneveld* upholds his disciples against the Prince of *Orange*, *Ibid.*

Arminians, or *Remonstrants*, upheld by *Barneveld* against the Prince of *Orange*, 282. they are condemn'd in the Provincial Synods, 283. the Synod of *Dort* is assembled against them, *Ibid.* the dispute reduced to five heads. Declaration of the *Arminians* on these five heads, *Ibid.* the purport of their declaration in respect to Predestination, and their Doctrine touching the Baptism of Infants, 285, their declaration concerning the *Universality* of Redemption, 286. their Doctrine concerning Grace, 287. and concerning the *Amissibility* of justice, *Ibid.* their whole dispute concerning two essential words, 288. their ground-work, *viz.* that there is no gratuitous preference in behalf of the *Elect*, 289. wherein the *Catholicks* agreed with, and disagreed from the *Arminians*, *Ibid.* they require of the Synod of *Dort* a distinct decision

deciſion, 290. requeſts of the *Arminians* who complain, they are judged by their adverſe Parties, 380. they inſiſt on the ſame reaſons that the whole Proteſtant Party employ'd againſt the Church, *Ibid.* their mouths are ſtopt by the authority of the *States*, 309. they proteſt againſt the Synod, 380. the Synod of *Delph*, in order to ſilence them, is forced to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the *Holy Ghoſt* promiſed to Councils, 313. they are put in hopes of an *Oecumenical* Council, 314. the *Arminians* are depoſed and excommunicated by the Synod of *Dort*, 316.

Aubertin, this Miniſter's groſs evaſion with reſpect to the belief of the *Vaudois* concerning the Euchariſt, 124. his frivolous objection in order to ſhew that theſe Hereticks denied the *Reality*, *Ibid.* he artfully confounds the *Vaudois* with the *Albigenſes*, 150. *Aubertin*'s illuſion on the ſame ſubject, 154.

Ay, the Synod of *Ay* in MDC XV. approves the propoſals of *Peter Du Moulin* for a common Confeſſion of Faith, 230. Reflexion on this approbation of the Synod of *Ay*, 231.

B.

BAPTISM, believed uſeleſs by the *Manicheans*, 80. Ceremonies of *Baptiſm* deſpiſed by the *Vaudois*, 131. the Brethren of *Bohemia* re-baptized every body, 179. *Peter Du Moulin*, approved by the Synod of *Ay*, is againſt condemning the neceſſity of *Baptiſm*, 232. Doctrine of the *Remonſtrants*, or *Arminians*, touching Infant-Baptiſm, and what they would conclude from it, 285. the Synod of *Dort*'s deciſion on Infant-Baptiſm, 291. *vide* Vol. I.

Barneveld, upholds the *Arminians* againſt the Prince of *Orange*, 285.

Baſil, what the Council of *Baſil* allowed to the *Calixtins*, 176.

Berengarius, impugns only the *Real* Preſence, 66. he never ſeparated from *Rome*, 67. *Berengarius* attack'd the *Reality* after the *Manicheans* of *Orleans*, 446. he is condemn'd and recants, 420. his firſt Confeſſion of Faith, *Ibid.* he varies as well as his Diſciples, and makes a ſecond *Confeſſion* of Faith, 449. they invent *Impanation* and *Invination*, *Ibid.* their Doctrine oppoſite to that of the whole Church, 450. *Berengarius* owns as much, *Ibid.* no neceſſity of a general Council in order to condemn him, 451.

St. *Bernard*, conſulted about the *Manicheans* that dwelt near *Cologn*, 87. account of the tenets of theſe Hereticks whom he had been well acquainted with at *Toulouſe*, *Ibid.* he confounds their hypocriſy, 102. anſwer to the objection relating to the credulity of St. *Bernard*. He lays nothing to the charge

charge of *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry*, the ſeducers of the *Touloufians*, but what he knows, 108. what he ſays of the behaviour of the *Toulouſian* Hereticks, 157. this Saint's memorable anſwer in regard to the falſe conſtancy of Hereticks, 161.

Beza, owns that the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe* was undertaken thro' a maxim of conſcience, 21. he is for riſing in arms, 21. what he ſays concerning the motive of the *Calvinian* wars in *France*, 34. how he authorizes the civil wars, *Ibid.* what he ſays touching the aſſaſſination of the Duke of *Guiſe* by *Poltrot*, 44. *Beza*'s ridiculous pretenſions in favour of the antiquity of the *Vaudois*, 67. what he ſays of their Doctrine ſhews they were not *Calviniſts*, 140. in 1571, *Beza* preſides in the national Synod of *Rochelle*, where thoſe that were for changing the Supper-article in the *Confeſſion* of Faith, are condemn'd, 205. by the Synod's orders, he anſwers the *Swiſs* offended at its deciſion, that it only regarded *France*, 212. he is of the number of thoſe that were deputed by the *Franckfort* aſſembly to draw up one common *Confeſſion* of Faith, 216. he makes God the Author of ſin, 274. this Doctrine of *Beza* taken from *Calvin*, 275. the *Dogmata* he adds to thoſe of *Luther*, *Ibid.* what he ſays of the Certainty of particular mens Salvation, 276. he teaches, after *Calvin*, that juſtifying Faith is not loſt in a criminal ſtate, 279.

Blandrate, *George Blandrate*, one of the heads of the *Socinians*, 441.

Bohemia, the Sect of the *Bohemian* Brethren falſly call'd *Vaudois*, 162. why they diſown thoſe who call them *Vaudois*, 163. and *Picards*, 164. they boaſt their deſcent from *John Huſs*, *Ibid.* they divide from the *Calixtins*, 175. the bloody wars of the *Calixtins* trouble all *Bohemia*, *Ibid.* they make to themſelves an ignorant Lay Paſtor, 178. weak beginning of this Sect, *Ibid.* they only took the name of *John Huſs* but did not follow his Doctrine. Their extream ignorance and aſſurance to re-baptize the whole world, 179. their fruitleſs ſearch, throughout the univerſe after a Church of their belief, 181. how they ſought Ordination in the *Catholick* Church. Reproaches made them by *Luther*, 182. their Doctrine in reſpect to the ſeven Sacraments, *Ibid.* they change it in their *Reform'd* Confeſſion of Faith, *Ibid.* what they thought of the Euchariſt, *Ibid.* the manner in which they refuſed to adore Jeſus Chriſt a proof that they believed the *Reality* even out of the actual uſe of the Sacrament, 186. their uncertainty and affected ambiguities, 187. the *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans* each ſtrive to bring them to their ſide; they incline to the latter, 188. *Luther*

gives them his approbation. Their Feſtivals, their Temples, heir Faſts, and the Celibacy of their Prieſts, 189. they take ſhelter in *Poland*, 190. there they unite with the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, *Ibid.* what diſpoſition they were in for this agreement, 193. reflexion on this union, *Ibid.*

Bull, a learned *Engliſh* Proteſtant maintains the *Infallibility* of the Council of *Nice* and that of the other general Councils, 426.

Burnet, his impoſition in aſſerting that the Doctrine eſtabliſh'd under *Edward* the VIth, was not changed, 8. what Mr. *Burnet* ſays of the indifference of the *Engliſh* as to the *Real* Preſence, 9. a memorable paſſage of Mr. *Burnet* concerning the *Engliſh* Reformation, 17. his illuſion in regard to the wars of the *Huguenots*, 31. his groſs miſtakes, and prodigious ignorance relating to the affairs of *France*, 32. ſequel of his fallacies, 33. *vide* Vol. I.

Biſhop, conſtancy of the *Engliſh* Catholick Biſhops who are depoſed for refuſing to own *Queen Elizabeth*'s ſupremacy, 11, and 17. deciſions in matters of Faith reſerved to the royal authority by the declaration of the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Biſhops, 15.

Breaking, important article of the Conference of *Caſſel* concerning the breaking of the Euchariſtick Bread, 332.

C.

CALIXTUS, a famous *Lutheran* eſtabliſhes, in *Germany*, the union of Sects, and is followed in *France*, by the Miniſter *d'Huſſeau*, 380.

Calixtins, the Sect of the *Calixtins* riſes up in *Bohemia*, 175. why call'd *Calixtins*, *Ibid.* the *Compactatum*, or the four articles allowed to the *Calixtins* by the Council of *Baſil*, 176. the *Calixtins* diſpoſed to acknowledge the Pope, *Ibid.* the reaſon of their ſo great reſpect for *Wickliff*'s memory: their ambition hinders them from re-uniting with the Church, 177. the *Bohemian* Brethren ſeparate from them, *Ibid.*

Calumny, the decree of the Synod of *Charenton* in 1631. convicts the *Calviniſts* of calumny, 325.

Calvin, his connivence at the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, 25. his death, 52. in what manner iſſued from the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, 200, his evaſions in regard to the vain predictions of *Luther* concerning the *Papacy*, 237. he made God the Author of *Adam*'s ſin, 274. the *Dogmata* by him added to thoſe of *Luther*, 275. his Doctrine of the Certainty of Salvation defined by the Synod of *Dort*, 302. *vide* Vol. I.

The Calviniſts, of *France* receive the *Engliſh* Doctrine making the King Head of the

the Church, 16. change of their Doctrine, 19. their conſpiracy at *Amboiſe*, *Ibid.* they take up arms by a maxim of Religion, *Ibid.* the firſt civil wars which the whole *Calviniſt* Party concurs to, 26. deciſions of their national Synods in approbation of their arming, 28. what ſpirit actuated them in theſe wars, 30. their falſe pretence that theſe wars did not concern Religion, *Ibid.* perplexity of the *French Calviniſts* to juſtify theſe wars, 33. they are convicted by *Beza*, 34. their other wars deſtitute of all pretext, 37. whether the ſpirit of their *Reformation* were a ſpirit of meekneſs or violence, 39. fatal conſequences of their violent ſpirit, 40. their vain excuſes, 41. their cruelties, 42. why our *Calviniſts* examine leſs into the queſtion of Free-will than the *Zuinglians*, 58. the reaſon of their keeping ſuch a ſtir about the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*, 134. the preſent *Vaudois* are their diſciples, 141. they have not one contemporary Author that favours their pretenſions touching the *Vaudois*, 143. all are welcome to the *Calviniſts* if they but exclaim againſt the Pope, 174. in what manner they deſcended from the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*, 200. they ſeek in vain the ſucceſſion of *Perſons* in the precedent Sects, 201. ſtill leſs do they find amongſt them the ſucceſſion of Doctrine, *Ibid.* many *Calviniſts* of *France* are for changing the article of the Supper in the Confeſſion of Faith, but are condemn'd by a national Synod, 205, they aſſemble at St. *Foy*, and give the power to four Miniſters of changing their *Confeſſion* of Faith, 217. a letter wherein the *Calviniſts* own *Luther* and *Melanchthon* for their fathers, 219. they have continued to our days the project of a common Confeſſion, but always to no purpoſe, *Ibid.* they receive the *Lutherans* to their Communion, 221, 324. the unſettled ſpirit of *Calviniſm*, 222. the *Calviniſts* deteſt *Piſcator*'s Doctrine, 223. the Doctrine of the *Calviniſts* againſt *Piſcator* ſolves all the difficulties they object to us on the ſacrifice of the Maſs, 224. the impiety of their Doctrine touching imputed juſtice, as it is propoſed by the Synods which condemn *Piſcator*, 227. reflexion on their procedure againſt *Piſcator*, 228. they add an article to their *Confeſſion* of Faith in order to declare the Pope *Antichriſt*, 236. intolerable exceſſes of *Calviniſm* concerning Free-will, 273. they make God the author of ſin, *Ibid.* they believe as a fundamental point that every one of the faithful is ſure of his perſeverance and Salvation, 276. they are ſenſible of theſe exceſſes ſo contrary to the fear and trembling preſcribed by St. *Paul*, 277. they maintain that juſtifying Faith is

not

not loſt in a criminal ſtate, 279. what texts of Scripture they ground themſelves on, 280. the perplexity they are under to anſwer this queſtion, *what would become of a Believer ſhould he die in his ſin*, *Ibid.* theſe difficulties have reclaim'd many *Calviniſts*, 281. they are contrary to the *Lutherans* and *Remonſtrants* both, in the point of Grace, 290. contradiction of their Doctrine, 298. they promiſe the *Arminians* an *Oecumenical* Council, 314. the illuſion of this promiſe, *Ibid.* the *Calviniſts* of *France* receive the Synod of *Dort*, 316. their union with the *Lutherans* in MDC XXXI, 324. they never before had advanced ſo far towards it, *Ibid.* this conduct of theirs convicts them of calumny, 326. they tolerate in the *Lutherans* the interior acts of Adoration, and reject the exterior which are but tokens of the former, 329. their perplexity concerning the diſtinction of fundamental points, 331. they are forced to own that the Church of *Rome* is a true Church wherein Salvation may be had, *Ibid.* the *Calviniſts* of *Marpurg* agree with the *Lutherans* of *Rintel* in the Conference of *Caſſel*, 332. what is ſaid by the *Calviniſts* of *France* concerning the viſibility of the Church, 258. they own that the Church of the *Creed* is viſible, *Ibid.* they always ſuppoſe the Church's perpetual viſibility, 360. they exclude the Church of *Rome* from the title of a true Church, 361. they own the interruption of the miniſtry, and the ceſſation of the viſible Church, 362. their perplexity, in that the inviſible Church had been forgotten in their *Confeſſion*, 363.

Camerarius, writes the hiſtory of the *Bohemian* Brethren, 162. he ſays, they diſown thoſe who call'd them *Vaudois*, *Ibid.*

Cameron's, and his diſciples Doctrine concerning univerſal Grace, 334.

Catholicks, the conſtancy of the *Catholick* Biſhops in *England* in oppoſition to Queen *Elizabeth*'s innovations, 11. demonſtration that the *Catholicks* were neither ignorant of nor diſſembled the Doctrine of the *Vaudois*, 133. wherein the *Catholicks* were different from the *Remonſtrants* and *Lutherans* with regard to juſtifying Grace, 289.

Celibacy, of Prieſts retain'd by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 189.

Ceremonies, retain'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, 3. the Ceremonies of Baptiſm deſpiſed by the *Vaudois*, 131.

Certainty, of Salvation taught, 55. this Certainty of Salvation, the chief foundation of the *Calvinian* Religion, 255, Certainty of Salvation as ſure to *Calviniſts* as if reveal'd to them by God himſelf, 276. this Certainty oppoſite to the fear and trembling preſcribed by St. *Paul*, 277. the Synod of *Dort*'s deciſion on

on the Certainty of Salvation, 291. Certainty of Salvation a falſe allurement, 300. whether the Certainty of Salvation confirm'd by the Synod of *Dort* be different from truſt, *Ibid.* whether this Certainty be a Certainty of Faith. The ſentiment of the Divines of *Great-Britain*, 304. *vide* Vol. I.

Charenton, the Synod of *Charenton* in 1631. receives the *Lutherans* to Communion, 324. memorable decree of this Synod, *Ibid.* conſequence of this decree, *Ibid*, remarkable date of this decree, 325. great turn in controverſies by means of this decree: it convicts the *Calviniſts* of calumny, 326. it makes void the chief ſubject of their rupture, 327. novelties following from this decree, 328. decree of the Synod of *Charenton* in 1620. in approbation of that of *Dort*, 316.

Claude, of *Turin* an *Arian* breaks Images, and is accounted amongſt the Predeceſſors of the Proteſtants, 66.

Mr. *Claude*, his frivolous evaſion with reſpect to the Synod of *Sainte-Foy*, where a deſign was in hand of making one common *Confeſſion* for all *Proteſtants*, 221. how much he diſapproves the Church of *Geneva* for having added two articles of Faith to her *Confeſſion*, 336. this Miniſter's vain ſubtlety in order to elude what the Synod's of *Gap* in 1603. and *Rochelle* in 1607. had decided concerning the Church, 364. what is ſaid by him with reſpect to the vocation of the *Reformers*, 365. he very poſitively owns the Church's viſibility, 367. this viſibility enters into the definition he makes of the Church, 369. he ſaves the Elect before the *Reformation* under the miniſtry of the Church of *Rome*, 369, according to his principles, all things neceſſary for Salvation are in the Church of *Rome*, 372. he owns, that before the *Reformation*, their Doctrine was unknown, 375. he varies with reſpect to the Church's viſibility, 378.

Communion, under one or both Kinds held for indifferent in the ancient Church, 73. Communion under one Kind impugn'd by *John Huſs*, 172. and by the *Calixtins*, 175. Communion under both Kinds is granted them, 176. demonſtration in favour of Communion under one Kind, 333. Communion under one Kind is ſufficient, 455.

Compactatum, what it means, 176.

Council, by the Doctrine of the *Dort* Synod, Proteſtants are obliged to ſubmit to a Council of the *Catholick* Church, 312. to ſtop the mouths of the *Arminians*, the Synod of *Delph* is forced to have recourſe to the *Holy Ghoſt*'s aſſiſtance promiſed to Councils, 313. the *Calviniſts* promiſe the *Arminians* an Oecumenical Council, 314. the fallacy of this promiſe, *Ibid.*

Confeſſion, the *Vaudois* believed Confeſſion of ſins to a Prieſt,

128, and 132. ſacramental Confeſſion own'd by *John Huſs*, 173.
Confeſſion of Faith, new Confeſſion of Faith of the *Helvetick* or *Swiſs* Churches, 52. remarkable Confeſſion of the *Polonian Zuinglians*, 61. a ſpurious Confeſſion of Faith of the *Vaudois*, 147. a Confeſſion of Faith falſly attributed to *Wickliff*, 170. Confeſſion of Faith of the *Bohemian* Brethren in 1504. wherein they acknowledge ſeven Sacraments, 183. this is alter'd by them, *Ibid.* endeavours are uſed at *Franckfort* to make all the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe to agree in one common *Confeſſion* of Faith, 214. the *Lutherans* were to be compriſed in this *Confeſſion*, 215. qualities of this new *Confeſſion* of Faith, and deputies named to draw it up, *Ibid.* conſent of the Synod of *Sainte-Foy* to this new *Confeſſion*, 217. the project of a common *Confeſſion* continued to our days and always unſucceſsfully, 220. the Synod of *Dort* declares their *Confeſſions* of Faith may be retouch'd, yet at the ſame time, obliges to ſubſcribe them, 315. the Church of *Geneva* adds two articles of Faith to her *Confeſſion*, 335.
Confirmation, what was believed by the *Vaudois* concerning this Sacrament, 130.
Conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, vide *Amboiſe*.
Conſtance, *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was not calumniated at the Council of *Conſtance*, 168. Reaſons of the Council of *Conſtance* for authorizing the already eſtabliſh'd cuſtom of Communion under one Kind, 455.
Cup, allowed to the *Calixtins* upon certain conditions, 176.
Cruelties, of the *Calviniſts*, 42.
Croſſes, the new *Manicheans* averſion to the Croſs, 75.
Crucifix, *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* retains the Crucifix in her Chapel, 4.
Church, *Elizabeth* completes the work of Church-plundering, 17. difference betwixt the conduct of the *Church* and that of *Proteſtants*, 43. eminent ſanctity in the *Catholick* Church, 159. the Reformation allows private people to take on themſelves a greater ability for underſtanding ſound Doctrine, than it allows the whole Church beſides, 320. the *Calviniſts* forced to own that the Church of *Rome* is a true Church and that her Members may be ſaved, 331. the cauſe of the Proteſtant Churches Variations proceeded from their not knowing what the Church was, 344. the *Catholick* Church always knew herſelf, and never varied in her deciſions, *Ibid.* the Doctrine of *Catholicks* on the article concerning the Church, 345. notions of *Proteſtants* on the perpetual viſibility of the Church, 346. this Doctrine relating to the Church confeſs'd by *Proteſtants*, is the ruin of their Reformation and the ſource of their perplexity, *Ibid.*

the

the, perpetual visibility of the Church confirm'd by the Apology for the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, 348. this visibility confirm'd in the *Smalkaldick* articles by the promises of Jesus Christ, 350. in the *Saxonick* Confession of Faith, *Ibid.* in the *Wirtemberg* Confession of Faith, 351. in the *Bohemian* Confession of Faith, 352. in the Confession of *Strasburg*, *Ibid.* in both the Confessions of *Basil* and in that of the *Swiss* in MD LXVI, 353. the beginning of their Variation: the *Invisible* Church begins to appear, *Ibid.* 354. the *Invisible* Church why invented, 355. what the *English* say of her, 356. what the pretended *Reform'd* of *France* say of her in their Catechism, 358. they own at length that the Church of the *Creed* is *Visible*, *Ibid.* the expressions of their *Confessions* of Faith suppose a perpetual *Visibility* of the Church, 360. there they take from the Church of *Rome* the title of a true Church, 361. there they acknowledge the interruption of the ministry, and the cessation of the *Visible* Church, 362. their perplexity in the Synods of *Gap* and *Rochelle* on account that the *Invisible* Church had been forgotten in their *Confession*, 263. how important is the controversy relating to the Church, 367. the Ministers no longer dispute the Church's *Visibility*, *Ibid.* according to the principles of the Minister *Claude*, all that is necessary for Salvation, is in the Church of *Rome*, 372.

Infallibility, own'd in the Church by the Minister *Jurieu*, 415. this *Infallibility* admits of no restriction in *Dogmata*, 421. the Church is ever constant. Is ever in possession of the truth when beginning to be attack'd. Her decisions are plain, her steadiness not to be shaken, 475. *vide Jurieu*, vide Vol. I.

Children, the Synod of *Dort* acknowledges the sanctification of all baptized children, 307.

D.

DECISION, decisions in matters of Faith reserved to the royal authority by the declaration of the *English* Protestant Bishops, 15.

Declaration, of the *English* Protestant Clergy in regard to Queen *Elizabeth*'s supremacy, 11. how *Protestants* palliate so great an evil, 12.

Delph, the Synod of *Delph* is forced, in order to silence the *Arminians*, to fly to the *Holy Ghost*'s assistance promised to Councils, 313.

De Dominis, *Antony de Dominis* one of the first authors of indifferency, 380.

Dort, convocation of the Synod of *Dort*. Its opening, 283. the dispute there reduced to five heads, *Ibid.* the Synod's decision on Faith in the sole *Elect*, and on the Certainty of Salvation, 291. and on Infant-Baptism, *Ibid.*

ſecond deciſion on Faith in the ſole Elect, 292. on the Certainty of the faithful, 293. what is ſaid by it concerning habits infuſed, *Ibid.* monſtrous Doctrine of the Synod on the *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, 294. it teaches into what crime the faithful do not fall, 295. what is the Certainty of Salvation it admits, 297. it teaches that all Uncertainty is a temptation, *Ibid.* in what manner, according to this Synod, man juſtified is guilty of death, *Ibid.* whether the ſenſe of the Synod concerning *Inamiſſibility* was taken right, and whether the Certainty by it aſſerted, be different from truſt, 300. the Synod expreſly defines *Calvin*'s Doctrine on this point, 302. it approves the ſentiment of *Peter Du Moulin*, *Ibid.* whether the Certainty it eſtabliſhes, be a Certainty of Faith. The ſentiment of the Divines of *Great-Britain*, 304. ſentiment of thoſe of *Bremen*, 307. whether the Synod can be excuſed from all theſe exceſſes. Unanimous conſent of all the votes, *Ibid.* the Synod owns the ſanctification of all baptized children. Conſequence from this Doctrine, *Ibid.* procedure of the Synod, 308. it ſilences the *Arminians* by authority of the States, 291. the reaſons uſed againſt them in the Synod, condemn the whole Proteſtant Party, 309. there it's decided that the weakeſt and neweſt Party ought to yield to the greateſt and moſt ancient, *Ibid.* perplexity of the Synod upon the proteſt of the *Remonſtrants*, 311. according to the Synod of *Dort*, Proteſtants were obliged to ſubmit to the Council of the *Catholick* Church, 312. reſolution of the Synod obliging to ſubſcribe the Confeſſions of Faith, which at the ſame time, it own'd might be mended and review'd, 315. the Synod of *Dort* is approved by the *Calviniſts* of *France*, *Ibid.* it depoſes and excommunicates the *Arminians*, 316. the deciſions of *Dort* far from eſſential, according to Mr. *Jurieu*, 317. the Miniſter *Jurieu* makes the Synod of *Dort* act rather by policy than truth, 319. the Synod of *Dort* heals none of their evils, and, ſpite of its decrees, Mr. *Jurieu* is a *Pelagian*, 321. connivence of the *Dort* Synod not only at the exceſſes of the Reformers, but at thoſe of the *Arminians*, 323.

Du Moulin, Peter, propoſes expedients for making one common Confeſſion for all Proteſtants, 220. his memorial approved by the Synod of *Ay* in MDCXV. 229. this Miniſter's remarkable words concerning the diſſimulation he would have uſed in regard of this common *Confeſſion*, 230. reflexions on theſe words of *Du Moulin* approved by the Synod of *Ay*, 231. *Du Moulin*'s inconſtancy, 232. he will not have the *Real* Preſence,

ſence, *Ubiquity*, and the other *Lutheran* tenets, be condemn'd, *Ibid.* *Du Moulin*'s ſentiment on Grace approved by the Synod of *Dort*, 302. *Du Moulin* ſtrenuouſly oppoſes *Cameron* and his diſciples, 334.

Du Perron, the Cardinal *Du Perron* grants that the Pope's ſuperiority over General Councils and ſecular powers, is not of Faith, 469.

Du Val, Mr. *Du Val* is conſulted by the *Ultramontanes* concerning the Pope's Infallibility and his ſentiment thereon, 469.

E.

EDWARD VI. King of *England*. His Reformation changed by *Elizabeth*, 3. the twenty ninth article of his Confeſſion concerning the Euchariſt, is changed, 5. material alterations in his Liturgy, 8. In *Edward*'s time, neither the word *Subſtance*, nor the miracles which *Calvin* admits in the Euchariſt, are employ'd, 10.

Elect, ſaved under the miniſtry and in the Communion of the Church of *Rome* before the Reformation, by the Confeſſion of Mr. *Claude*, and ſince by that of Mr. *Jurieu*, 383.

Elizabeth, Queen of *England*, her profound policy. She orders a tender of her reſpects to *Paul* IV. at his acceſſion to the Papal throne, 3. ſhe engages in the new Reformation, *Ibid.* her ſcruples in four points, that of Ceremonies, that of Images, that of the *Real* Preſence, and that of the regal Supremacy: her judgment on the two firſt, 3. her judgment on the Euchariſt, 5. neither the word *Subſtance*, nor the miracles admitted by *Calvin* in the Euchariſt, are uſed under *Elizabeth*, 10. her Supremacy in ſpirituals is ſet up in ſpite of her ſcruples, *Ibid.* ſhe completes what had been left undone in the pillaging of Churches, 17. ſhe ſecretly favours the inclination towards a revolt in the *Calviniſts* of *France*, 19.

England, Variation of the *Engliſh* on the Euchariſt, 5. the *Engliſh* are indifferent as to the *Real* Preſence, 9. the Supremacy in ſpirituals is given by the *Engliſh* to Queen *Elizabeth*, 10. the *Parliament* of *England* reſerves to itſelf the deciſion in matters of Faith, 13. the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* making their King Head of the Church condemn'd by the *Calviniſts*, 16. remarkable paſſage of Mr. *Burnet* concerning the Reformation of *England*, 17. the *Engliſh* reject the *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, 18. the ſentiment of the *Engliſh* Divines for the Certainty of Salvation, defined in the Synod of *Dort*, 304. they believed that Juſtice could never be loſt. Contradiction of their Doctrine, *Ibid.* according to them, Faith and Charity abide in the worſt of ſinners, 305. what it is, according

cording to them, that the *Holy Ghoſt* does in ſuch as abide in grievous crimes, *Ibid.* the *Teſt* in *England:* therein the *Engliſh* draw near to our ſentiments, and condemn the Church of *Rome* only thro' manifeſt error, 339. the *Engliſh* ſpeak ambiguouſly of the Church's viſibility, 356. *vide* Vol. I.

Epiſcopius, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden* appears at the head of the *Arminians* in the Synod of *Dort*, 284.

Equivocations, of the *Manicheans* in *Germany* in matters of Faith, 85. equivocations of the *Bohemian* Brethren, 187.

Error, all error contradicts itſelf, 298.

Euchariſt, what is believed by the *Swiſs* or *Zuinglians* relating to the Euchariſt, 58. the abominable Euchariſt peculiar to the *Manicheans*, 78. *John Huſs* believed, as to the Euchariſt, all that the Church of *Rome* believes, 172.

F.

FAITH, deciſions in point of Faith reſerved to the royal authority by a declaration of Biſhops, 15. the *Swiſs* attribute true Faith to theElect alone, 55. the Faith of the *Calviniſts* of *France* put in the hands of four Miniſters, 218. juſtifying Faith not loſt in the ſtate of grievous ſin, according to the *Calviniſts*, 279. deciſion of the Synod of *Dort* touching the Faith of the Elect, 291.

Faſts, practiſed by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 189.

Holy Fathers, how they anſwer'd the *Manicheans* in reſpect to their practices, 71. all of them underſtood the words of St. *Paul* 1 *Tim.* iv. 1. as meant of the *Manicheans*.

Feſtivals, in honour of the Saints retain'd by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 189.

Figure, the *Zuinglians* the moſt ſincere of all the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe, 60. it's endeavour'd at *Franckfort* to bring all the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe to agree in one common *Confeſſion* of Faith, 214.

France, the diſturbances of *France* begun by means of *Queen Elizabeth*, 19.

Franckfort, aſſembly of *Franckfort* in 1577. where means are uſed to bring all the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe to agree in one common Confeſſion of Faith, 213. this aſſembly writes to the *Lutherans* in order to mollify them, 216. it leſſens, in their behalf, the difficulty of the *Real* Preſence, 217. difference betwixt what was deſign'd to be done in favour of the *Lutherans* at *Franckfort*, and what was ſince done at *Charenton*, 221.

Francis, Duke of *Guiſe* is aſſaſſinated by *Poltrot*; and this murder accounted in the *Reformation* an act of Religion, 44.

Free-will, monſtrous Doctrine of the *Zuinglians* or *Swiſs* touching

touching Free-will, 57. our *Calviniſts* examine leſs into this ſubject, and why, 58. Free-will deſtroy'd in *Calviniſm*, 273. how it acts according to the Synod of *Dort*, *Ibid.* *Calvin*'s and the *Calviniſts* error endeavouring to make Free-will conſiſt with neceſſity, 274, 293. the Council of *Trent*'s deciſions on Free-will, conformable to thoſe of antiquity, 460. *vide* Vol. I.

G.

GAP, the national Synod of *Gap* deteſts *Piſcator*'s Doctrine, 223. it adds an article to the *Confeſſion* of Faith to declare the Pope *Antichriſt*, 236. deciſion of the Synod of *Gap* on this point. Its falſe foundation, 240. occaſion of this decree, *Ibid.* this Synod's perplexity for that the *Inviſible* Church had been forgotten in the *Confeſſion* of Faith, 363. this Synod's memorable deciſion on extraordinary vocation, 365.

Geneva, ſtrange anſwer of thoſe of *Geneva* to the *Arminians* requeſt at the Synod of *Dort*, 312. decree paſs'd at *Geneva* againſt *Univerſal* Grace, and the queſtion reſolved by the Magiſtrate, 335. the Church of *Geneva* adds two articles to her *Confeſſion* of Faith, 336.

Germany, preſent ſtate of controverſies in *Germany*, 333.

God, *Wickliff*'s Theology concerning the liberty, the goodneſs, and the power of God, 164. God author of ſin according to the *Calviniſts*, 273. *vide* Vol. I.

Gog, and *Magog*, 199.

Gomar, maintains *Calviniſm* againſt *Arminius*; his diſciples take the name of *Counter-Remonſtrants*, and the Prince of *Orange* upholds them, 282.

Gomariſts, or *Counter-Remonſtrants*, *Ibid.*

Grace, the *Inamiſſibility* of Grace defined at *Dort*, 286. Doctrine of the *Arminians* on Grace, 287. *Cameron*'s and his diſciples ſentiment on *Univerſal* Grace admitted by the Doctors of the *Dort* Synod, 334.

Sufficient, Grace, admitted by them, 335. decree paſs'd at *Geneva* againſt *Univerſal* Grace, *Ibid.*

Grotius, demonſtrates that the Pope cannot be *Antichriſt*, 243. he proves from the Proteſtants, that by their own Confeſſion, ſouls may depart out of the body without being wholly purified, 466.

H.

HEBREW, deciſion of the *Swiſs* touching the *Hebrew* Text ridiculed by the learned of the Sect, 336.

Henry, diſciple of *Peter de Bruis* in the eleventh Century, 61. ſecretly diffuſes his maſter's errors in *Dauphiny*, *Provence* and about *Toulouſe*, 87. his Doctrine, 104.

Heretick, Catholicks and Proteſtants agreed in the puniſhing

ing of Hereticks, 51. memorable anſwer of St. *Bernard* on the falſe conſtancy of Hereticks, 161. what is the ſucceſſion of Hereticks, 201. character of Hereſy own'd in the Reformation, 230.

Huſs, *John Huſs*, a diſciple of *Wickliff*, 66. he imitates *Wickliff* in his hatred of the Pope; he ſays Maſs, and judges no otherwiſe concerning the Euchariſt, than thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. Why *John Huſs*'s Doctrine was doubted of, 172. he was a *Catholick* in all the now controverted points except Communion under both Kinds, and the Pope, 173. the *Bohemian* Brethren account him a great Martyr, altho' they follow not his Doctrine, 179. *Luther* accuſes *John Huſs* of his ignorance in the point of Juſtification, 182.

The Huſſites, divided among themſelves, 179.

I.

JANE, Queen of *Navarre* exerciſes horrid cruelties on Prieſts and Religious, 42.

Jerom of *Prague*, diſciple of *John Huſs*, follows him intirely, 172.

Images, Queen *Elizabeth* at firſt is for retaining Images, 3. ſhe is perſuaded by falſe reaſons to condemn them, nevertheleſs retains the Crucifix in her Chapel, 4. Images broken by *Claude* of *Turin* an *Arian*, 66. they are honour'd by *Wickliff*, 169. and *John Huſs*, 173.

Inamiſſibility, of juſtice rejected by the *Engliſh* under *Elizabeth*, 18. taught by the *Swiſs*, 54. the *Dort* Synod's prodigious Doctrine on *Inamiſſibility* of Juſtice, 294. whether it was right underſtood, 300.

Incarnation, this myſtery an impoſition according to the *Manicheans*, 71. and according to the *Albigenſes*, 153.

Innocent III. Pope. The *Vaudois* come to ask his approbation, 116. he approves the inſtitute of the *Minor* Brethren, *Ibid.* he holds the Council of *Lateran* where he condemns the *Vaudois*, 117.

Invocation, of Saints received by *Wickliff*, 169. and by *John Huſs*, 172.

Joſeph Mede, an *Engliſh* Proteſtant, renders himſelf famous by his extravagancies on the *Revelations*, 250. he accuſes St. *Leo* the Great, St. *Baſil*, and the reſt of the Saints their contemporaries of Idolatry, 252. *Joſeph Mede* and Mr. *Jurieu* contradict one another, 263. his prediction in behalf of the King of *Swedeland* no ſooner utter'd than proved falſe, 265. what was diſcover'd by him in the *Revelations* touching the *Reformers*, 269.

Mr. *Jurieu*, what was ſaid by him concerning the civil wars excited by the *Calviniſts*, 37. what, concerning thoſe

thoſe who teach the diſtinction betwixt Biſhops and Prieſts, 233. he maintains the Pope to be *Antichriſt*, and an article of Faith for all true Chriſtians, 244. he varies on this point, 249. expoſition of Mr. *Jurieu*'s Doctrine on the eleventh twelfth and thirteenth chapters of the *Revelations*, 230. he is bent on ſhortning the time of the pretended prophecies, 245. he owns his prepoſſeſſion. He forſakes his guides, and why, *Ibid.* the impoſſibility he is under of ſettling the Epoch for the twelve hundred and ſixty years which the Reformation is determin'd to allow for *Antichriſt*'s perſecution, 246. he gives a new date to the birth of *Antichriſt*, 247. the time not ſuiting, becauſe of the holineſs of the then Popes, 248. *Jurieu* changes his mind and is for advancing the downfall of *Antichriſt*, 249. he makes *Antichriſt* to be born in the perſon of St. *Leo* the Great, *Ibid.* abſurdity of this ſyſtem, 250. vain ſhift of this Miniſter, 251. he imputes to St. *Leo* two evil characters, *Ibid.* he accuſes St. *Leo*, St. *Baſil*, St. *Ambroſe*, &c. of Idolatry, 253. why he does not make St. *Baſil* the beginner of *Antichriſtianiſm* as well as St. *Leo*, 255. his ridiculous calculation, 256. he ill explains the ſeven Kings of the *Revelations*, 258. explains as ill the ten Kings of the *Revelations*, 260. frivolous anſwer of Mr. *Jurieu* on this head, 263. the oppoſition of *Jurieu* and *Joſeph Mede* to one another, 264. his ridiculous notions concerning the *Turk*, 266. he owns the Prophets of the Proteſtant Party to be cheats, 267. his idea of the Reformation, 269. his ſentiment on the deciſions of *Dort*, 317. *Semipelagianiſm* does not damn according to this author, *Ibid.* he makes the Synod of *Dort* act more by policy than truth, 319. he declares they were ready to bear with *Semipelagianiſm* in the *Arminians*, *Ibid.* he is a *Pelagian*, notwithſtanding the decrees of *Dort*, 322. he falls back into the exceſſes the Reformers were guilty of in reſpect to the cauſe of ſin, 323. according to this Miniſter, the diſputes touching Predeſtination do no longer concern any eſſential point of Religion, 330. what he confeſſes of the Variation of Proteſtants in regard to the Church's perpetual viſibility, 323, in his notion, you may ſave your ſoul in all Communions, 379. this he took from the *Socinians*, 380. he comes into the ſentiments of Mr. *Pajon*, 381. is blamed for favouring the *Socinians*, 382. grants that we may be ſaved in the Church of *Rome*, 384. owns the exceſſes of his *Confeſſion* of Faith, 388. overthrows the ideas of the *Reformation*, 390. impugns the Doctrine of his Church relating to excommunication, *Ibid.*

amongſt

amongſt his Brethren, Confeſſions of Faith are nought but arbitrary contracts, 392. he eſtabliſhes the independent principle, 394. he makes the authority and ſubordination of Churches to depend on Princes, 395. he confeſſes that his ſyſtem is contrary to the Faith of all ages, 396. he contradicts himſelf when he pretends the Council of *Nice* ſides with him, 398. he undermines the authority of the Apoſtolick Creed, 401. he accuſes the Church contemporary with the Apoſtles of Schiſm and Hereſy, 403. according to him, one may ſave himſelf among the *Socinians*, 404. and by the ſame principles, among *Mahometans* and *Jews*, 405. and at the ſame time, ſpeaks *pro* and *con* touching the perpetual Viſibility of the Church, 408. and touching the univerſal Church's teaching and preaching, 414. he will have the general conſent of the univerſal Church to be a demonſtration, 415. he condemns his own Church by the characters he gives to the univerſal Church, 419. confeſſing the *Infallibility* of the Church, he muſt confeſs that of General Councils, 423. he takes from Paſtors the title of Judges, contrary to the ſenſe of his own Churches, 427. he is againſt all ſubſcribing to Councils, 428. he is for ſacrificing truth to peace, 429.

Juſtice, inherent acknowledged by Proteſtants, 457. *vide* Juſtification.

Juſtification, *Luther* reproaches *John Huſs* with utter ignorance of Juſtification, 182. *Piſcator*'s Doctrine on this head, 222. deteſted by the *Calviniſts*, 223. decree of the national Synod of *Privas* touching Juſtification, 225. impiety of the *Calviniſts* Doctrine on Juſtification, as propoſed by their Synods, 227. perſpecuity and plainneſs of the *Catholick* Doctrine on the ſame ſubject, *Ibid.* the *Arminians* Doctrine on Juſtification, 286. monſtrous Doctrine of the *Dort* Synod on the ſame point, 294. the ancient Church's Doctrine conformable to that of *Trent*, 457. *vide* Vol. I.

K.

KELESISKI, a Shoemaker, puts himſelf at the head of the *Bohemian* Brethren and compiles for them a body of Doctrine, 178.

Kings, *Wickliff*'s pernicious Doctrine concerning Kings, 169. ſyſtem of the Miniſters concerning the ſeven Kings in the Revelations, confounded by the terms of this prophecy, 258. the ten Kings in the Revelations evidently as ill explicated, 260.

L.

ST. *LEO*, *Jurieu* makes Antichriſt be born in the perſon of St. *Leo the Great*, 249.

249. abſurdity of this ſyſtem, *Ibid.* two evil characters attributed to St. *Leo* by this Miniſter, 251. pretended Idolatry of St. *Leo*, 252.

Lions, the poor men of *Lions*, vide *Vaudois*.

Liturgy, of *Edward* the VIth, changed in eſſential points, 8.

Lombez, Council of *Lombez* againſt the *Albigenſes*, 89. hiſtory of this Council, 90.

London, Synod of *London* in 1562. wherein Queen *Elizabeth*'s Supremacy is received, 12. Council of *London* againſt *Wickliff*, 171.

Luther, reproaches the *Bohemian* Brethren with their utter ignorance of Juſtification, 182. *Luther* gives them his approbation, and how, 189. the *Calviniſts* acknowledge *Luther* for their Father, 219. *Luther*'s vain predictions concerning the downfall of the Papacy, 237. he inſerts in the *Smalkaldick* articles that the Pope is *Antichriſt*, 240. *vide* Vol. I.

Lutherans, ill treated by the *Polonian Zuinglians*, 61. who afterwards enter into an agreement with them, 63. the *Lutherans* unite with the *Bohemians* and *Zuinglians* in *Poland*, 191. departure of the *Lutherans* from their principles in this union, and how they may vindicate themſelves, 192. reflexions on this union, 193. how the *Lutherans* are deſcended from the *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*, 200. they ſeek in vain the ſucceſſion of *Perſons* in theſe Sects, 201. they find ſtill leſs amongſt them the ſucceſſion of Doctrine, *Ibid.* the *Lutherans* are deteſted by the *Calviniſts* as defenders of a monſtrous opinion, 211. aſſembly of *Franckfort* is for comprehending the *Lutherans* in the common *Confeſſion* of Faith it deſign'd to make, 213. letter written to the *Lutherans* by this aſſembly, 216. difference betwixt what was deſign'd to be done at *Franckfort* and at *Sainte-Foy* in favour of the *Lutherans*, from what was ſince done at *Charenton*, 221. the *Lutherans* of *Rintel* agree with the *Calviniſts* of *Marpurg* in the Conference of *Caſſel*, 332. the ſentiments of the *Lutherans* concerning univerſal Grace give occaſion to thoſe of *Cameron* and his diſciples, 334, 335. ſentiments of the *Lutherans* concerning the perpetual Viſibility of the Church, 346. *vide* Vol. I.

Lucius III. Pope, condemns the *Vaudois*, 112.

M.

MANICHEANS, errors of the *Manicheans* progenitors of the *Albigenſes*, 70. conſequence from the falſe principle of the *Manicheans*, 71. they endeavour'd to juſtify themſelves by the uſages of the Church, *Ibid.* their ſpirit of ſeduction and hypocriſy, 72. in order to conceal themſelves they mix'd in Catholick aſſemblies, 73. hiſtory of the *Paulicians*

Paulicians or *Armenian Manicheans*, 74. their conformity with the *Manicheans* refuted by St. *Auſtin*, 75. their deſign on the *Bulgarians*, and *Peter* of *Sicily*'s inſtruction in order to prevent the effect thereof, 76. the *Manicheans* begin to appear in the *Weſt* after the year of our Lord, 1000, 77. *Manicheans* that came from *Italy*, diſcover'd at *Orleans* under King *Robert*, *Ibid.* their Hereſy ſpreads itſelf into *Gaſcony* and *Toulouſe*, 79. the *Manicheans* of *Italy* call'd *Cathari*, and why, *Ibid.* origin of the *Manicheans* of *Toulouſe* and *Italy*; a proof that they came from *Bulgaria*, 80. Councils of *Tours* and *Toulouſe* againſt them, 81. their conformity with the *Manicheans* known by St. *Auſtin*, 82. the ſame Hereſy in *Germany*, *Ibid.* ſentiments of the *German Manicheans*, 83. it's diſcover'd that they held two firſt Principles, *Ibid.* their Variations and care to conceal themſelves, 84. their equivocations when examin'd about their Faith, 85. theſe Hereticks examin'd in full audience of all the people; their tenets related by St. *Bernard* who had been thoroughly acquainted with them at *Toulouſe*, 87. they ſtiled themſelves *Albigenſes* and *Petrobuſians*, 89. why call'd *Arians*, 90. their notion of the *Trinity* the very ſame with that of the ancient *Manicheans*, 91. *Manicheans* of *Soiſſons*, 92. theſe Hereticks met with in *Agenois* and *England*, *Ibid.* the Hereticks of *Montpellier* are *Manicheans*, 95. in the liſt of the *Manichean* Churches drawn by *Renier*, the *Albigenſes* are comprehended, 100. demonſtration that the Hereticks who denied the *Real* Preſence in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, were *Manicheans*. Notoriouſly falſe ſuppoſition of the Miniſters, 151. *Manicheiſm* at *Metz*, 152. ſixteen Churches of the *Manicheans* comprehended the whole Sect, 155. who were thoſe amongſt them call'd *Cathari*, *Ibid.* why St. *Paul* calls the Doctrine of two Principles admitted by the *Manicheans*, a Doctrine of Devils, 196. why, of all Hereſies, the *Holy Ghoſt* hath eſpecially characterized none but *Manicheiſm*. Character of this Hereſy: hypocriſy, lying, and a ſear'd conſcience, *Ibid.* and 197.

Marriage, rejected by the *Manicheans* as bad, 71. Variations of the *Manicheans* of *Germany* in relation to marriage, 84. in what reſpect the Sacrament of marriage was condemn'd by the *Vaudois*, 132. the *Albigenſes* rejected lawful marriage, 145.

Maſs, the *Vaudois* made no difficulty of coming to Maſs, 163. *John Huſs* ſays Maſs, 172. the Maſs offends the *Bohemian* Brethren, 177. antiquity of the ſacrifice of Maſs, 341.

Maurice, Prince of *Orange* upholds the *Gomariſts*, 282.

Mauzzim, of *Daniel* how interpreted by the Miniſter, 246, 252.
Melanchon, his bad opinion of *Wickliff*, 171. acknowledged by the *Calviniſts* for their Father, 219. he allows that it is an eaſy matter to come to an agreement about the article of Juſtification, 463.
Menon, one of the Heads of the *Anabaptiſts*, 443.
Merit, of good-works, rejected by the *Swiſs*, 54. the merits of Saints own'd by *Wickliff*, 169. the merit of works own'd by *John Huſs*, 173. the *Trent* Council's Doctrine concerning the merit of good-works, 461. *vide* Vol. I.
Miniſtry, interruption of the Church's miniſtry own'd by the *Calviniſts* of *France*, 362. before the Reformation, the Elect ſaved in the *Roman* miniſtry by Mr. *Claude*'s Confeſſion, 369.
Miniſter, the Miniſters decide that the *Calviniſts* may take up arms, 28. the firſt *Huguenot* war reſolved on by the advice of all the Miniſters, and peace made notwithſtanding their oppoſition, 35. proof againſt the Miniſters that the *Albigenſes* were *Manicheans*, 104. artifices of the Miniſters in reſpect to the hiſtory of the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, 150. notoriouſly falſe ſuppoſitions of the Miniſters, in order to confound the *Vaudois* with the *Albigenſes*, 151. two objections of the Miniſters to the ſame purpoſe, refuted, 154. the Faith of the *French Calviniſts* truſted in the hands of four Miniſters, 218. the Miniſters cannot believe what they ſay, 254. vain ſhifts of the Miniſters relating to the buſineſs of *Sainte-Foy*, 220. the ſyſtem of the Miniſters touching the ſeven Kings of the Revelations evidently confounded by the very terms of this prophecy, 258. their fallacious anſwer, 260. they account as ill for the ten Kings of the Revelations, 260. what it is the Miniſters have diſcover'd in the Revelations concerning their *Reformers*, 269. the Miniſters declare that *Semi-pelagianiſm* doth not damn, 317. and that they were ready to bear with it in the *Arminians*, 319. the Miniſters themſelves very much relax'd in the obſervance of the *Dort* decrees, 320. the Miniſters elude the decree of the *Gap* Synod, and the thirty firſt article of their *Confeſſion* touching extraordinary vocation, 365.
Miracle, under *Edward* VI. and under *Elizabeth*, none of the miracles admitted by *Calvin* in the Euchariſt, are employ'd, 10.
Montpellier, the Hereticks of *Montpellier* were *Manicheans*, 95.
Myſtery, what is *that myſtery of iniquity* ſpecified by St. *Paul*, 198.

N.

NISMES, the national Synod of *Niſmes* in 1572. changes the decree of

of that of *Rochelle* concerning the Substance of Jesus Christ's Body in the Eucharist, 212.

O.

ORDIBARIANS, who they were, 152.
Ordination, validity of ordinations whereon grounded in *England*, 13. how the *Bohemian* Brethren seek their ordinations in the *Catholick* Church, 182.

P.

PARLIAMENT, the Parliament of *England* assumes to itself the decision in points of Faith, 13.
Parker, Protestant Archbishop of *Canterbury* is the first that subscribes *Elizabeth*'s supremacy, 11.
Patarians, who they were, 95. their infamy, 103.
Paul Perrin, quotes not so much as one cotemporary *Historian* in his history of the *Vaudois*, 144. the books of the *Vaudois* produced by him, *Ibid.* their *Confession* of Faith which he produces is posterior to *Calvinism*, 147.
Paulicians, or *Manicheans* of *Armenia*, their history, 75. their conformity with the *Manicheans* refuted by St. *Austin*, *Ibid.* their design on the *Bulgarians*, 76.
Pelagianism, spite of the *Dort* decrees, Mr. *Jurieu* maintains that *Pelagianism* is not contrary to piety, 321.
Petrobusians, who they were, 89.
Peter de Bruis, appears in the eleventh Century, 67. he clandestinly disseminates his errors in *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, and in the neighbourhood of *Toulouse*, 87. he is chief of the *Albigenses*, 89. examination of his Doctrine, 105. St. *Bernard* charges him with nothing but what is true, 108.
Peter of *Sicily*, writes the history of the *Paulicians* and *Manicheans* of *Armenia*, 75. endeavours to prevent the spreading of their Sect in *Bulgaria*, 76.
Peter Du Moulin, vide *Du Moulin*.
The Picards, disown'd by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 164.
Piscator, who he was, and his Doctrine on imputed justice, 222. his Doctrine is detested by the national Synod of *Gap*, 223. by that of *Rochelle* in 1607, 224. by that of *Privas* in 1612, 225. and by that of *Tonins* in 1614, 226. reflexion on the *Calvinists* procedure against *Piscator*, 228. *Peter Du Moulin* puts *Piscator*'s question amongst those things which are of little importance to Salvation, 230. the Synod of *Ay* approves what *Du Moulin* says 231.
Poland, the *Bohemian* Brethren flie thither, 190. and there unite themselves with the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, 191.
Poles, remarkable *Confession* of Faith of the *Polonian Zuinglians*,

lians, wherein the *Lutherans* are ill handled, 61. *Ubiquity* taught by the *Polonian Zuinglians*, 62. their agreement with the *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*, 63.

Poltrot, aſſaſſinates the Duke of *Guiſe:* this murder look'd on, in the Reformation, as an act of Religion, 44.

Poor men of *Lions* vide *Vaudois*.

Pope, the Pope of the *Albigenſes* in *Bulgaria*, 101. hatred of *Wickliff* and *John Huſs* againſt the Pope, 172. all goes down with Proteſtants provided the Pope be exclaim'd againſt, 173. the *Calixtins* diſpoſed to own the Pope, 176. the *Bohemian* Brethren offended at the power of the Pope, 177. the Synod of *Gap* adds an article to the *Confeſſion* of Faith on purpoſe to declare the Pope *Antichriſt*, 236. *Luther*'s vain predictions of the Pope's downfall, 237. *Daniel* and St. *Paul* extravagantly quoted for proof of the Pope's being *Antichriſt*, 238. *Proteſtants* diſgrace themſelves by this Doctrine, 239. the ableſt *Proteſtants* refute this Doctrine, 243. the Pope's authority over General Councils and the temporals of ſovereigns is not of Faith, nor ought to hinder the re-union of Proteſtants, 469. *Jurieu* maintains that it is a fundamental article of Faith to believe the Pope *Antichriſt*, 244. the Pope's infallibility is not of Faith, and the contrary opinion cannot be condemn'd either as heretical or erroneous, or even as temerarious, 469. *vide* Vol. I.

Poplicans or *Publicans*, who they were, 93. the Miniſters make the *Vaudois Manicheans* by making them *Poplicans*, 94.

Prayer, for the Dead rejected by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 177.

Predeſtination, Doctrine of the *Arminians*, or *Remonſtrants* touching Predeſtination, 284. the diſputes about Predeſtination, according to Mr. *Jurieu*, no longer intrench on the eſſentials of Religion, 330.

Preſence, Queen *Elizabeth* will not ſuffer her Divines to cenſure the *Real* Preſence, 5. the indifference of the *Engliſh* as to the *Real* Preſence, 9. the *Real* Preſence impugn'd by *Berengarius*, 66. by the *Albigenſes*, 99. believed by the *Vaudois*, 105, 112. manifeſt proof that the Hereticks who denied the *Real* Preſence in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries were *Manicheans*, 152. *Real* Preſence believed by *John Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, 172. and by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 184. the aſſembly of *Franckfort* minces the difficulty of the *Real* Preſence on purpoſe to gain the *Lutherans*, 210. *Peter Du Moulin*, approved by the Synod of *Ay*, is againſt condemning the *Real* Preſence as believed by the *Lutherans*, 232. the *Real* Preſence free from venom by the Confeſſion of the Miniſters, 324. the *Real* Preſence

Preſence neceſſary, 327. *vide Reality*, *vide* Vol. I.
Pride, of the *Vaudois*, 157, 161.
Primacy, of Queen *Elizabeth* in ſpirituals eſtabliſh'd in *England*, 10. the Catholick Biſhops refuſe to own it, 11. declaration of the Proteſtant Clergy in favour of this Primacy, 12. this Doctrine condemn'd by the *Calviniſts*, 16
Principle, the *Manicheans* admitted two firſt Principles, 70. the *Albigenſes* did the ſame, 151. why the Doctrine of two Principles is call'd by St. *Paul* a Doctrine of Devils, 196.
Privas, the Synod of *Privas* in 1612. condemns *Piſcator*'s Doctrine, 225.
Prophets, the Prophets of the *Proteſtant* Party are cheats, 267. their interpreters no better worth, 269.
Proteſtants, difference betwixt *Proteſtants* conduct and that of the Church, 43. what is the ſucceſſion of *Proteſtants*, 65. they reap nothing but ſhame in making the *Albigenſes* their progenitors, 109. their authority with reſpect to the original of the *Vaudois*, 120. Doctrines which *Proteſtants* reject in the *Vaudois* no leſs than *Catholicks*, 134. *Proteſtants* propoſe new *Dogmata* to the *Vaudois*, 135. all pleaſes them, provided the Pope be exclaim'd againſt, 173. they ſeek in vain for the ſucceſſion of *Perſons* and of *Doctrine* in the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, 201. they diſcredit themſelves by ſaying the Pope is *Antichriſt*, 239. why thoſe abſurdities endured in the Proteſtant Party, 267. the Prophets of the Proteſtant Party are impoſtors, *Ibid.* the arguments employ'd againſt the *Arminians* in the Synod of *Dort* condemn the whole Proteſtant Party, 310. according to this Synod, the *Proteſtants* were obliged to own the Council of the *Catholick* Church, 312. the cauſe of *Proteſtants* Variations proceeding from their ignorance of what the Church is, 344. their ſentiments relating to the perpetual Viſibility of the Church, 346. this Doctrine the ruin of their Reformation, and the ſource of their perplexities, 347. what preciſely the *Proteſtants* are obliged to by this Doctrine, *Ibid.* they vary on this head, 354. and why, 355. *vide* Vol. I.
Purgatory, believed by *Wickliff*, 169. and *John Huſs*, 173. what preciſely is to be believed concerning Purgatory agreeably to the Council of *Trent*, 467. Proteſtants principles prove the neceſſity of Purgatory, 466. the purification of ſouls, after this life, own'd by them, *Ibid.* they agree as to the main point, but leave the manner undecided, 466. *vide* Vol. I.

R.

REALITY, Queen *Elizabeth* will not ſuffer her Divines to cenſure the Reality, 5. indifferency of the *Engliſh* in reſpect of the Reality, 9. the Reality condemn'd

demn'd by the *Zuinglians* of *Poland*, 61. the Reality denied by the *Albigenſes*, 105. believed by the *Vaudois*, 112, 121. manifeſt proof that the Hereticks who denied the Reality in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, were *Manicheans*, 151. Reality believed by *John Huſs*, 172. ſtrong expreſſions of the *Bohemian* Brethren for the Reality, 184. the Reality free from venom, 325. *vide* Vol. I. *vide Real Preſence.*

Rebaptization, of the *Bohemian* Brethren, 179.

Redemption, the Doctrine of the *Arminians* concerning the univerſality of Redemption, 286.

Reformation, Queen *Elizabeth* approves not the Reformation of *Edward* VI. in all its points, 3. whether the ſpirit of the Reformation was a ſpirit of meekneſs or violence, 39. effects of that violent ſpirit which predominated in the Reformation, 40. the Reformation allows private men to arrogate to themſelves greater abilities for underſtanding ſound Doctrine than all the reſt of the Church, 320. Sects born in the Reformation, 343.

Relicks, *Vigilantius* in the fourth Century oppoſes honouring of Relicks, 65. St. *Leo*, St. *Baſil*, and the reſt of the Saints of that time accuſed of Idolatry by the Miniſters, on account of the veneration they ſhew'd to Saints and Relicks, 252.

Remonſtrants, vide *Arminians*.

La Renaudie, chief of the *Amboiſe* conſpiracy; his character, 23.

Revelations, illuſions of the Proteſtants relating to the Revelations, 239. expoſition of the Miniſter *Jurieu*'s Doctrine on the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth chapters of the *Revelations*, 244. the ſyſtem of the Miniſter concerning the ſeven Kings of the Revelations evidently confuted by the very terms of this prophecy, 258. the ten Kings of the Revelations as evidently ill accounted for, 260. contrarieties of the new Interpreters of the Revelations, 263. the *Engliſhman* finds *England*, and the *French-man*, *France*, in the Revelations, 265. what it is that the Miniſters have diſcover'd in the Revelations touching their Reformers, 269.

Revenues, of the Church plunder'd by *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, 17. *vide* Vol. I.

Revolt, beginning of the *Calviniſts* revolt in *France*, 18. open revolt of the whole Party, 26.

Rochelle, the national Synod of *Rochelle* in 1571. condemns thoſe of the Party that were for changing the Supper-article in the *Confeſſion* of Faith, 205. deciſion of this Synod full of perplexity, *Ibid.* vain efforts of this Synod to find the Subſtance of the Body in the *Calvinian* Doctrine, 206. error of this Synod endeavouring to explain the myſtery of the Euchariſt without

out producing the inſtitution, 208. reaſon of the Synod for eſtabliſhing the Subſtance. There it's concluded that the other opinion is contrary to the word of God, 209. it ſays more than it deſign'd, *Ibid.* the *Swiſs* believe themſelves condemn'd in this deciſion, but the Synod takes care they ſhould be anſwer'd, that this Doctrine only concerns *France*, 210. the decree of this Synod is changed in that of *Niſmes*, 212. the Synod of *Rochelle* in 1607, condemns *Piſcator*'s Doctrine, 223. it gives orders that the decree of the Synod of *Gap* declaring the Pope *Antichriſt*, be printed in all the copies of the *Confeſſion* of Faith, 240. this Synod declares that nothing ought to be added or taken from the twenty fifth and twenty ninth articles of the *Confeſſion* of Faith, where the Church is treated of, 364.

Mr. *de la Roque*, his want of ſincerity touching the *Vaudois*, 122. this Miniſter artfully confounds the *Vaudois* with the *Albigenſes*, 151. his falſe pretence that *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was ſlander'd at the Council of *Conſtance*, 168. he proves that *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague* died in the belief of the Church of *Rome* eſpecially in what regards the Euchariſt, 173.

Mr. *de la Roque*, ſon of the Miniſter, produces a *Confeſſion* of Faith of *Wickliff*'s, where the Reality is clearly eſtabliſh'd, 170.

Roqueſane, chief of the Sect of the *Calixtins*, 174. he utterly deſtroys the *Taborites*, 175. his ambition prevents the *Calixtins* re-uniting with the Church, 177. he makes himſelf Pope in *Bohemia*, *Ibid.* he permits ſeveral *Greek* Prieſts to celebrate the holy myſteries according to their Church rites, 181.

Runcarians, who they were, 101.

S.

SACRAMENT, the *Albigenſes* taught that the effect of the Sacraments depends on the holineſs of the Miniſters, 103. the *Vaudois* taught that the merit of perſons acted in the Sacraments more than order and character, 119. the *Vaudois* were in no error as to the nature of the Sacraments, *Ibid.* what it is they believed of the ſeven Sacraments, 130. *Wickliff* teaches that the effect of the Sacraments depends on the merit of perſons, 168. the ſeven Sacraments own'd by *John Huſs*, 173. and by the *Bohemian* Brethren in their *Confeſſion Anno* 1504, preſented to King *Ladiſlaus*, 183. they reduce them to two, as *Luther* preſcribes them, *Ibid.* they make the Sacraments depend on the merit of the Miniſter, 184.

Sacrifice, the *Calviniſts* Doctrine againſt *Piſcator* ſolves all the difficulties they propoſe to us relating to the ſacrifice

ſacrifice of the Euchariſt, 224.

Sainte-Foy, the Synod of *Sainte-Foy* in 1578. conſents to a new *Confeſſion* of Faith in view of uniting all the *Proteſtants*, 217. it truſts its Faith in the hands of four Miniſters and of Mr. *de Turenne*, 218. vain evaſions of the Miniſters relating to this affair, 220. difference betwixt what was deſign'd to be done in favour of the *Lutherans* at *Sainte-Foy*, and what afterwards was done at *Charenton*, 221.

Salvation, the *Calviniſts* believe that the faithful are ſure of their Salvation, 276. the *Dort* Synod's deciſion on the Certainty of Salvation, 291, and 297. falſe allurement of the Certainty of Salvation, 300.

Schoman, *George Schoman* one of the chiefs of the *Unitarians*, 442.

Scotland, the Doctrine ſettled in *England* in behalf of the authority of Kings and Parliament as to matters of Faith, is alſo ſet up in *Scotland*, 16.

Scripture, abuſe made of the Scripture by the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, 158.

Semipelagianiſm, no damning error according to Mr. *Jurieu*, 317. this Miniſter declares, they were ready to tolerate *Semipelagianiſm* in the *Arminians*, 319. the other Miniſters in the ſame ſentiment with him, 320.

Sendomir, aſſembly of *Sendomir* where the *Lutherans*, the *Bohemians*, and the *Zuinglians* unite, 191. terms of the *Sendomir* agreement, *Ibid.*

Sin, God the author of ſin according to the *Calviniſts*, 273. Mr. *Jurieu* relapſes into the exceſſes of the Reformers with reſpect to the cauſe of ſin, 323.

The Siſcidenſes, a Sect of the *Vaudois* that refuſed not to receive the Euchariſt from the hands of a Prieſt, 132.

Socini, *Fauſto Socini* and *Lelio* heads of the *Socinians*, 441.

Socinians, the *Socinians* and the *Anabaptiſts* ſprung from *Luther* and *Calvin*, 443. united together, *Ibid.*

Soiſſons, *Manicheans* at *Soiſſons*, 92. their hiſtory, *Ibid.*

Strasburg, Variation of the Church of *Strasburg*, 443. the ſenate of *Strasburg* deſtroys Images, and injoins Communion under both Kinds, 444. ſuſpends the celebration of Maſs, *Ibid.* thoſe of *Strasburg* turn *Zuinglians*, afterwards return to the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, *Ibid.* 445. they fall into *Ubiquity*, *Ibid.*

Subſtance, neither under *Edward* VI. nor under *Elizabeth* is the word *Subſtance* employ'd, which *Calvin* admits in the Euchariſt, 10. the *Zuinglians* ſupper void of Subſtance, 58. vain endeavours of the national Synod of *Rochelle* in 1571. to prove the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt in the Doctrine of the pretended reform'd of *France*, 206. the Subſtance reduced to nothing in the national

national Synod of *Niſmes*, 212.

Succeſſion, Proteſtants ſeek in vain for the ſucceſſion of *Perſons* and *Doctrine* in the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, 201. what is the ſucceſſion of Hereticks, 202.

Supper, the Supper of the *Swiſs* or *Zuinglians* without Subſtance, and a Preſence in virtue only, 58. difference which the *Zuinglians* of *Poland* place betwixt their Supper and that of the *Socinians*, 61. ſeveral pretended-reform'd Churches of *France* are for changing the Supper-article in the *Confeſſion* of Faith, 205.

Supremacy of the Kings of *England* is there eſtabliſh'd notwithſtanding Queen *Elizabeth*'s qualms of conſcience, 10. the Catholick Biſhops refuſe to ſign it, 11. declaration of the Proteſtant Clergy in *England* in favour of this Supremacy, *Ibid.* this Doctrine condemn'd by the *Calviniſts*, 16.

Swiſs, new *Confeſſion* of Faith of the *Helvetick* Churches or *Swiſs*, 52. frivolous reaſoning of the Miniſters concerning this Confeſſion, 53. the *Swiſs* begin but then to know any thing of Imputed Juſtice, *Ibid.* they reject the merit of good-works, 54. they attribute true Faith to the Elect alone, 55. they teach the Certainty of Salvation and the *Inamiſſibility* of Grace, and ill explain converſion, 55. their monſtrous Doctrine on Free-will, 57. according to them, the Supper is void of Subſtance and no Preſence but in virtue, 58. they leave nothing peculiar to the Supper, 59. they are the moſt ſincere defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe, 60. the *Swiſs* believe themſelves condemn'd by the deciſion of the national Synod of *Rochelle* in 1571, 210. they are not ſatisfied with *Beza*'s anſwer, but ſtill hold themſelves condemn'd, 211. they are pacified by the explication of the Synod of *Niſmes*, 212. *Swiſs* formulary againſt *Univerſal* Grace, 335. another *Swiſs* deciſion on the *Hebrew* Text, laugh'd at by the learned of the Party, 336. another deciſion of the *Swiſs* and *Geneva* reproved by Mr. *Claude*, *Ibid.*

T.

TABORITES, the Sect of *Taborites* ariſes in *Bohemia*, 174. their rebellion and cruelties, *Ibid.* their total deſtruction, 175.

Temples, erected in honour of the Saints by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 189.

Teſt, Teſt-act in *England* wherein the *Engliſh* draw near to our ſentiments and condemn us only by manifeſt miſtakes, 339.

Teſtament, the Old Teſtament rejected by the *Manicheans* as fabulous, 71. rejected by the *Albigenſes*, 89. received by the *Vaudois*, 151.

Tonins, the national Synod of *Tonins* in MDC XIV. condemns *Piſcator*, 226.

Toulouſe, the *Manicheans* of *Toulouſe*, 87. are the ſame with the *Albigenſes*, 90.

Tranſubſtantiation, manifeſt proof that the *Vaudois* did in no wiſe err as to that point, 124. this Doctrine impugn'd by *Wickliff*, 170. retain'd by *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, 172. and by the *Calixtins*, 175. rejected by the *Bohemian* Brethren, 177. the hatred of the *Calviniſt* people turn'd againſt *Tranſubſtantiation* ever ſince the Synod of *Charenton* in MDC XXXI. 328. the word *Tranſubſtantiation* choſen at the Council of *Lateran*, and why, 452. *vide* Vol. I.

Trent, the Council of *Trent* hath added nothing to the deciſions of the ancients, 454. it does but repeat the ancient deciſions in reſpect to juſtifying Grace, 457. in reſpect to its gratuity, 458. in reſpect to the preparations to Grace, 459. to the inſeparable union of liberty and Grace, 460. to the merit of good-works, *Ibid.* in reſpect to the fulfilling of God's commandments, 461. it has cut away the root of all abuſes relating to the honour paid to Images. Its moderation in determining nothing but what is certain, 467. it ſpeaks not with ambiguity, *Ibid.* it has determin'd all that regards the true authority of the Pope, 468. in it, thoſe are oppoſed who were for making a formulary whence the Pope's ſuperiority over a General Council might be inferr'd, *Ibid.* this formulary ſuppreſs'd with the Pope's conſent, *Ibid.*

Trinity, the ancient *Manicheans* ſentiment as to the Trinity, 91. is the ſame with that of the *Toulouſe-Albigenſes*, *Ibid.*

Turk, *Jurieu*'s ridiculous conceit relating to the Turk, 266.

Turenne, the national Synod of *Sainte-Foy* truſts its Faith in the hands of four Miniſters and of Mr. *Turenne*, 218. why Mr. *Turenne* employ'd in this deputation concerning Doctrine, *Ibid.*

U.

UBIQUITY, taught by the *Polonian Zuinglians*, 62. *Peter Du Moulin*, whoſe ſentiment is approved by the Synod of *Ay*, is againſt condemning Ubiquity, 231. Ubiquity tolerated by the *Calviniſts*, 330.

Unction, what was believed by the *Vaudois* concerning extreme-unction, 131.

Union, of the three Proteſtant Sects of *Poland*, 191. reflexions on this union, 193. the aſſembly of *Franckfort* is for making a union betwixt all the defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe by a common Confeſſion of Faith, 213.

Unitarians, vide *Socinians*.

Valdo, author of the *Vaudois*, 68. who he was, 110. whether a man of learning, 112. his firſt deſign, *Ibid.* what

Paul Perrin ſays of *Valdo*, 144.
Variations, of the *Engliſh* on the Euchariſt, 5. their Variation as to the Adoration of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt, 6, and 7. their Variation confeſs'd by Mr. *Burnet*, 17. Variations of the *Manicheans* of *Germany*, 84. Variations of the *Vaudois* ſince *Luther* and *Calvin*'s time, 135. Variation of the Reformed of *France* relating to the Euchariſt, 205, 212. Variations of the *Swiſs* concerning the *Vulgate*, 336. the cauſe of the Variations of Proteſtant Churches, 344.
The Vaudois, agree with the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans* of *Poland*, 63. they are well treated by the *Calviniſts*, and why, 67. ridiculous pretenſions of the *Vaudois* as to their antiquity. Falſe origin which they boaſt of, *Ibid.* the Miniſters make the *Vaudois Manicheans* in making them *Poplicans*, 94. many ſorts of Hereticks call'd *Vaudois*, *Ibid.* the *Vaudois* are diſtinguiſh'd from the *Manicheans* and by conſequence from the *Albigenſes*, 95. the beginning of the *Vaudois* or Poormen of *Lions*, 110. the abridgment of their hiſtory, *Ibid.* they are condemn'd by Pope *Lucius* III. they come to *Rome*, 112. they are accuſed of nothing relating to the *Real* Preſence, 112. their errors did not regard the Euchariſt, 113. they came to beg the approbation of *Innocent* III. they begin to be treated on the foot of obſtinate Hereticks, 117. the Church's patience with reſpect to the *Vaudois*, *Ibid.* their Sect a ſpecies of *Donatiſm*, 118. their boldneſs increaſes by little and little, 119. their Doctrine in regard to Church-revenues, *Ibid.* they were free from error as to the Sacraments, *Ibid.* want of ſincerity in the Proteſtant *Hiſtorians* with reſpect to the *Vaudois* original, 120. the *Vaudois* did not change their Doctrine concerning the Euchariſt till *Luther*'s time, 121. liſt of their errors, 122. manifeſt proof that they were in no error relating to *Tranſubſtantiation*, 124. they believe the neceſſity of Confeſſion, 128. in the exterior they perform'd the duties of *Catholicks*, 129. what it was they believed of the ſeven Sacraments, 130. in what reſpect they condemn the Sacrament of marriage, 132. demonſtration that the *Catholicks* were neither ignorant of nor did diſſemble the Doctrine of the *Vaudois*, 133. diviſion of the *Vaudois* Doctrine into three heads, 134. Doctrine which the *Proteſtants* reject in the *Vaudois* as well as the *Catholicks*, *Ibid.* Doctrine which the *Catholicks* approve in the *Vaudois* but the *Proteſtants* reject, *Ibid.* the *Vaudois* change their Doctrine ſince *Luther*'s and *Calvin*'s time, 135.

new tenets propoſed to the *Vaudois* by the *Proteſtants*, *Ibid.* the *Vaudois* nowiſe *Calviniſts*; proof of this from *Greſpin*, 140. proof from *Beza*, *Ibid.* change in the *Vaudois* of *Calabria* and their intire extinction, 141. the *Vaudois* at preſent are not Predeceſſors but diſciples of the *Calviniſts*, *Ibid.* *Vaudois* books produced by *Perrin*, 144. their *Confeſſion* produced by this author is poſterior to *Calviniſm*, 147. manifeſt proof that the *Vaudois* had no *Confeſſion* of Faith antecedently to the pretended Reformation, *Ibid.* the *Vaudois*, in making their *Calviniſt* Confeſſion of Faith, retain'd ſomething of the *Dogmata* peculiar to them, 149. reflexions on the hiſtory of the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*. Artifice of the Miniſters, 150. notorious falſe ſuppoſitions of the Miniſters in order to confound the *Vaudois* with the *Albigenſes*, 151. whether the word *Believers* ſignifies the *Vaudois* in the ancient authors. *Aubertin*'s fallacy, 156. the *Vaudois* concur not in ſentiment with the *Calviniſts*. What we ſhould believe concerning the lives of the *Vaudois*, 157. their pride, *Ibid.* ſowerneſs was their character. Abuſe they made of the Scripture, 158. their preſumption, 160. whether one ought to be ſurpriſed at their falſe conſtancy, 161. inevitable condemnation of theſe Hereticks in that they denied their Religion, *Ibid.* the *Vaudois* diſown'd by the *Bohemian* Brethren, and by the *Picards*, 163. in what manner the *Vaudois* ſprung from the *Albigenſian Manicheans*, 199.

Vigilantius, in the fourth Century, oppoſes the veneration of Relicks, and is preferr'd to St. *Jerom* by the Proteſtants, 65.

Viſibility, of the Church, *vide Church*.

Vocation, memorable deciſion of the Synod of *Gap* concerning extraordinary Vocation, 365. the Miniſters elude this decree concerning extraordinary Vocation, *Ibid.* they are obliged to give up extraordinary Vocation, 336.

W.

WAR, the firſt civil wars under *Charles* IX. which the whole *Huguenot* Party concurs in, 26. theſe wars approved in their national Synod, 28. what ſpirit actuated the *Huguenots* in theſe wars, 30. their vain pretences that theſe wars did not concern Religion, 31. perplexity of the *French Calviniſts* with reſpect to theſe wars. The firſt war reſolved on by the advice of all the Miniſters, and peace concluded in ſpite of them, 35. the other wars deſtitute of all pretext, 37. *vide* Vol. I.

Wickliff, his impious Doctrine, 66. he never ſeparated from *Rome*, 171. his *Trialogue*

Trialogue tumultuates all *Bohemia*, 177. what was his Theology, 165. he imitates the falſe piety of the *Vaudois* by attributing the effect of the Sacraments to perſonal merit, 168. his Doctrine nowiſe ſlander'd at the Council of *Conſtance*, *Ibid.* his pernicious Doctrine concerning Kings, 169. he conſented to the invocation of Saints, honour'd their Images, and believed Purgatory, *Ibid.* *Wickliff*'s Confeſſion of Faith produced by Mr. *de la Roque* junior, where the *Real* Preſence is clearly laid down and *Tranſubſtantiation* rejected, 170. this Confeſſion attributed to the Council of *London* by Mr. *de la Roque*, *Ibid.* the contrary proved by *Wickliff* himſelf, *Ibid.* *Wickliff* publickly renounces his Doctrine, and dies in the exterior Communion of the Church, 171. *Melancthon*'s judgment concerning *Wickliff*, *Ibid.* his memory reſpected by the *Calixtins*, and why, 177.

Wiſſonats, *Andrew Wiſſonats* ſhews how the *Unitarians* ſeparated from the Reformed, 442.

Z.

ZISCA, chief of the *Taborites*, his bloody feats, 174.

The Zuinglians, make a new *Confeſſion* of Faith, 52. they go over to *Calvin*'s notions concerning Grace, 54. Man's converſion ill explain'd by them, 55. their monſtrous Doctrine concerning Free-will, 57. according to them, the Supper is void of Subſtance, and the Preſence but in virtue, 58. they leave nothing peculiar to the Supper, 59. they are the moſt ſincere defenders of the *figurative* ſenſe, 60. remarkable *Confeſſion* of Faith of the *Polonian Zuinglians*, 61. they teach *Ubiquity*, 62. their agreement with the *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*, *Ibid.* their union with the *Bohemians* and *Lutherans* at *Sendomir*, 191. the *Zuinglians* moſt of them all recede from their particular principles in this union, 192. reflexion on this union, 193.

End of the INDEX *to the Second* PART.

7 AP 53

ERRATA.

BOOK X. Page 7. Line 13. *could caſt*, read *would caſt*. p. 34. l. 19. *dele* iſſue. p. 40. l. 27. *Schart*, r. *Stuart*

Book XI. Page 68. Line 32. *dele* are. p. 103. l. 22. weakneſs, *r.* wickedneſs. p. 126. l. 22. put theſe, *r.* puts theſe. p. 168. l. 12. *dele* the. p. 169. l. 26. or, *r.* for.

Book XIV. Page 334. Line 37. Miniſter, *read* Miniſters. p. 335. l. 20. Miniſter, *r.* Miniſters.

Book XV. Page 363. Line 20. *couched*, read *be couched*. p. 422. l. 23. yet it is, *r.* that it is. p. 427. l. 34. his book, *r.* the book. p. 463. l. 31. renew'd, *r.* review'd.

7 AP 53